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SOME ANCIENT BRITISH NOTES

By D. F. ALLEN

1. TWO ANCIENT BRITISH COINS IN PARIS

THERE have long lain in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris two bronze coins, attributed in the catalogue to a continental origin, but from their position evidently suspected by those who arranged the Celtic collection to be British. I had the advantage in 1957, by the kindness of Mademoiselle Gabrielle Fabre, of seeing these two coins, and I have no doubt that both are British and belong to Kent. One is a new type altogether, the other adds important details to a type already known.

The first coin (Pl. XV, 1) no. 9599 in the Catalogue, is an unpublished bronze coin of Dubnovellaunus. His coins tend to be rare, and most are known from only a few specimens. The types are particularly diverse, but even so the new coin is a strange one, not so much for what it shows as for the manner in which it shows it. On the obverse is a standing boar, facing right. It is represented with exceptional realism; its chin, for instance, is marked with warts, and its body with flesh in folds almost like a rhinoceros. There are a great many boars on Ancient British coins, but I recall none remotely resembling this one. Its forelegs appear to stand on the ground, but its hind legs are off the coin. Between the legs, however, is some kind of star or flower, which is balanced by an immense revolving whorl in front; both of the objects look as if they are growing out of the ground. A curved line in front seems to bend back over the boar's tusk, but the edge of the coin leaves in some doubt what this is meant to be, possibly a snake of some kind. Above the bristles on the boar's back and his big, floppy ear is the legend DVBNQ. The last letter is somewhat confused with the curved line, but I have no doubt about the reading.

The reverse shows us a horse, clearly engraved by the same hand. The head of the horse aims at more naturalism than is usual on these coins, but the really exceptional feature lies in the horse's legs. It is common for a foreleg, as on this coin, to be shown raised, but I know of no other example where one hind leg is raised, as on this coin, until it touches the nearside foreleg. It looks like an attempt to render a horse in the act of scratching himself.¹ The other hind leg is off the coin. I am unable to explain the curve beneath the scratching leg in the place usually occupied by an ornament, unless this too is part of a snake. I suspect there may be a legend in front of the horse, but if so only the letter V is visible.

The coin weighs 40.2 grains (2.60 grammes). Its find-spot is not recorded, but it agrees so well with the other Kentish coins of Dubnovellaunus that there can be no doubt where it should be classified.

¹ One is rightly cautious of religious or magical explanations, but in the Irish tales, which reflect a later stage of Celtic tradition, sorcerers and their kind frequently only have one foot and one hand, while even supernatural horses only stand on one leg; e.g. R. Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*, p. 144.

The second bronze coin, (Pl. XV, 2) no. 9600, is of a type of which a number of specimens are already known. Evans gives it as N 9, Mack as no. 296. Evans records specimens from Springhead, near Southfleet, and from Canterbury (p. 478), both in the British Museum, while a third there comes from Borham Downs, all Kentish find-spots.

The new specimen proves that the animal on the obverse is meant to be a bear moving to the right, although it does not look as if the engraver had seen many. It has no tail and the four feet, each with two claws, are somewhat humanized. Nevertheless the head, with little ear and open mouth showing teeth, is not a bad attempt; the tongue hangs out, as if licking something on the ground, drawn in with a corded line. It has previously been possible only to suspect what the Paris specimen proves, that a bird is perched on the bear's back. The bird's legs and claws, its tail, and the beginning of its wings are clear, but its beak is lost on a crack at the edge of the coin. I am not certain whether it belongs to the crow or eagle family, but the former seems the more likely. There is a well-known series of Gaulish coins of gold and silver which show a crow of this kind over a horse's back (de la Tour XXII. 6584 and XXVII. J55), which are amongst the coins given to the Osismii in Finistère. Finally it is pretty clear that behind the bear there is a legend, but not enough can be made out to suggest a name. There appear to be traces of IIO, but the O is identical with what is certainly a ring ornament between the bear's legs. One might compare the apparently meaningless legend of Mack 294, a gold stater from Sittingbourne.

The reverse of this Paris specimen for the first time enables us to appreciate the peculiarities of this quite exceptional type. We have here a rendering, in a manner without parallel on British coins, of what I must assume to be a bull. The body of the animal follows the slim, liting proportions of an ordinary, curvilinear Celtic horse, even to the tail. On the top of a neck, long even for a horse, is a facing head which might almost have been taken from the famous horse ornament found long ago in the late pre-Roman camp at Stanwick, Yorkshire, and now in the British Museum (B.M. *Guide to Early Iron Age*, 2nd ed., fig. 153). The two eyes are set on either side of the head and the nostrils are clear. The head would pass as that of a horse were it not for two great S-shaped ox horns which curve up from the forehead; only the horn to the left is visible, but it is obvious that there is a parallel horn to the right, seen, in fact, on the specimen illustrated by Evans. Centrally between the two horns and above the head is a large annulet. Similar rings (or suns?) between the horns of cattle may be seen on de la Tour XXXIII. 8456,¹ or on our own staters of Tasciovanus, Mack 149-50 (in this instance between the horns of a bucranium). Although in all other respects the animal is a horse, there is no gainsaying the horns. The animal's legs, of which all four are shown, are curiously bunched together, in a pose which is certainly no ordinary gallop. A pellet between the legs may be an attempt to sex the animal, commoner on Gaulish than on British coins. There is a small annulet between the legs, another beside the head and a third, not seen on the Paris specimen, over the rump. Finally a corded line, ending in an annulet, lies between the

¹ A Gaulish potin coin, de la Tour XXXIII. 8351, combines a bucranium on one side with a bear on the other.

horns and the rump; this device may well turn out to be an identifiable object on a specimen which shows it complete.

The coin weighs 27·3 grains (2·42 grammes). The find-spot is not known. Although the legend on the coin cannot be read, it must belong to about the same date as the preceding coin, say the last quarter of the first century B.C. The importance of the coin is as much archaeological as numismatic, since it provides demonstration, if demonstration were needed, of the order of date of the Stanwick mounting, always recognized as an outstanding relic of late Celtic art in this country.

I am most grateful to the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale for allowing me to bring these two important coins to the notice of the British public.

2. A NEW COIN OF VERULAMIUM

A bronze coin was found in excavations in 1931 at the Romano-British site of Stocking Close, Sawtry, Huntingdonshire, which was not identified at the time (*Proceedings of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society*, v. 184). By the kindness of the finder, Dr. J. R. Garrood, F.S.A., I was recently allowed to see it, and it is clearly a new coin of Verulamium. The following is a description.

Obv. Above an exergual line, what appears to be two leaves and a flower. (This side of the coin is in poor condition and the upper part of the die is off the flan; the above interpretation is by no means certain.) Below the exergual line the legend VER, possibly VERL.

Rev. A horse grazing to right. Above its back a crescent and a ring ornament. Below an unexplained ornament similar to that in front of the horse on staters such as Mack 150 or under it on quarter-staters such as Mack 151. Weight 20·7 grains (1·34 grammes) (Pl. XV, 3).

In general style the coin agrees well with coins of Tasciovanus, but there is no trace on this example of his name (or of the alternative legends Dias or Rues). Although another specimen might give an additional name, it is only possible to be certain of the presence of the mint name, Verulamium. The ornament under the horse presents a close link with other coins of Tasciovanus. No other example of a grazing horse is known on our coins. The obverse seems of a very unusual type also, but the condition is too poor to be certain; for instance what I have called leaves could turn out to be birds, back to back in an heraldic arrangement!

Dr. Garrood has now very generously presented the coin to the British Museum.

3. A RARE COIN FROM HAMPSHIRE

A second example of Evans K 13, Mack 33, has turned up (Pl. XV, 4). It was bought at Portsmouth and presumably found in that area. The only specimen hitherto known was found at Cheriton, near Winchester, and a

Hampshire find-spot for the new coin is thus likely enough. It is from the same obverse die as the Cheriton coin, but a different reverse die. The weight is 78.5 grains (5.09 grammes) compared with 78.0 (5.05 grammes) and the specific gravity of 10.2 compared with 10.7. The type is a local variant of the Chute type. The new coin does little to complete the pattern on the die, but the sun ornament under the horse's belly has six instead of four rays. The coin is the property of Rev. S. C. Mascall of Devizes, who acquired it some 30 years ago.

Since the above was written it has come to my knowledge, through the kindness of the City Librarian of Portsmouth, Mr. H. Sargeant, that a third specimen was found at Portchester in October, 1958 (Grid Ref. 41/613061). It is in the possession of the finder, Mr. D. Barnes. There are, thus, three specimens now known with consistent provenances.

4. A RARE COIN FROM PETERBOROUGH

An example of the uninscribed gold stater, Evans C 2, Mack 49, the type on which the usual horse on the reverse is replaced by a wolf, has been found during 1958 at Peterborough. The actual site of finding lies in Paston, about a quarter of a mile north of the built-up area of Peterborough, near where the old M. & G. N. Joint line to Sutton Bridge and King's Lynn crosses a small stream leading to the Car Dike (Grid Ref. 53/186022). Recorded find-spots of this important type and the associated type Evans C 3 (see *Num. Chron.* 1953, p. 116) are few. The type is undoubtedly the earliest coinage we have of the Norfolk area and this is the most westerly example so far recorded. The coin is from the same obverse die as Mack 49 but has a different reverse die. The weight is 93.8 grains (6.08 grammes) (**Pl. XV, 5**).

FOUR ANCIENT BRITISH COINS

By C. W. LISTER

THE four Ancient British silver coins described here are all from approximately the same period. Two are new and uninscribed, one of which appears to be of the Catuvellauni following the Whaddon Chase series and the other similar to the gold quarter-staters of the Sussex Coast. The other two have already been published, but the specimens illustrated here show so much more detail that they warrant further publication. Unfortunately none of the find-spots is known.

Silver coin of the Catuvellauni

Obv. A male head to the right with a firm line of nose and brow. A long flowing moustache with a shaven chin is clearly seen, and the hair portrayed by long curls or scrolls. An animal in miniature appears in front of the face with a star below the chin.

Rev. A finely engraved horse with twisted mane and tail. A winged annulet appears above the horse, two ringed dots below the belly and tail, and another annulet encircled by dots in front of the chest.

Weight. 18 grains (**Pl. XV, 6**).

The reverse shows a very strong resemblance to two gold staters of the Whaddon Chase series from the British Museum, reproduced here. In **Pl. XV, 10**, the shape of the horse's head is very similar; the twisted mane, the neck raised in relief, and the ornament between the legs appear on both coins. The winged ring so characteristic of ordinary Whaddon Chase staters is prominent on both the silver coin and the stater shown on **Pl. XV, 11**. The winged device may have given rise to the object above the horse on Mack 375 and the bird in Mack 435.

The obverse on the other hand is very different to that of the Whaddon Chase, but it has a lot in common with Mack 375, which has been attributed, without any real basis, and probably wrongly, to the Dobuni.

The fact that a recognizable head first appears on coins struck in Britain on the later coins of Tasciovanus and the resemblance of the reverse to the later Whaddon Chase coins suggest that this one was struck during the period between the two (c. 25 B.C.). Julius Caesar, in his *Gallic Wars*, Book V, chap. xiv, records that the inhabitants of Britain 'wear their hair long and have every part of their body shaved except the head and upper lip'. This coin, almost alone amongst British coins, bears out this description. The hair and moustache are long and the chin shaven. With the hair so clearly shown in curls, any beard meant to be depicted would have been engraved in the same way. The head is likely to be that of some British or Belgic deity following the Roman pattern, though it might be argued that it could be of a tribal king.

The whole style of the coin and its engraving betray that it is the work of a Celtic and not a Roman craftsman.

The miniature animal could be a horse or a deer, but its head is obscure. Compare the animal similarly placed in front of the head on Mack 375.

The coin itself is very clear, well struck, and centred. It is slightly cup-shaped and bears no trace of wear.

Uninscribed silver coin of the Sussex coast type

Obv. A degenerate laureate head to the right with a clearly defined wreath, crescents for the face, and pointed hair curls. Two annulets appear, one behind the crescents and the other in the curls. A wheel or annulet can be made out at the top by the wreath.

Rev. A cantering triple-tailed horse to the right with a wheel below and three annulets in the field. The central strand of the tail is beaded. The horse has a twisted mane and donkey-like ears.

Weight. 16.8 grains (Pl. XV. 7).

The relationship of this coin to the early uninscribed gold staters and quarter-staters found on the Sussex coast near Selsey is plain. The Apollo pattern, the horse and wheel, and the ornaments in the field resemble the many different types found mostly in this area, notably Mack 63 and 76. As it has no lettering or find-spot, it is not possible to attribute it with any certainty to one particular tribe, particularly since the origin of many of the gold coins found around the Channel is in doubt. The coin shown in Mack 439, found at Colchester, also has the Apollo pattern and horse, but has greater resemblance to the Whaddon Chase in both obverse and reverse. This latter coin is silver and classified as uncertain, but both would appear to be silver coins following the gold series.

Inscribed silver coin of Verica

Obv. The letters COM•F in the centre with crescents above and below and an annulet on each side of the crescents. The whole is in a beaded circle, though part of this is off the flan.

Rev. A boar running to the right above a line. Below the line the letters VIRI. The whole is enclosed in a beaded circle.

Weight. 19 grains (Pl. XV, 8).

Two similar coins are illustrated in Evans III. 4 and Mack 115. Both these coins are in the British Museum but are relatively poor specimens. On the one shown here the letters COM•F are clearly seen on the obverse as well as the dot between the M and the F. On the reverse the letters VIRI are perfectly clear but on the other two specimens are off the flan or so indeterminate as to be illegible. At first sight the animal depicted could be a wolf or a dog but the line of the mane above the body and the shape of the tail identify it conclusively as a boar. Evans suggested that it could be a lion, though he had only had one specimen from which to work. Although none of these

coins has the same reverse die, the obverse die of this one and that illustrated in Mack appear to be the same, though detail on the latter is poor.

This coin is of good silver, slightly cup-shaped, and well struck.

Uninscribed silver coin of the Coritani

Obv. A long-legged boar to the right with an elongated nose. The limbs are bifurcated with cloven hooves. A sun ornament above the boar and two rings behind it. A nearly vertical line above the boar, obscure ornaments in front, and below the body what appears to be a gryphon's head and neck.

Rev. A lifelike horse with a sun ornament above and three annulets in the field. A flaw in the die appears in front of the horse's chest.

Weight. 22 grains (Pl. XV, 9).

This coin corresponds to the one engraved in Evans XXIII. 11, from a coin in the British Museum on which the detail is not very clear. Coins similar to the one shown here have been found at Guisborough in Yorkshire, Scunthorpe in Lincolnshire, Castor near Peterborough, and Bygrave in Hertfordshire. The area over which they have been found indicates that they were struck by the Icenii or the Coritani, probably the latter.

The coin is finely engraved with a great deal of detail and is less crude than other types with the horse-and-boar pattern. The fact that later versions of the theme tend to deteriorate in design points to this coin as being one of the earliest and likely to be a prototype of the whole series of silver coins with boar on the obverse and horse on the reverse, struck in east and north-east Britain towards the end of the period of British coinage. This motive is basically Celtic rather than Roman. The object below the boar is hard to place. A gryphon's head has been suggested, but this would be more in keeping with Roman than Celtic designs. The nearly vertical line is more likely to be a tree than a spear.

The coin is of better silver than that of other coins of this area and is only slightly cup-shaped.

I am indebted to Mr. Derek Allen for his invaluable advice in preparing these notes, to Mr. Pollard of the Fitzwilliam Museum for his assistance and permission in showing the coin of the Sussex Coast type and to Mrs. Martin and the staff of the British Museum for their help.

SOME NEW MERCIAN COINS

By C. E. BLUNT

AN OFFA-IAENBERHT DIE-LINK

THROUGH the courtesy of Mr. Philips I am allowed to publish here a new and important variety of the coinage of Offa which he was fortunate to acquire in 1958 in Farnham, Surrey, for a modest sum. The coin, which is by the moneyer Ethelnoth, is illustrated (Pl. XV, 12). It belongs to Offa's middle period, say, 785-91.

Ethelnoth, who is not to be confused with Ethelmod, was a reasonably prolific moneyer in Offa's last period; I have records of nine surviving specimens; but of the middle period only three were previously known to me, two in the British Museum (*B.M.C.* 50; the other uncatalogued, from Richborough, 1925), the third in the unsold portion of the Lockett collection. Mr. Philips's coin differs from these in having the king's name and title not contained in lunettes and in having a cross placed horizontally above and below the legend. This latter is a feature of the coins of Archbishop Iænberht and in fact there exists a coin of this archbishop in private hands which is struck from the same die. Regrettably it is not possible to publish an illustration of this here, but the die-identity has been confirmed by more than one authority who has seen a photograph of it.

This is the first time a die-identity between a coin of Offa and one of Iænberht has been established, and an examination of the other coins of the archbishop of which I have photographs or casts has failed to produce another. Nor have I traced a die-link between any coin of Offa and Iænberht's successor Aethilheard. Die duplicates in this early series are, however, comparatively rare, a fact which suggests that the surviving coins represent but a fraction of the original issue and prompts the hope that a major hoard of this period might be expected to produce a crop of new varieties. Mr. Dolley has, however, recently established a die-link between a coin of Offa and one of the Kentish king Eadberht Praen, and these two links provide useful confirmation of the view, now generally accepted, that the bulk of Offa's coinage was issued not in Mercia but at the Kentish capital, Canterbury.

It will be seen that on Mr. Philips's coin the moneyer's name is spelt 'Ehelnot' (one can I think properly read the fourth letter as an 'L' in spite of its somewhat peculiar form). On all the other specimens of the early period the name is in its normal form 'Epelnoþ' and this is the form usually found on the coins of the later period. On one or two, however (e.g. *B.M.A.* 39 and Ryan 619), the second 'þ' is misplaced so that the name reads 'Epelþno'. This is presumably only an error, though it is found on more than one die. On the new coin, the final 't', in place of 'þ', need cause no surprise.¹ It is found, for instance, in *B.C.S.* 201 (Cott. Aug. II. 26) A.D. 767 in Cuutfert.

¹ I am greatly indebted to Professor D. Whitelock for advice and information on the significance of the spelling of this moneyer's name.

The use of 'h' for 'þ' is, however, not to be expected—at any rate at this time; 'h' did not occur singly between vowels. One must surmise that the engraver intended to write 'th', which although not found on coins of Ethelnoth would be an acceptable form, and that he omitted the 't'. The alternative, to regard the 'h' as a malformed 'þ' seems less likely.

Mr. Philips is to be congratulated on the possession of so important a coin.

THE MONEYS EAMA ON COINS OF OFFA AND COENWULF

The last of the three coins of Offa recorded by Sir John Evans in his account of the Delgany hoard¹ is described as follows:

*3 Obv. +OFFA REX M

Rev. MΛΛM?? EAMA? Between the limbs of a cross.

The asterisk before the number meant that Evans had not himself examined the coin.

This piece is not otherwise recorded and has never been illustrated and a doubt has consequently remained as to the reverse reading.

Recently Mr. F. Baldwin was kind enough to show me the coin illustrated on **Pl. XV, 13**, which so closely answers to the one described by Evans as to leave little doubt that it is the same piece. The obverse is typical of the later type of Offa (though I have not traced a die-identity) and the reverse is generally similar to the unique type of Ibba in the British Museum (B.M.A. 42) which, curiously, was also found in Ireland, in this case near Kilkenny.

Evans may have been influenced in his reading of the moneyer's name by his possession of the coin of Coenwulf discussed below on which this name also appears. Evans bought the Coenwulf in Rome and, as no other specimen is known, it is reasonable to suppose that it is the one in the Borghesi sale which was held in that city in 1880. Evans might therefore have acquired it by the time his article on the Delgany hoard came to be published in 1882, but be that as it may, he was undoubtedly right in his interpretation of the seemingly meaningless MΛΛM.

On the coin of Coenwulf (**Pl. XV, 14**), which formed lot 331 in the Drabble sale, the name Eama is even more clear. In this case the initial E is square, unlike the round-backed ε on the Offa coin with its extended central limb, a feature found on some early coins of Eoba's, e.g. *B.M.C.* 46, *B.M.A.* 31 and 32, and the M which was Roman has now become the more usual rounded form m.

Save on these two coins the name Eama is not known and the question arises as to whether we have here the name of a new moneyer or a variant form of a name already known. It is tempting to equate Eama with Eaba who first makes his appearance at this very time. But Eaba is rather to be equated with Eafa, and the substitution of 'm' for 'b' or 'f' is not to be expected.²

¹ *Num. Chron.* 1882, p. 63.

² I am once again indebted to Professor Whitelock for advice on this matter.

Eama occurs as a name in the *Liber Eliensis* (referring to Edgar's reign) and Redin suggests¹ that it is a short form of names like Eanbriht where the 'n' would become 'm' by assimilation to the following 'b'. In the case of the two coins under discussion it might be a short form of the name Eanmund, a moneyer who, although not otherwise known to have issued for Offa, is found striking the early tribrach type for Coenwulf (e.g. *B.M.C.* 95), similar to the Eama coin. It seems preferable to accept Eama as the same moneyer as Eanmund rather than to suggest that he is a moneyer otherwise unknown.

A NEW TYPE FOR BEORNWULF OR BERHTWULF OF MERCIA

The fragment illustrated (**Pl. XV, 15**) can be described as follows:

Obv. +B - - - VVLFR $\overline{\text{M}}$ X Small cross with a line in each quarter in an inner circle.

Rev. +BEO - - - VLF (the V is over an F). Cross crosslet; no inner circle.

The coin would seem clearly to be Anglo-Saxon of the first half of the ninth century and, if this is so, must be of Beornwulf (823/4–826) or Berhtwulf (839–52), kings of Mercia. The type and moneyer are both unrecorded for either king.

All the few known coins of Beornwulf and all save two of the coins of Berhtwulf have the bust as obverse type. The two exceptions are a coin by the moneyer Tatel in the British Museum (illustrated Brooke, *English Coins*, pl. viii, 3, and there regarded as perhaps the work of a London craftsman) and one by Eanred (?) (illustrated Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*, pl. vi, 85, later Grantley Sale, lot 867). The Tatel coin has comparable lettering to the new coin and the obverse type is not dissimilar. The reverse of the new coin closely resembles certain coins of Wiglaf (828–9 and 830/1–9) (e.g. Brooke, pl. vii, 14 and 15) who was Berhtwulf's immediate predecessor.

The moneyer's name appears to be Beornwulf or Beorhtwulf, neither of whom is recorded at this time.

The form of the word REX is curious. The E is not unlike the $\overline{\text{M}}$ that is sometimes found as the abbreviation of *Merciorum* but in fact more closely resembles the E with an elongated central bar used on certain early types of Offa (e.g. in the moneyer's name on Brooke, pl. v, 16). If it is intended for an E it is placed sideways and it is possible that by so placing it the engraver sought to give effect to the combined thought of *Rex* and *Merciorum*.

Until another specimen is found which will either supply the missing letters of the king's name or enable the moneyer to be associated with one or other king, a definite attribution is not possible, but Berhtwulf appears the more likely.

ON A NEW TYPE FOR BURGRED

The plentiful coins of Burgred fall into four distinct classes recognizable by minor variations of the reverse type. These are described in the *British*

¹ *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English*, Uppsala, 1919.

Museum Catalogue as 'a', 'b', 'c', and 'd', and of these 'b' is the only one to lay any claims to scarcity. A new variety of the reverse type can now be recorded (Pl. XV, 16). It is by the moneyer Cenred, coins of whom are already known of types 'a', 'c', and 'd'. The new type has crook ends to the two horizontal lines that divide the legend, as in types 'c' and 'd', but differs from both in having as a central ornament at top and bottom an object like a letter \mathfrak{T} with an elongated leg which divides the top and bottom lines of the legend. This may signify *Merciorum*, a title that follows the *Rex* on the obverse on a number of Burgred's coins, or may be no more than an ornament.

The classification of Burgred's coins by their reverse types is a simple, but far from satisfactory, one. Although, superficially, the obverses all have a single type, namely a diademed bust facing right and extending to the edge of the coin, the variations within this general type are so great as to leave little doubt that more than one mint was employed. Brooke is wisely guarded on the subject, but the implication of his remark on the coinage of Ceolwulf II that 'the tradition of Canterbury to provide the coinage of the Mercian Kings as well as the Wessex coinage still remained'¹ suggests that he may perhaps have regarded the Burgred coins as products of that one mint. The five coins, by the moneyers Beagstan and Tatel (type 'a'); Dudda and Dudecil (type 'c'); and Osmund (type 'd') are sufficient to indicate how widely the style varies (Pl. XV, 17-21). Tatel, it will be remembered, was the moneyer of the unique coin of Berhtwulf (referred to in the preceding note) which Brooke regards as perhaps the work of a London craftsman.

Coins that have survived in such relatively large numbers are not normally illustrated in sale catalogues and of the 263 in the *British Museum Catalogue* only 7 are illustrated. As the *Sylloge of British Coins* develops and is paralleled, it is to be hoped, by a corresponding record of the national collection, the material will become available from which it should be possible to make a thorough survey of this somewhat neglected coinage.

¹ *English Coins*, p. 25.

ANGLO-SAXON LAW AND PRACTICE RELATING TO MINTS AND MONEYS

*With Particular Reference to the Mints of Chichester,
London, Dover, and Northampton and the Moneyer(s)
Cynsige or Kinsey.*

By R. S. KINSEY

THE object of this paper is to suggest new approaches to Anglo-Saxon numismatics, namely legal, philological, and genealogical. In view of the great variety of spellings found in Anglo-Saxon personal names, and to avoid being pedantic, I have modernized the form of those Anglo-Saxon names which are still current or of familiar names like those of the English kings.

PART I

At the close of the eighth century, the only mint south of the Humber appears to have been that of Canterbury, and it supplied the coinage of the Mercian overlords as well as that of the vassal kings of Kent and the archbishops of Canterbury. After the defeat of the Mercians by the Wessex king Egbert at the battle of Ellandun in A.D. 825, Wessex men tended to supplant the Kentish holders of the more important offices of the mint. Egbert, no doubt in A.D. 829, established a mint at London. Brooke considers that Winchester was for a time the location of a mint for Wessex kings, and that four out of the five moneyers of Ethelwulf at Winchester were transferred to Canterbury and worked for the Wessex kings. The only major mint in operation at the time of Alfred's accession in A.D. 871 has usually been identified as Canterbury, but as Alfred's authority spread over Mercia, he opened new mints at Gloucester, London, Exeter, and Winchester (G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*).

Sir J. Craig claims that the royal prerogative over coinage is said to be the work of Alfred the Great (871-901) and his House. He is said to have decreed that coins must name the territorial ruler to the exclusion of the Princes of the Church, saving only for his lifetime the reigning Archbishop of Canterbury, Plegmund, by whose death in 914 the older practice had died out; but even before Plegmund's time the archiepiscopal facing portrait had been dropped in favour of the profile royal portrait. The bare name of the king might alone be recorded, but more often it was followed by the word 'Rex' which might, or might not, be defined by an abbreviation for the Latin name of a people, e.g. of the West Saxons or English (Sir J. Craig, *The Mint*, p. 7). I have, however, failed to find any positive references to this decree of Alfred in any of the extant laws.

In England, as on the Continent, private moneyers and the greater ecclesiastics continued for a long time to issue money carrying their names, without

any visible intervention by the State, although it is true that from the end of the eighth century it was common for coins to carry the name and sometimes the portrait of the king.

It is more probable that it was Æthelstan who originally made the minting of money a royal monopoly, for it is Athelstan's law which is the first in which we see the royal control of coinage being introduced.

It is probable that the idea of Anglo-Saxon kings having their coins carry the royal portrait came from the Byzantines, with whom it had long been the obligatory practice (see R. S. Lopez, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, *Speculum* xviii (1943), et seq.; *Relations Anglo-Byzantine*, Byzantion, xviii (1948), 159; G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 66).

As Sir Charles Oman pointed out (*The Coins of England*, p. 56), the re-arrangement of the mints by Æthelstan may have accounted for the disappearance of the archiepiscopal coins of Canterbury. Plegmund issued such coins in Alfred's reign as well as in that of Edward the Elder, but after Plegmund's death his successors did not issue coinage in their own names. If the practice were not expressly forbidden by Edward, then certainly the law of Æthelstan put a stop to it, although permitting certain episcopal dignatories the right to moneyers, and therefore to the seigniorage on all bullion passing through their mints.

It is assumed that the greater number of Alfred's coins were struck during the years of comparative tranquillity which followed the expulsion of the Danes from Wessex.

It seems almost as certain as it can be that not all the coins bearing Alfred's name were struck under his authority or in his dominion.

So far as we can judge, after Alfred's reign the bulk of the coinage was struck either in Chester and old Mercia from tribute silver from Wales, or in the reconquered territory of the Danelaw where the 'New English' were turning their loot into the form of money. Before the tenth century the only places where kings are known to have put moneyers were of Roman foundation (Carl Stephenson, *Borough and Town*, p. 50).

Æthelstan

Æthelstan's suzerainty had been acknowledged in 927 by Constantine of the Scots and by some of the smaller rulers of Wales. The earliest reference relating to moneyers and mints in the Anglo-Saxon dooms or legal codes is in the code of Æthelstan, which was promulgated at a meeting of the Council or Witan at Grately, near Andover in Hampshire, the exact date of which is not known but was about the year 928. This code is known to lawyers as 'II Æthelstan', and that section of it relating to moneyers and mints is contained in a part which is of a different character from the remainder of this legal code, and formed a separate set of enactments which was incorporated in it and was intended for the use of boroughs and related to trading regulations (Dorothy Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, i, 384). It is not known whether interpolation was done during Æthelstan's reign or at some time later (F. L. Attenborough, *Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, p. 113). It is thought that the provisions of the code probably applied only to Wessex, as the places

mentioned in it are, with the exception of London, all south of the Thames (*E.H.D.* i. 72). Æthelstan forbade the coining of money outside a *port* and allotted thirty-seven moneyers to twelve specified places, and added that there shall be one moneyer in each of the other *boroughs* (R. H. M. Dolley, *Medieval England*, sub *Coinage*, p. 277). It was Edward the Elder who first ordered that no one should trade except in a *port*, and with the witness of the portreeve or other trustworthy man (I Edward, 1). Æthelstan first repeated Edward's doom and then amended it by providing that transactions involving less than 20 pence (which was, in those days, the price of a cow) may lawfully be conducted elsewhere (II Æthelstan 12, 13; VI Æthelstan 6) (C. Stephenson, *op. cit.*, p. 65). The earlier law prohibiting trade outside a port apparently could not be enforced and so, under IV Æthelstan 2, the provision is repealed. This would seem to imply that trade was being carried on outside the recognized boroughs as a money economy moved into the countryside (Archibald R. Lewis, *The Northern Seas*, p. 306). A modern English translation (Attenborough, *op. cit.*) of the relevant text of chapter or section 14 of Æthelstan's code is as follows:

Thirdly, (we declare) that there shall be one coinage throughout the king's realm, and no man shall mint money except in a port.¹

1. And if a moneyer if found guilty (of issuing base or light coins) the hand shall

¹ *Port*. 'Port' was a term used for a mercantile town. When there was a desire in the Anglo-Saxon laws to emphasize the fact that a burh was a centre of trade, it is called a 'port', but not every 'port' was a burh (Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 195). Burhs were regarded as administrative centres. In earlier times most of the places mentioned in the 'Burghal Hidage' must have been merely royal estates or villages, e.g. Southampton (H. M. Chadwick, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon Institutions*).

About one-third of the thirty-one burhs recorded in the main list of 'The Burghal Hidage' (which was probably drawn up towards the end of Alfred's reign, or soon after his death) were small military centres of temporary importance and never developed into towns. Some twelve are mentioned as ports before the Norman Conquest and nineteen are known to have had mints. The nine or ten burhs which never became ports, mint places, or boroughs may have owed their fate to the greater suitability of neighbouring places for trade and administration, but this only shows that walls alone did not make a borough in the municipal sense, although where they were conveniently situated they normally provided the natural shell for the growth of town life in stormy times (J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough*, p. 18).

The term 'port', although only attaining prominence in the records of the tenth century, is derived from the Latin word *portus*, which had meant not only a seaport, but any regularly constituted trading centre. Like the word *castrum* it comes from the spoken Latin and so in all probability must have borne some relation to an actually surviving Roman institution.

In Anglo-Saxon laws two features are characteristic of the port—the market and the mint. Neither was the creation of the tenth century, for both had continued to exist in the Roman cities taken over by the Saxons.

Long before mints were established elsewhere in England, money had been coined in the ancient *castra*, and in these places had been located the earliest official markets (C. Stephenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–7).

[A place could be regarded as a burh if it was

- (a) a stronghold, a place of refuge, monetary centre;
- (b) a place which had a moot that was a unit in the general, national system of moots; or
- (c) a place in which a market was held.]

The term 'burh' had acquired a technical meaning. It was a specially authorized and protected fortress, permanently maintained by the inhabitants of the surrounding district, and included an official market and an official mint. A borough which had been made a governmental centre ranked as a port, and was under the control of a royal official called a portreeve (C. Stephenson, *op. cit.*, p. 66; Maitland, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 et seq.; Chadwick, pp. 128 et seq.; W. A. Morris, *The Medieval Sheriff*, pp. 6 et seq.).

be cut off¹ with which he committed the crime, and fastened up on the mint. But if he is accused and he wishes to clear himself, then shall he go to the hot iron (ordeal)² and redeem the hand with which he is accused of having committed the crime. And if he is proved guilty the same punishment shall be inflicted as we have already declared.

2. In Canterbury there shall be seven moneyers: four for the king, two for the archbishop, one for the abbot. In Rochester, two for the king and one for the bishop. In London eight; in Winchester six; in Lewes two; in Hastings one; another in Chichester; two in Southampton; two in Wareham; (one in Dorchester); two in Exeter; two at Shaftesbury; and one in (each of) the other boroughs.

Within certain limits it may be assumed that in these dooms or laws *port* and *burh* are synonymous terms, as the last clause of the above doom obviously means that a moneyer should exist for each borough other than those specified, that is to say in each other port. Its twelve places named are all in the south of England, and for the remainder of his kingdom it seems that Æthelstan meant that the mint should be placed in the official district borough; the shire borough as it had come to be called (C. Stephenson, op. cit., p. 66). This distribution of mints in *ports* is similar to the restriction for mints to be set up in *eparchiai* or provinces of the Byzantine Empire and to 'comitatus' of the Lombards and Franks (R. S. Lopez, op. cit., p. 159).

Already by Æthelstan's time, a burh had become an entity known to the law, and every burh was to have its own moneyer. According to Tait (op. cit., p. 27) the use of the term 'borough' or 'burh' in Æthelstan's time as equivalent to 'port' seems to imply that the former was losing its military significance and coming to mean little more than 'town'. Æthelstan's Code of Laws does not include Mercia or the recently annexed Northumbria. York, being the only mint north of the Humber, most certainly would have been granted several moneyers (including several for the archbishop) and probably Lincoln and various other places would have been allowed mints and moneyers (Oman, op. cit., p. 86).

It is in this enactment of the Witan of Grately that is found the earliest conception of a universal national currency in Anglo-Saxon Britain under a strictly centralized royal control and the office of moneyer at a mint is first mentioned, although the names of moneyers had appeared on coins since the

¹ *Amputation*. This penalty is thought to have been introduced by Æthelstan from the Byzantine. It was not previously enacted, except in two much older Anglo-Saxon laws, which were in respect of particularly grave crimes (Ine, 18, 37; Alfred, 6). Outside England, amputation for monetary offences was first introduced by the Emperor Heraclius at the beginning of the seventh century, and re-enacted by the Basilic or Macedonian Dynasty at the end of the ninth century. This law of Heraclius was copied almost at once by the Lombards, the Visigoths, and the Arabs. It was a century later that England introduced this penalty (R. S. Lopez, op. cit., p. 158).

² *Ordeal* was an appeal to God for a sign visible on the body of the person put to proof (H. Potter, *Hist. Intro. English Law*, p. 282). The hot-iron ordeal consisted of the heating of a piece of iron and then causing the accused to carry it a given distance. If it was a case of simple ordeal, the piece of iron weighed one pound and the distance to be carried was three feet, but if he was committed to the threefold ordeal the piece of iron weighed three pounds and the distance to be carried was nine feet. In both cases, after the weight had been carried the requisite distance, the accused's hand was bound up and unwrapped after three days. If it proved to be septic the defendant was pronounced to be guilty (F. L. Attenborough, *Law of the Earliest English Kings*, p. 188).

eighth century. This Anglo-Saxon enactment has the same principle of a royal monopoly over the coinage, and also the same penalties as the Byzantine emperors and the Basilic Macedonian Dynasty. The main trading centres in the south of England are set out with their allotment of moneyers.

An undebased coinage together with an increased security against fraud was considered an essential element for the encouragement of the necessary increase of trade which England desired at this time, and these provisions and particular requirements are re-enacted by subsequent monarchs (*E.H.D.*, pp. 43 and 73). Sir Charles Oman says that this law must mean that already under Edward the Elder many burhs had a mint, but that Æthelstan and his Witan thought that one moneyer was enough in most places (*op. cit.*, p. 86). The number of mints which are found named on the coins of Æthelstan shows that some thirty towns availed themselves of this right to possess a mint by virtue of this enactment, and we find that the burh besides being a military centre was the natural centre of trade (Attenborough, *op. cit.*). The possession of a mint therefore was a valued privilege, since it signified borough status, and the town thus paid its taxes as a unit independent of the hundred. Whilst many trading centres were included in grants to the greater magnates such as archbishops, bishops, and ealdormen, others were directly within the guardianship of the Crown. During Æthelstan's reign the names of about 200 moneyers are found on his coins, but it is thought that at this time only a small part of their time could have been given to the mints. In order to achieve this uniform coinage moneyers from all over the kingdom had to obtain a master set of dies necessary for the striking of the coins from various appropriate centres. The coins at this time did not bear any dates, but the designs were not changed at intervals as Sir J. Craig suggests (*The Mint*, pp. 7-9). The evidence from hoards points to the conclusion that types were not changed at regular intervals until *c.* 970 in Edgar's reign. Until that time local die-cutting centres seem to have issued regional varieties at will.

By the institution of mints in the more important towns all over the realm, the king was assured that he would have no difficulty on his perambulations in securing currency without delay.

Edgar

The central control over the mints provided for by Æthelstan's legislation must have become lax but it was strengthened by the laws of Edgar. A code of Edgar (known as II Edgar 8), which was promulgated at Andover before the year 963, and was based on the previous law of Æthelstan (II Æthelstan 14), provided that: 'one coinage shall be current throughout all the King's realm, and no one shall refuse it'. This provision again is contained in a part of the code relating to trade and commerce (A. J. Robertson, *Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*).

The number of mints known to have existed in Edgar's reign is thirty-nine and the number of moneyers was not less than 185. Of the coins of Edgar it has been said that their excellence of design as well as of execution bears out the impression of magnificence and prosperity which is attributed to this reign (*B.M.C.* vol. ii, p. lxx). Late in this period, *c.* 970, it is apparent from the

coins (Hildebrand type C. 2.) that it became obligatory for the royal portrait to appear on all coinage and the name of the moneyer and of the mint to be borne on the reverse of each coin. This latter practice had been dropped after Æthelstan's time, during the reigns of Edmund, Edred, and Edwy, although a few coins of these monarchs do bear a mint-signature. These rules were followed for centuries afterwards, and that of the royal portrait on the obverse of the coins has not been broken, apart from a short space during the Commonwealth, down to the present day. The fact that coins bore the name of both the moneyer and the mint at which it was struck gives a rough estimate of the relative importance of the different burhs and it would be reasonable to presume that a burh with a large number of known moneyers working simultaneously possessed a stronger economic life than one with a smaller number of moneyers (F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 529).

The chronicler Roger of Wendover (d. 1236) writing of the year 975 said that Edgar ordered a new coinage because the old was so debased by the crime of clippers that a penny hardly weighed a halfpenny in scales (*E.H.D.* i. 258). Surviving coins of Edgar, however, in Scandinavian and English hoards do not show such evidence of clipping to warrant such an entry. It was, however, c. 970 that Edgar introduced the new coinage system and it has been suggested by Sir Frank Stenton that Roger's source for this statement was a now-lost York manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

Æthelred II.

During the reign of Æthelred II the custom of paying tribute to the Vikings was reinstituted. From about the year 991 the Danegeld was levied and paid over to the Danes as a tribute to buy off their invasions. From about 1012, in its later form, it was a tax levied to pay the wages of a Danish fleet which entered the service of the English crown. In about 1051, Edward the Confessor abolished the tax (W. S. Holdsworth, *History of English Law*).

Hildebrand estimated that Æthelred II's tributes to the Danes by way of Danegeld amounted to 167,000 lb. of silver (the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* refers to payments of 10,000 lb. in 991, 24,000 lb. in 1002, 30,000 lb. in 1007 and, 48,000 in 1012) making in all over 40 million pence if paid in currency. This, together with the steady accumulation of wealth in England, must have called for a tremendous increase in the work of the moneyers. Bearing in mind the methods employed in making the coins, payment of this tribute must inevitably have called for the opening of new mints and the forcing of the existing moneyers to employ more labour. During the tenth century it was silver coins of England and Germany which tied northern Europe together (A. R. Lewis, op. cit., p. 383). After 950 Germany had increasingly to settle her unfavourable balance of trade with silver coin, whilst Poland relied almost entirely on imported silver moneys for her coinage. Commerce was most active from England to Dublin and the surrounding region, including Ulster, where a number of hoards have been located. Iceland's contacts with Britain in this period are likewise revealed by a number of finds which include money minted in the reigns of Æthelstan, Edgar, Edward II, and Æthelred II. It is,

however, England's trade with the Baltic which shows the greatest development of all foreign trade with the Continent. Gotland from the evidence of hoards was doing more trade with England up to the end of the tenth century than with Germany (A. R. Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 334 and 383). This explains the reason for the great increase in the names of moneyers to be found on the coins of Æthelred II, to a total of at least 280 working in seventy-three mints, half of which were at seaports.

The location of the new mints of Æthelred II shows where the economy of the country was increasing in tempo. Earlier in the tenth century mints were generally located in central Wessex, Kent, East Anglia, and the Midlands. Under Æthelred II and later under Cnut, a whole series of new mints was established—at the Cinque Ports of Hastings, Hythe, and Romney, and in the west at Taunton and Bristol (A. R. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 420).

There is a code of Æthelred II (III Æthelred II) of uncertain date but almost certainly enacted at Wantage in Wessex before the year 1008 (*E.H.D.*, p. 402). Various scholars have said that it was enacted in the year 997 (J. M. Kemble, *Saxons in England*, ii. 25, and Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, ii. 295). Liebermann did not agree with this date although he said it was prior to 1013. This code was probably intended especially for the Danelaw and contained two sections of interest, viz.

Section 8. And every moneyer who is accused of striking false coins, after it was forbidden, shall go to the triple ordeal; if he is guilty he shall be slain.¹

1. And no one except the King shall have a moneyer.

2. And every moneyer who is accused shall pay 12 ores² in order to obtain the benefit of the laws.

Section 16. And moneyers who work in a wood or elsewhere shall forfeit their lives, unless the King is willing to pardon them.

The only previous reference to any law forbidding the striking of false coins is in the laws of Æthelstan (II Æthelstan 14. 1) which was over fifty years before, so it is thought probable that there was another intermediate law enacted, the terms of which have been lost. This penalty of capital punishment for royal moneyers in woods is similar to the laws of the Basilic/Macedonian Dynasty for coining money away from the imperial mints (see Basil, lx. 41, 8; lx. 45, 7; 60, 1). Until the time of Æthelred II the practice of forgery does not appear to have been as much a problem as that of clipping and striking light. In Æthelred's reign, however, plated forgeries are found and a large number of coins in the Scandinavian hoards have nicks showing that they had been tested for weight and purity. The right of certain ecclesiastics to have their own moneyers, which was recognized by the law of Æthelstan, is here renounced but was evidently restored by the time of Edward the Confessor, for references are made in Domesday Book to a bishop's moneyer (e.g. Hereford). Unfortunately there are no extant laws which restore the right to ecclesiastics to have moneyers.

¹ Capital punishment in these times took various forms, including hanging, beheading, burning, drowning, stoning, precipitation from rocks (Pollack and Maitland, *History of English Law*, ii. 452-3).

² An ore consisted of 16 pence (H. W. Chadwick, *Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 24-412), although Domesday Book contains references to an ore of 20 pence.

The law of Æthelstan provided that there were to be no mints except in towns, and this law of Æthelred II enacts the severest penalty for moneyers who worked surreptitiously and in woods which were regarded as places of secret crime.

Another code of laws, known as IV Æthelred II, also contains references to moneyers and mints. This has been attributed (by F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*) as being compiled between 991 and 1002, whilst Miss Dorothy Whitelock in her recent monumental work (*E.H.D.* i. 72) says that it was 'probably' of Æthelred II's reign. Oman ascribes it to a meeting of the Witan in London in 1002 (op. cit., p. 66). In my opinion, however, this, or at least the sections relating to moneyers and mints, might well have been enacted by Cnut late in his reign, and not in Æthelred II's reign.

IV Æthelred II—translation of those sections relating to coinage is as follows (Robertson).

Section 5. Further, they have decided that no distinction is to be drawn between those who issue base coins, and traders who take good money to such men and bribe them to produce (from it) coin which is defective in quality and weight with which they trade and buy, and, thirdly, those who make dies in secret and sell them to coiners for money, engraving upon them a name which is that of another moneyer and not that of the guilty one.

1. It has therefore been determined by the whole council that these three (classes of) men shall incur the same punishment.

2. And if one of them is accused, whether he be an Englishman or a foreigner, he shall clear himself by the full ordeal.

3. And they have decreed that coiners shall lose a hand, and that it shall be fastened up over the mint.

4. And moneyers who carry on their business in woods or work in other such places shall forfeit their lives, unless the king is willing to pardon them.

Section 6. And we enjoin that no one shall refuse pure money of the proper weight, in whatsoever town in my kingdom it be coined, under pain of incurring the fine for insubordination to me.

Section 7. And we have decreed with regard to traders who bring money which is defective in quality and weight to the town, that they shall name a warrantor if they can.

1. If they cannot do so, they shall forfeit their wergild¹ or their life, as the king shall decide, or they shall clear themselves by the same method as we have specified above, (asserting) that they were unaware that there was anything counterfeit about the money with which they were carrying on their business.

2. And afterwards such a trader shall pay the penalty of his carelessness by having to change (his base money) for pure money of the proper weight obtained from the authorized moneyers.

3. And town-reeves who have been accessories to such a fraud shall be liable to the same punishment as coiners, unless the king pardon them or they can clear themselves by a similar oath or nominated jurors, or by the ordeal specified above.

Section 8. And the king advises and commands his bishops and earls and ealdormen and all his reeves that, both among the Danes and the English, they be on the

¹ *Wergild* was a fixed sum or money value set by the law on a man and varied with his rank. It was often the measure of the fine to be paid for his offences against public order (Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, i. 48; H. Potter, *Historical Introduction to English Law*, p. 307).

watch for those who coin such base money and spread it abroad through the country, as has been stated above.

Section 9. And moneyers shall be fewer in number than they have been in the past. In every principal town (there shall be) three, and in every other town (there shall be) one.

1. And they shall be responsible for the production by their employees of pure money of the proper weight, under pain of incurring the same fine as we have fixed above.

2. And those who have the charge of towns shall see to it, under pain of incurring the fine for insubordination to me, that every weight is stamped according to the standard employed in my mint; and the stamp used for each of them shall show that the pound contains 15 ores.

3. And the coinage is to be maintained by all at the standard which I lay down in your instructions in accordance with the decision at which we have all arrived.

The coinage provisions of this code were in the main re-enactments of previous laws, but two new crimes are mentioned by Section 5. A person who forges the reverse die of a coin of a moneyer bearing his name but without his knowledge, and who then sells it to some unscrupulous person who uses it for the striking of coins of low weight or of impure metal, is guilty of a crime. It would, of course, be extremely difficult for an innocent moneyer who had been the victim of such practice to establish his innocence of the production of base coinage.

The provisions that moneyers who take their tools of trade to a secret place, such as in woods, and then practise their art clandestinely shall be slain, unless pardoned by the king, is a re-enactment of the law III Æthelred II. 16. It would appear that this was occasionally practised in collusion with merchants or traders. Such merchants, if found guilty after the ordeal, became subject to the same penalties as moneyers found guilty of taking sound money for conversion into base money.

A port-reeve who is found guilty of being an accessory to a false moneyer is also subject to the same penalty as the principal offender. This law, which was re-enacted by Cnut (II Canute 8), was also the law of the Byzantines (see Basil, liv. 16, 16, and lx. 60, 1).

The refusal of pure money is made a crime (cf. III Edgar, 8), the penalty being a similar fine to that for another crime, namely, insubordination to the king. The business of exchange was always theoretically distinct from that of coinage, although naturally normally held jointly.

Bishops, earls, ealdormen, and reeves are commanded by Section 8 to co-operate in matters of no special concern to them such as the discovery of coiners of base money.

Under Section 9 the number of moneyers was to be reduced, principal towns being entitled to only three, other towns to only one. It is not known what criteria were used to judge whether a town was a 'principal' one or not, but Liebermann suggests that those towns named in II Æthelstan 14, 2 which were then granted the right to more than one moneyer are meant by this expression. This section also stipulates that moneyers shall be responsible for the production of pure money by their employees, which shows that by this time moneyers had achieved the status of a mint-master.

It would appear that the council had previously decided on a standard for the coinage and that appropriate instructions had already been sent to the moneyers.

The only version of the code, generally referred to as IV Æthelred II, is in Latin and is contained in the *Quadripartitus*, a collection of laws made about the year 1114, the author of which was probably not an Englishman and did not always understand his originals. Miss Whitelock says that this makes it difficult to accept without reservation his authority in those codes where the English version has not survived (*E.H.D.* i. 330).

I consider the parts of this code which relate to the coinage to be enactments of some monarch after the time of Æthelred II, and probably after that of II Cnut. It will be noticed that Section 8. 1 of the Code II Cnut enacts that *henceforth* the penalty established for false coining shall be amputation of the hand and, as has been pointed out, the penalty before that had been death. There would have been no need for this '*henceforth*' if the provisions of Section 5 of IV Æthelred II had been enacted before II Cnut, whereas IV Æthelred II refers to a decision of the council which provided for the penalty of the losing of a hand.

IV Æthelred 8 refers to both Danes and English, which would be most unusual for Æthelred II but to be expected from a Danish king of England, e.g. Cnut, and, it is found in other enactments of Cnut (see Preface to the version of Cnut's Laws contained in the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 201, of the year 1018—text published in *E.H.D.*, p. 414; also Cnut's letter to the People of England (1019–20) published in *E.H.D.*, pp. 414–16; Laws of Cnut (1020–3), *E.H.D.*, pp. 426 and 430).

In this code, unlike the other codes, no king's name is mentioned but it is generally attributed to the reign of Æthelred II. One reason given for the view that it is not issued in the reign of Cnut was because the Danes were not included amongst those enjoying special trade privilege.

The fact that the code refers to both Danes and English and the insistence upon the fixed relationship of 15 ores to a pound are accepted as pointing to the promulgation taking place when Danish influence was particularly strong. Liebermann points out in addition that relations between Normandy and England appeared to be peaceful (Section 2. 5) and that relations between the Danes and English were apparently amicable, and therefore attributes the date of the code as being between 991 (Æthelred II and Richard, Duke of Normandy, entered into a treaty in that year) and 1002, when there was an outburst by the English against the Danes.

Bearing in mind, however, that the code (Section 9) stipulates that moneyers are to be fewer in number than they had been previously, and that the English paid large sums of tribute in 991 (10,000 lb. of silver), in 994 (16,000 lb. of silver—from the West-Saxon kingdom), and in 1002 (24,000 lb. of silver), it is unlikely in my opinion to have been issued between the dates of 991–1002 as Liebermann suggested. There were additional payments in 1007 (36,000 lb.), 1009 (3,000 lb. from East Kent to Earl Thorkel's army), and in 1012 (48,000 lb.), and this too would make it unlikely that a reduction in the number of moneyers would be envisaged. In fact, as has already been noticed, an increase rather than a decrease in the number of moneyers was only to be

expected at this time in view of the general increase in trade and these payments of tribute or Danegeld.

Furthermore there was in 1017 (the year following Cnut's accession to the throne of England) a payment of 72,000 lb. from the whole of England to the Danish Army, together with an amount of 10,500 lb. from London, all of which would put a strain on the resources of the mints.

There were more than 500 moneyers working in 73 or more mints during the early years of Cnut's reign, but there was a gradual reduction of moneyers to about 300 by the time of the issue of his third type and in the reign of Harold I (1035-40) the number of mints known is in the neighbourhood of 56. In Harthacnut's time (1040-2) only 42 mints are known, whereas in Edward the Confessor's reign of 24 years (1042-66) the number of known mints had risen to 71 with about 185 moneyers.

The code of Æthelred II known as VI Æthelred II, Liebermann suggested, descended from the ordinance issued at King's Enham in the year 1008. Section 32 of this code is based on a provision of Edgar (III Edgar 8) and stipulates (Robinson, *op. cit.*): 'the coinage shall be improved by having one currency free from all adulteration, throughout all the country.'

Because of the large payments of tribute to the Viking invaders and of England's increasing trade, the coinage of Æthelred II was found all over the countries of northern Europe, and formed the model for the coinages of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway (*B.M.C.* ii. p. lxxx; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 535).

Evidence from the coins shows that Æthelred II was highly successful by his decrees, which followed those of Edgar, in imposing on all his various moneyers throughout his kingdom a single type of coinage, the main features of which were (with one exception) a royal bust with the king's name and title in a legend around it and on the reverse some form of a cross. A few peculiar coins of his reign have been found which may be explained as being Scandinavian forgeries or else as being due to a breakdown in the supply of master-sets of dies as a result of the incursions of the Danish Viking invaders.

From the time of Æthelred II the larger mints appear to have found it necessary, having regard to the amount of coining that was called for, to have the name of subordinates in a particular mint inscribed on the coins for purposes of security. This, together with the fact that the office of moneyer was hereditary and that more than one member of the family would be employed in the mint, bearing somewhat similar names with a common element in them, would explain the large numbers of names to be found on the coins of such mints as London compared with the official number of moneyers allowed to that burh or port.

In the legend on the reverse of the coins the moneyer's name was usually followed by the letter M in such phrases as M'O, M-O, M—O, M.O., or M O which were the signs in Old English for mynetere, or monetarius, and this element was a contraction for 'myneter on . . .' followed by the name of the town in which the striking was carried out. From the issue of Æthelred II's last type onwards the general practice was to omit the 'monetarius' contraction and to precede the mint-name by ON (*Medieval England*, sub 'Coinage', by R. H. M. Dolley, p. 278). The phrase ON did not mean 'monetarius' as

was earlier thought but was a prepositive used indifferently meaning 'in or at' (see W. C. Wells, *B.N.J.* xxi, 2nd ser., p. 56) and this would be in accordance with its use by a travelling moneyer (*N.C.* N.S. xx, sub-title, 'Coins of the Stafford Mint', by Canon A. Pownall). Sir H. Ellis (*Intro. to Domesday Book*, i. 177) says that the name of a town following that of a moneyer does not uniformly imply that a regular mint was established at that place, and although this may have been true the arguments used by him are not corroborated by the evidence of contemporary coins.

It has been suggested that the possessive case in the form of the moneyer's name in some cases would in earlier times indicate that the money was struck by the representative of the moneyer's name it bore (W. J. Andrew, sub 'The Title Monetarius', *B.N.J.* xx. 304). This view is not now generally accepted. When the practice of name-giving of the Anglo-Saxon period is fully appreciated, it may be presumed that in many cases moneyers bearing such names as Ælfred, Ælfric, and Ælfwine, or Leofsige, Leofwold, and Leofstan, or again Brunstan, Deorstan, and Wulfstan, were closely related as father/son, uncle/nephew, or as brothers.

Cnut

Within a year or so of Cnut's being chosen as King of England, a tribute was paid from all over England, amounting to 72,000 lb. of silver, together with 10,500 lb. of silver from the citizens of London (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*).

The most important feature of England's trade during the tenth and eleventh centuries was her commerce with Scandinavia and the Baltic, which appears to have increased immensely in volume, particularly after England became part of Cnut's maritime empire. Much of the money found in Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and Gothic hoards of this time reflects, of course, not commerce so much as the immense Danegelds which Ethelred II paid to Swein and Cnut, together with the bribes which the latter so lavishly scattered along the coast of Norway. There can be little doubt, however, that much of it represents genuine trade, particularly in Cnut's time and that of his sons. What had been a mere trickle of Anglo-Saxon coins to the Baltic, Norway, and Iceland prior to 985 had now become a positive flood. Under Cnut the area in which Britain's products and her merchants held sway extended from Iceland to Finland. In these years, even more than in the tenth century, England was the great trading nation of the Northern Seas (A. R. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 424; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 534-5).

A Code of Cnut (II Canute), which Miss Whitelock thinks was probably promulgated before the year 1023 (*English Historical Review*, lxiii. 433-52: *E.H.D.* 1. 419) but which Liebermann (*op. cit.* iii. 194) and Robertson (*op. cit.*, p. 138) think was most likely about 1027 or between 1027 and 1034, contained no new provisions and consisted largely of extracts from the dooms or legislation of previous kings—that section relating to the coinage being based on VI Æthelred II, 32 (III Edgar 8); II Æthelstan, 14. It provided as follows:

The reform of the coinage.

Let us all likewise very zealously take thought for the promotion of public security and the improvement of the coinage—for the promotion of public security

in such a way as shall be best for householders and worse for thieves, and for the improvement of the coinage in such a way that there shall be one currency free from all adulteration throughout this land; and no one shall refuse it.

1. And he who *henceforth* coins false money shall forfeit the hand with which he made the false money and he shall not redeem it in any way, either with gold or with silver.

2. And if the reeve¹ is accused of having granted his permission to the man who coined false money, he shall clear himself by the triple oath of exculpation, and if it fails, he shall have the same sentence as the man who has coined the false money.

It is well known that a quantity of false money was being produced, almost entirely in Scandinavia, and most of the issues of Cnut's coinage were of a very much lighter weight than that of previous kings (H. M. Chadwick, *Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 32–33) although the weight was later restored.

The punishment for coining false money has been reduced from death, as laid down in III Æthelred 8, to the older punishment of forfeiture of a hand as laid down in II Æthelstan 14. In this law is found the first reference to the responsibility of the reeve for the work of moneyers within his borough. This would probably only apply in those burhs which farmed the mint from the king, and not where the moneyers paid the king direct for the privilege of striking money.

To summarize then the various enactments of the Anglo-Saxon kings—the establishment of a universal uniform coinage under a centralized control was the work of Æthelstan (II Æthelstan 14), and this requisite was re-enacted by Edgar (III Edgar 8), Æthelred (VI Æthelred II. 32, 1), and Cnut (II Canute 8, and IV Æthelred II. 9, 3). That no one should refuse pure money wherever it had been coined was a later pronouncement (II Canute 8; IV Æthelred II. 6). The penalty for striking false coins introduced by Æthelstan was the forfeiture of a hand (II Æthelstan 14. 1). Later, under Æthelred II, if after the triple ordeal guilt was found, the penalty was death (III Æthelred II. 8), which latter punishment was reduced to the former penalty by Cnut (II Canute 8; IV Æthelred II. 5, 4). From an early time any moneyers found working in secret places were to forfeit their lives (II Æthelstan 14; III Æthelred II. 16; IV Æthelred II. 5, 4). Coiners and those who bribed them to falsify good money incurred the same punishment as moneyers who made false money, namely the loss of a hand (IV Æthelred II. 5). Traders who brought money defective in quality forfeited their wergild or their life, or submitted to the full ordeal (IV Æthelred II. 7). Town-reeves, who had been found guilty of being accessories of false coiners, either lost their hand or had to undergo the full ordeal (IV Æthelred II. 7), or the triple oath of exculpation (II Canute 8). A watch by bishops, earls, ealdormen, and town-reeves was to be kept for those who coined false money (IV Æthelred II. 8). The number of moneyers was reduced and only the principal towns were allowed to have more than one moneyer or mint-master (IV Æthelred II. 9).

¹ A town or port reeve was a royal official and his duties included the supervision of trade, the collecting of tolls, the witnessing of purchases, and the supervision of the mint in those boroughs that possessed one (*E.H.D.*, i, 67; see also H. M. Chadwick, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 228 et seq.).

Weight of Coins

To generalize on the weight of Anglo-Saxon coins is dangerous as the subject has not been studied in sufficient detail and the supply of material is often limited, but it would appear that the coins of Offa's reign weighed on average between 18–19 grains, whilst during the next four reigns the weight averaged between 20–21 grains: in the next four reigns the average weight dropped slightly to between 19–20 grains. The later coins of Alfred and those of Edward the Elder, were of a higher standard, the majority being between 24–25 grains.¹ Some time after this there was a continuous reduction until the time of Edgar at the end of whose reign the new coinage already referred to was introduced. Most of the coins of Æthelred II went up to between 22–23 grains in weight, although very many were of an even greater weight. The coinage of the Danish dynasty was evidently based on an entirely different standard and was even lower than that of Offa. The majority of Cnut's coins only weighed between 15–18 grains, but showed an improvement upon the introduction of his Short Cross type, c. 1028. This improvement was probably due to the provisions of IV Æthelred II, under which the coinage was to be maintained at a new standard about which moneyers had been previously instructed.

The difficulty of ascertaining the standard weight at which coins were minted is caused by the uncertainty as to what allowance should be made for wear, and how much variation is likely to have existed among contemporary coins of the same king. Some of the variation must be attributed either to carelessness or dishonesty on the part of the moneyer or to subsequent clipping.

The coinage of Offa was based on a lower standard than that of Harold II. There is no evidence that in Offa's time the pound contained 240 pence, but if it did then the pound must have been the Roman pound (5,000–5,050 grains), giving a standard weight of a penny about 21 grains. If the pound consisted of 240 pence the weight of the pound must have varied. By the time of Coenwulf (c. 820) the pound was in all probability reckoned at 240 pence and the weight of the pound would be approximately 5,520 grains, which would agree closely with the Merovingian pound: the late H. M. Chadwick calculated it to be about 5,550 grains and thought that this standard could be explained by connecting it with the mancus. If the ratio of gold to silver was 10 to 1 and the mancus was by that time regarded as the equivalent of 30 pence, he argued that there would be a natural tendency to make the penny equal to one-third of the mancus in weight. This would mean a standard for the penny as high as $23\frac{1}{3}$ grains. The English standard, however, may have been lower than its original standard because of the wear which coins must have undergone before reaching England.

During the reign of Edward the Elder and more probably before the end of Alfred's reign the increase in the weight of the penny would mean that the pound would be of a weight of about 6,420 grains, which Chadwick thought might be probable, or 6,268 grains which was the probable weight of Charlemagne's *nova moneta*. After a reduction about the middle of the tenth

¹ For a frequency table of the weights of coins in the Rome hoard see *N. C.* 1931, p. 134.

century, Cnut's pound was as low as 4,500 grains and, after much variation during the reign of Edward the Confessor, the weight of the coins of Harold II point to a pound of about 5,250 grains. At the time of the Conquest, if not before, the pound standard which was used was the Cologne or Tower pound of 5,400 grains, which would give a standard for the penny of $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains (H. M. Chadwick, *Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 31-42).

PART II

Status and Duties of the Moneyer

The administrative control of the mints throughout the Anglo-Saxon period (and the status and duties of the moneyers thereat) are subjects which have exercised the attention of numismatists and historians for a long period. Some authorities feel that some moneyers were travelling or visiting officials, usually in the service of the king in his journeyings around the kingdom, but if this was so they were not very numerous. Other authorities are of the opinion that the evidence of coins from hoards appears to contradict or at least not to confirm this theory. (On the resident character of the office of monetarius in Saxon times, see E. H. Willett, *N. C.* 3rd ser., vol. 1; *B.M.C.*, vol. i, p. cv; *N. C.* vi. 373.) There is no doubt, however, that moneyers were obliged to coin, whenever the king visited the place where a mint was located, as much money out of his silver as he required. In company with other burgesses, moneyers were obliged to pay a fine on refusal to march with the vicecomes or sheriff when he went with the army. There is evidence to support the view that the king at times had money minted in connexion with his perambulations of the royal manors. A moneyer was so normal, even in country districts, that in Central Wessex prior to the Norman Conquest the king drew his revenue from his manors in the form of cash rather than in kind (A. L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*, pp. 27-31).

Although some earlier writers would have raised moneyers to the dignity of noblemen, others have put them into the category of workmen. It is now generally recognized that, having regard to their number, they could not be of the highest rank. On the other hand, they could not be of the workman/craftsman category for various reasons, including the fact that if they were it is hardly conceivable that their names would appear on the coins, for what effective security could be given to the standard coin by the name of a common workman? Again, the variations in the spelling in the names of the moneyers show that the engraver or die-cutter could not be the moneyer.

The status of the moneyer as well as the standard of the coinage developed progressively throughout the Anglo-Saxon period from that of a highly skilled craftsman (who personally made the coins from the raw materials to the finished article) to that of mint-master, controlling craftsmen and labourers who were engaged in the mechanical work of the mint. Sir Charles Oman thought that by the time of Æthelred II the moneyer had achieved the status of mint-master (op. cit., p. 66). The name of the moneyer appeared on the coin, for he remained responsible for their shortcomings.

In the early days, prior to the reign of Offa of Mercia, the mint probably consisted of the moneyer with his smithy, and its output was limited by the

sole efforts of the one man. The engraving of the dies and the actual striking of the coins was probably done entirely by him. Gradually, however, the scope of his work, together with his social standing, grew in importance and the work of die-engraving was separated from the mint. From the time of the Law of Æthelstan, however, when a single type of coinage was introduced, it is probable that the responsibility for the engraving of the dies for the coins was taken out of the hands of the moneyer and put under a central authority, but this may have been a gradual process. As the moneyer usually paid a sum to the Crown for the right of coining he was without doubt a person whose position enabled him to put money in circulation (*B.M.C.*, vol. i, p. civ).

It is frequently argued, however, even by some modern authorities that moneyers must have been of the low grade of villeins, and this is mainly based on the story related by Eadmer. In my opinion too much importance has been attached to, and probably too many false deductions made from, the story of Archbishop Dunstan refusing to celebrate Mass until the usual punishment of having their right hands struck off had been inflicted on three of his moneyers who had been found guilty of false coining (*Anglia Sacra*, H. Wharton, sub 'Vita S. Dunstani, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, Athore Eadmero' (1691), p. 216). It should be pointed out that Eadmer, the writer who relates this story, was writing about 150 years after the event. It is worth noting that no other biographer of Dunstan mentions this story at all, which the late Bishop Stubbs says was a 'timely tale enough whilst Henry I was reforming the coinage' (Stubbs, *Lives of St. Dunstan*, Rolls Series, p. lxviii). The story, in any case, referred to happenings in an ecclesiastical mint, for at that time the archbishops of Canterbury were entitled under a law of Æthelstan to have two moneyers of their own.

These men ('viri') were said to be 'in potestate', which has been translated as men in the power of their lord. This phrase means nothing more than that they were subject to the jurisdiction of their lord. In any case, this would not prevent them from being men of some wealth (*B.M.C.*, vol. i, p. civ). Furthermore, it has been suggested that the term 'viri' was never applied to villeins. In seeing that the statutory punishment for this type of offence (see II Æthelstan, cap. 14. s. 1) was carried out in respect of these men, he was but administering part of the criminal jurisdiction vested in him by the Crown over persons coming within that jurisdiction.

It is frequently argued that the laws of Æthelstan, which imposed a severe penalty on a moneyer for issuing debased coins, showed that he was solely responsible for the coin issued from his mint. Furthermore, as he was responsible for the weight and fineness of the coins, he must have possessed some knowledge of the alloying and fashioning of metals, and the name of the moneyer appearing on all the coins pointed to the supposition that he was a craftsman well known in the locality.

The heavy penalty of a fine of 12 oras for the crime of striking false coins imposed by the legal code III Æthelred II. 8 would show that the moneyers must have been of some standing. Again, by the law IV Æthelred II. 9 it is shown that they were responsible for the quality of the work of their employees.

It has been stated that the penal provisions of these codes of laws indicate that the moneyer was at this period responsible for everything relating to the striking of the coins, or at any rate that he must have been at the smelting for purposes of superintendence (*B.M.C.* vol. ii, p. civ).

The privilege of possessing a mint was farmed out by the Crown for an annual rent and these privileges provided the Crown with a source of great profit and according to the Domesday Survey was one of the three main sources of the king's revenues. In those cases where the rights of minting were not in the gift of the king's nobles, the administration was subject to the central royal control and not to the local magnate, for the moneyers were royal officials and the king received a payment in respect of each of these mints (Law of Æthelred II).

The appointment of a moneyer to a mint in early days was generally in the hands of the lord or, in the case of burhs who farmed the mint from the king, was probably made by local election.

The fee paid to the king by burgesses or moneyers for the right to possess a mint varied from place to place. Domesday Book states that in some cases it was the moneyers who farmed the mints (e.g. the moneyers of Leicester paid £20 each year to the king), in others it was the body of burgesses (e.g. Bedford, Cambridge, Hereford, Lincoln, Thetford). The burgesses of Hereford paid the king £60 a year for the farming of the city with the mint and the burgesses of Lincoln paid £75. In some towns (e.g. Oxford, Wallingford) the moneyers were free tenants of the Crown and held houses rent-free by virtue of their office. Moneyers paid 1 mark of silver to the king, or to the various bishops who possessed the right, as an annual firma or fee, together with a sum of 18 or 20 shillings, upon the change of type of coins, when receiving new sets of dies, and a further fee of 20 shillings within varying periods after receiving the dies (e.g. Shrewsbury on the 15th day—Hereford, 1 month). Upon the death of a moneyer his successor paid a 'relief' of 20 shillings, and if the moneyer died intestate his effects vested in the king. This fact alone shows that, at least by the time of Edward the Confessor, the office of moneyer had become hereditary, for the term 'relief' in feudal law represented the sum paid by the heir to the lord that he might succeed to the property. It therefore shows that the heir was willing to pay something to be allowed to succeed. The outcome is the recognition of an hereditary right in return for the payment of relief (W. S. Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, iii. 67; see also *B.N.J.* xx. 302-4 sub 'The Title of Monetarius' by W. J. Andrew). In late Anglo-Saxon times there is no doubt therefore that the office of moneyer had become hereditary in certain families.

Domesday Book shows that moneyers also possessed the right of *sac* and *soc*—two Anglo-Saxon legal terms meaning that they had the right to hold a court to inquire into or investigate certain causes, or that certain litigants were compelled to attend to seek or make suit in their court, which covered bondmen, serfs, and villeins. This jurisdiction was not a franchisal jurisdiction, i.e. an express grant from the Crown, but a right inherent in the office (F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 81; D. H. Sansum, 'The Moneyer in Anglo-Norman Society', *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, Nov. 1952). *Sac* means suit, among other things suit of court, but also suit in other matters,

whilst *soc* definitely confers jurisdiction when granted, and the right to hold a court (J. E. A. Jolliffe, *Constitutional History of Medieval England*, p. 70).

Ruding came to the conclusion that, whilst men in such a situation could not be regarded as being magnates, the trust reposed in them shows that they were above the level of common workmen (*Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, 3rd ed. i. 48). Sir John Craig says that in the big towns the minting was carried out in some cases by guilds of craftsmen (probably including a silversmith and jeweller) and in most would have been conducted by citizens of standing, either self-chosen or periodically re-elected. In this case it has certainly been shown that the early moneyers of Lincoln, at least in the late Anglo-Saxon period, were landholders and found in groups of leading citizens (J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, p. 47). Amongst the officials in a mint would be a silversmith as a technical expert, as well as a skilled craftsman, and also a merchant to cope with the exchange duties of the more important mints, all of whom would be subject to the overall supervision and jurisdiction of the mint-master.

Moneyers had pleas concerning *wer* and *wite* over their own men and property. *Wer* was the money value set by law on a man and varied with his rank, and *wite* was the usual description for a penal fine to the king or some other public authority (H. Potter, *Hist. Intro. English Law*, p. 307). This fact shows that the moneyers, certainly of the later Anglo-Saxon period, were men of considerable social standing.

A law of Æthelred II (viz. IV, cap. 7) shows that the business of exchange was part of the function of the moneyer at this time. The increase of foreign trade necessitated the presence at every great mart of men skilled in the business of exchanging the coins of one country for those of another. There must have been a great variety in circulation, even in one country, and when foreign merchants arrived to make purchases it was necessary to effect an exchange of these foreign coins for the coinage of the country. This was done by the moneyers and was naturally part of their business, as the foreign silver was recoined for use in England (W. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, i. 154/5). As late as 1100 the decree concerning coinage of Henry I provides that no one shall change money except a moneyer. It was not until the time of Edward I that the business of exchange was separated from that of coining money (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

It should be noted that specimens of continental coins found in hoards in England, other than Viking hoards such as Cuerdale, are extremely rare, e.g. only three in the Chester (1950) hoard of over 500 coins, none in the Tetney hoard, none in the small hoards in the Guildhall Museum and in the City of London hoard.

The owner of silver or of foreign coin originally took it to a moneyer and received back the resulting coin, less a charge. The profit of the moneyer was not likely to have exceeded 6d. in the pound, for he was allowed six penny-weights of copper to silver of a certain purity and so an owner of any silver given to a moneyer for conversion received his full quota of pence, whilst the dilution of the silver with the copper provided the moneyer with extra coins for his fee. The workmen who were employed in coining did not enjoy the same liberty as artists of following their own fancies and making such coins

as they pleased; they received all their dies from the Exchequer and they wrought under the inspection of officers who were called *Examinatores Monetae*, and *Custodes Cuneorum*, Essayer and Keeper of the Mint, whose business it was to take care that their coins were of the standard weight and fineness (Sir H. Ellis, *op. cit.* i. 175). The king received from all moneyers a fee for each master-set of dies. Thus it will be seen that the setting up of a large number of mints with the annual payment of fees resulting therefrom, and the frequent changing of types of coinage with the subsequent payment of fees for new dies, were a source of considerable revenue to the Crown (H. G. Stride, 'The Royal Mint', *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, 1954, p. 227; *B.M.C.*, vol. ii, p. cx). Moneyers were known in some cases for reasons of economy to use part of their old stock of dies with those of a new design at a period of transition from one type to another. This practice gave rise to those freaks which are called 'mules'. With the exception in cases of issues at the commencement of a reign, the obverse of a mule was generally of an earlier form than the reverse, which was regarded as being of more importance for purposes of administrative control over the issuing of money. Sir Charles Oman believed that the moneyer only received in London a set of model dies, which he copied for himself when they began to get worn out. He argued that with some sixty-nine mints at least in existence, some with a large number of moneyers, it would hardly have been possible for the central office to have ready not only 400 sets of dies for the individual moneyers but many times that number to replace, when they were worn out, the first set of dies which had been given to each man (Oman, *op. cit.*, p. 82; see also G. Brooke, *Num. Chron.* 1911, pp. 282-3). It is, of course, by no means certain that the die-cutters were English. They were certainly not so in the early Norman days, and may not have been in late Saxon times. The theory that die-cutting was the work of local goldsmiths is not now generally accepted (*B.N.J.* xxviii. 507). The laws of Æthelstan that a single coinage should be current meant that in future all coins would be issued under one authority, and by the reign of Æthelred II it is clear that the practice had been established of issuing the dies for all mints of a standard type from a number of provincial or regional centres (R. H. M. Dolley, *B.N.J.* xxvii (1954), 178). It has been suggested that a provincial moneyer would copy as many dies as he needed from the model set which he purchased. Sir John Craig is of the opinion that, as the fee for dies from the official centre exceeded the cost of its making, practice varied with time and place and the provincial moneyers economized whilst they could by the domestic manufacture of further dies.

Domesday Book implies that the moneyer had to go to a central place in the time of Edward the Confessor, generally to London, to receive his dies.

The fineness of the silver was assessed by a touchstone, one at least for each mint, and, although these must be expected to vary in the different mints over a considerable range, a modern assay of coins of different reigns showed that the proportion of silver found, in parts per 1,000, was Æthelred II 918-24, and Cnut 931.

With the use of square-faced dies during the later Anglo-Saxon period (i.e. from the end of Edgar's reign to the Norman Conquest), it is not surprising to find that the die-axis of a normal striking was confined to one of

four possibilities, either 0°, 90°, 180°, or 270°. It has been estimated that some 95 per cent. of the late Saxon and early Norman coins achieved limited regularity of die-axis (R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Significance of Die-Axis in the Context of the later Anglo-Saxon Coinage', *B.N.J.* xxvii, 167-72). I do not share Mr. Dolley's wonder at this regularity—on the contrary, I should have been surprised at a higher percentage of irregularity than 5 per cent. This irregularity was probably due to the continued use of dies after they had become worn at the edges or the collars were worn, with the consequential looseness of the upper or reverse die, when rested in the space containing the lower or obverse die. The unusually high proportion of irregularity of die-axis of coins at York, which Mr. Dolley estimates as being in the neighbourhood of 50 per cent., may be due to the practice of that provincial die-cutting centre of not using collars on its dies, which was probably the almost universal practice elsewhere in England.

PART III

Principles of Anglo-Saxon Name Giving

Anglo-Saxon parents gave names to their children at birth or baptism and several tenth-century charters record that the persons named had been called by will of 'their parents' from the cradle and 'not from accident' (C. L. Ewen, *History of Surnames*, p. 40).

Old Germanic personal names, including old English or Anglo-Saxon, may be divided into two categories, viz.: compounded and un-compounded names.

(i) The major category comprised names which may be termed compound or dithematic names and consists of two elements or themes, the first element or prototheme and a second element or deuteriotheme. These components were mostly monosyllabic, and may be (i) two nouns, (ii) two adjectives, or (iii) an adjective and noun, as Æthelstan (J. M. Kemble, *The Names, Surnames, and Nicknames of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 86; C. L. Ewen, *op. cit.*, p. 50). It was usual for the names of men to have the second element grammatically masculine whilst that of a woman was grammatically feminine, but there were exceptions (H. B. Woolf, *Old Germanic Principles of Name Giving*, p. 3).

Terminations which were exclusively masculine were:

Adjectives: -beald, -beorht, -fris, -leah, -ric, -heard, -noth.

Substantives: -bearn, -beorn, -gar, -geld, -gish, -helm, -hun, -here, -lac, -man, -mod, -mund, -raed, -sige, -stan, -weald, -weard, -wine, -thegn.

Terminations which were exclusively feminine were:

Adjectives: -swith.

Substantives: -burh, -had, -gyfu, -laed, -hild, -run, -warn, -wen, -thrytha (J. M. Kemble, *op. cit.*, p. 87).

Some themes are exclusively protothemes, as Æthel-, Beado-, Cuth-, Cyne-, Ead-, Eorca-, Eormen-, God-, Heatho-, Os-; whilst others are exclusively deuteriotheme, as -gyfu, -lac, -laf, -thegn, -waru; while a very large number can be either prototheme or deuteriotheme, e.g. daeg, leah, sige, and wulf.

The most common protothemes or first elements in the late Anglo-Saxon period were Ælf-, Ædel-, Beorht-, Ead-, God-, Leof-, Sig-, and Wulf-. (In the twelfth century, the stems Ælf-, Ædel-, Ead-, God-, and Leof- predominate in the native names in the Daneland Charters edited by F. M. Stenton). The most popular deutherothemes or second elements in this period were -beort-, -mann-, -ræd-, -ric-, -stan-, -weald-, -weard-, -wig-, -wine-, and in feminine names -flæd-, -gifu-, and -hild (vonFeilitzen, *Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p. 13).

(ii) The other category consisted of simple names of one compound. These were known as monothematic names (W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, pp. xxi ff.).

The main principles of German name-giving were: (a) variation; (b) alliteration; (c) repetition or appellation.

(a) The dominant principle in name-giving was that of *variation* of the two themes. According to this system one theme of the basic name of the father or other relative was retained and combined with some other theme in forming a new name (W. J. Searle, *op. cit.*, p. xiii; Professor George T. Flom, 'Alliteration and Variation in Old Germanic Name-giving', *Modern Language Notes*, xxxii. 7).

There were two main types of *single-variational* name-giving. The first resulted in a type which retained the first element but varied the second (e.g. Eadgar, son of Eadmund). In one family are found in succession or simultaneously, Wigmunc, Wighlehon, Wiglaf, Wihstan, and in another family Beornic, Beormod, Beornheah, Beornhelm (J. M. Kemble, *op. cit.*, p. 88). The second type of variational name-giving led to the second element being retained and the first theme changed (e.g. Eadmund, son of Alkmund). The first type of name would always have alliteration. Non-alliterative or front variation in the later period was almost as general as end-variation. In England end-variation was rather the commoner. Both the East Saxons and the Kentish men preferred end-variation (thus retaining the first element in their names) (H. B. Woolf, *op. cit.*, p. 253). In those cases where a person possessed a name containing a theme which was exclusively used as a prototheme it is reasonable to expect that person in naming his children to retain that particular theme and vary the other theme or element.

Another custom was for parents who bore compound names themselves to give to their child a name consisting of one element derived from the father's name and one from that of the mother, but this never became a general fashion (E. G. Withycombe, *op. cit.*, p. xxii; F. M. Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 169). This was known as *double variation*.

In various Old English families there was a distinct relationship between the use of certain name elements. Great care was taken in the choice of the initial theme, probably for reasons of alliteration. The final theme did not show any individual preferences of the various families, for some deutherothemes are found in names in all the kingdoms (H. B. Woolf, *op. cit.*, p. 35).

Evidence from coins has shown die-links between moneyers at the same mint with compound-names with a common element, using the same obverse die, which course provides additional supporting evidence for the statement that the office was hereditary in some families. Such cases may possibly, but

almost certainly not always, be explained as a borrowing by the moneyer from another in the event of the breaking of his own die or some such accident until such time as a fresh die could be supplied from a central workshop (see R. A. G. Carson, 'The Mint of Thetford', *Num. Chron.* 1949, p. 194).

Names linked by variation, especially variation of the final element, were quite common in the tenth century, and there were more families with names so joined than with names altogether unrelated. So far as these tenth-century families go there is little to indicate that woman's part in name giving was important.

In the eleventh century there were more families with names linked by variation, either of the initial or final element, than by alliteration alone. It is considered that ancient names and habits of the lower classes and the native names which survived the Norman Conquest confirm this. By the end of the tenth century name-giving amongst the upper classes became stereotyped and they showed a remarkable preference for at most a dozen out of the countless themes or elements of earlier times (F. M. Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 177).

Searle makes an interesting suggestion as to the origin of variation when he declares: 'An attempt was made by the Anglo-Saxon to compensate, in a small way, for the lack of surnames, by giving children names in which the father's name was found. The themes of the mother's name were used in the same way' (*Onomasticon*, pp. xiii-xiv). That is, variation (and the suggestion might hold to a less extent for alliteration) designated one's family just as the surname does today.

It has been suggested that the practice of variation, suggesting as it does the emphasis that our ancestors laid on a name as something made up of one or two name elements, may be related to certain primitive beliefs that the repetition of a name, or part of a name, of a parent or other kinsman guaranteed the migration of the soul into a new body, once the old body was dead.

(b) Another principle which was followed was *alliteration*. One scholar (Axel Olrik) implies that the alliterative principle of naming extended only to men, but women in the Old English period were named on precisely the same system as men with due regard to alliteration and variation in the names of the father's family (E. G. Withycombe, *Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names*, 2nd ed., p. xxiv). Alliteration and variation may originally have existed side by side. In the earliest groups of related family names the personal name theme was the mark of family relationship (G. T. Flom, *op. cit.*, p. 8).

Sir Frank Stenton says that, in royal and doubtless many noble families, it was customary for a son to receive a name which would alliterate with that of his father, so that the names of father and son might be handed down together in commemorative verse (Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 168).

In Wessex royal genealogy alliteration was very strong, and there was also considerable variation and repetition of names, and there was a strong tendency in this practice to mark kinship and name similarity. Here, too, in the alliterative fashion, names were very popular which began with C, as well as compounded names beginning with the theme *Cyne*, e.g. Cynebeald, Cyneburg, Cynegils, Cyneheard, Cynewulf. So widespread was the variation of both initial and final elements in the royal house of Wessex that practically

no individual was given a name that failed to vary that of some member of the family.

In Mercian genealogy there are several alliterative groups, together with much variation of both the final and the initial name-element. In the royal genealogy there was a strong tradition in C. It seems likely that women had little if any influence in the naming of members of the Mercian royal family (H. B. Woolf, *op. cit.*). One of the main initial elements which remained fixed, whilst the final element changed, was that of *Cyne* (e.g. Cynebeohrt, Cyneburg, Cyneswith, Cynethryth, Cyneweald). Variation of two elements of Mercian compound names was constantly carried out.

The personal names of the kingdom of Kent were similar to those of the Old English kingdoms, except Lindsey, as to the proportion of compounded to uncompounded names, with compound names predominating, and the few monothematic names were, in the main, borne by the earliest rulers of Kent.

Initial-theme variation was less common than final-theme variation (H. B. Woolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 f.).

(c) The third principle of name-giving was repetition or appellation. Alliteration repeated the actual sound of a name; variation repeated a name-theme, whilst repetition was the use of identically the same name for different persons. Repetition or appellation showed family connexions whereby a child received the name of a dead relation, most often in alternate generations, e.g. by naming a child after its grandfather (G. Tengvik, *Old English Bynames*, p. 12). This was a later method than either the method of alliteration or that of variation and seems to have been prohibited in early times, perhaps for religious reasons. It was practised in England in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The Old English naming customs underwent a certain amount of change in the eleventh century—caused through the association of the English with foreigners, with the result that several instances are found of name repetition by parent and child—far more than was found in the previous centuries of Anglo-Saxon history.

However, name repetition in alternate generations was more common than repetition of names in succeeding generations. The Old English cases of grandfather/grandson relationship come late and are found in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

In a few cases, brothers or sisters were given identical names (H. B. Woolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 255–7).

Name-repetition by paternal uncle and nephew is found more frequently among the English than among the Germanic group. There are, in addition, a number of instances of name-repetition by great-uncle and great-nephew among the Old English. Repetition was an active principle of name-giving among the continental Germans several generations before it was used extensively in England. There are a few examples of repetition between great-grandfather and great-grandson in the seventh century (E. G. Withycombe, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv).

(d) A fourth method was one which did not act on any principle whatsoever, where the children were given names which bore no resemblance to the names of either parent.

Most Old English names originally had a signification, sometimes person-

ally descriptive, prophetic, or entirely fanciful (C. L. Ewen, *op. cit.*, p. 49). The intrinsic meaning of names given under these conditions of variation was obviously a secondary consideration.

It is quite possible that some of these compounded and un-compounded names were 'anglicized' variations of German, Frankish, or Scandinavian names which had no counterpart amongst the Anglo-Saxons of England. Throughout the Middle Ages names were constantly changing, and even today families change their names. Blackden has become Blacktin, and Hogg has been changed to Hodd, within living memory. The form of many names changed over the years, and often preserves phonetic spelling of earlier times (P. H. Reaney, *Dictionary of British Surnames*, p. ix). Names may have a slight deviation from a simple stem, compound or derivate, when it is commonly called a variant. These derivatives may be by addition to or subtraction from the original, or by mutation, transposition, or composition. In addition, these variations may be by orthography, where either the signification is retained, lost, or changed. In cases involving the latter, the corruption of orthography may result in the original description or surname being so changed as to have received a meaning different from the original signification (C. L. Ewen, *op. cit.*, pp. 271 and 294). It is important to distinguish variations which have been based on sound and those which are based on spelling or orthography (Dr. P. H. Reaney). Some of these names were but slightly altered, and the alterations were usually in perfect accord with the known changes of pronunciation in other words (Professor W. Skeat, 'On the survival of Anglo-Saxon Names as Modern Surnames', *Trans. Philological Soc.* (1907), p. 59).

'Most compounded names can be translated, but the translations often make nonsense. The men who coined the names Frithewulf "peace-wolf" and Wigfrith "war-peace" were not concerned about their meaning. These are ancient names and they prove that at an early time the sense which a compound name bore was a matter of little importance; in most cases personal or family reasons determined the choice of a name and speculation as to its meaning, if it came at all, came as an afterthought' (Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 168). The old Germanic systems of variation and repetition were still practised in England to some extent in the eleventh century (von Feilitzen, *op. cit.*, p. 31).

Among the humbler people at the time of Edward the Confessor there was a reasonably high percentage of un-compounded names and little is known about the habits of name-foundation prevalent among the lower classes on the eve of the Conquest (F. M. Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 177). Very few moneyers have un-compounded names in late Anglo-Saxon times, which is another argument that they were at that time men of some substance.

As von Feilitzen has pointed out, writers of Old English sound history generally seem to have overlooked the important source of original spellings represented by coins.

Coin spellings may be expected to be more or less phonetic and to give a rough idea of the actual pronunciation of the personal names in question. Several sound changes which are only rarely, if at all, traceable in the conventional orthography of written records appear as evidence on the coins, often much earlier than in other sources.

The rapid sound development that must have taken place in late West Saxon is largely obscured by the conventional orthography adhered to by the scribes (H. C. Wyld, *Short History of English*). Scribal conversation is particularly noticeable in the case of personal names which were, for obvious reasons, more liable to acquire a stereotyped form and much less subject to dialectical differentiation than ordinary words. Name-elements were sometimes adopted from one dialect into another whilst retaining their original form: as they were usually no longer associated with their etymological bases, the need for phonetic alteration did not arise.

The consistent loss of final *e* in the element *-sige*, which usually appears as *-si* in Domesday Book, is due to Old English sound development. In the late Old English period we find Cynsig, and later the *ig* became *i*, thus Cinsi (von Feilitzen, op. cit., p. 69). Old English *y* is later represented by *u*, *i*, and *e*. The Old English *e* from *y* obtained in Kent and some south-eastern dialects (von Feilitzen, op. cit.). The occurrence of *e* for the original Old English *y* has been labelled Kentish, although it was by no means confined to the dialect of that county, as it was also current in the London dialect and probably in Essex speech (Wyld, op. cit., p. 91). In a certain number of cases, especially before *e* and *i*, the consonant *c* is represented by the letter *k*.

From the philologist's point of view, numismatists are able to date fairly precisely these changes. The prototheme CYNE was usually denoted in the form of CYN SIGE (with an occasional example of the use of initial *k* in place of *c* at the London mint c. 985–8) until c. 1009–15. The form of the name with an *e* was contemporaneous with *y* or *i* at Dover from c. 997–1009, although the form CYN SIGE is found until c. 1009–15; the form CINSIGE remains, however, as late as c. 1029–35, with a strange variant of SIGGE in the deuthrotheme in the Pointed Helmet type of coin, c. 1023–9. The deuthrotheme SIGE is already dropping the *G* c. 1003 and takes the form of *si* as early as c. 1009–15.

At the various die-cutting centres the engraver of the dies required for minting coins would no doubt be told verbally the name of the moneyer and mint to be contained in the legend of the reverse die. The wide range of spelling in the names of the moneyers and mints are strong evidence for this statement and represent the phonetic pronunciation of the names. Sir F. M. Stenton says that the names of moneyers often appear on coins in forms that would compromise any charter which displayed them (*Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period*, p. 24). The form of Anglo-Saxon names were often altered and disfigured in the course of the different dialects (W. G. Searle, op. cit., p. viii) and trends in the development of local pronunciation are recognizable from these legends. In the case of the moneyer(s) of the name CYN SIGE or Kinsey, thirteen different forms of the name are found on coins issued over a period of some sixty years from the times of Edgar to Cnut, and not one example is in the West Saxon form of Cynesige (which is normal in charters and records of meetings of the Witenagemote).

From contemporary evidence of Latin and Saxon charters these changes in spelling are formed at much earlier periods—the deuthrotheme *-sige* is formed as *-si*, in the form of Cynsi as early as 930, some seventy or eighty years before it is found on coins. Although the letter *k* is rarely found on coins, it is common as the initial letter of Kinsius c. 931, Kinsig in 934, both

Kinsi and Kinsige in 937, Kynesie 955, and Kynesige 963. The prototheme *cyne* is found both as *cyn* and *cyne* from 930 until the beginning of the eleventh century, when the initial *k* in place of *c* seems to be almost universally adopted, for example, Cyncige (949), Cynsigius (951), Cynesie (956), Cynesige (963). Other forms of the name are found as Cynsie (c. 970), Cynsige (c. 1010).

In Anglo-Norman texts 'ch' had the value of 'k' (O. von Feilitzen, op. cit., p. 40; R. E. Zachrisson, *Anglo-Saxon Influence of English Place Names*, p. 325). Hence in Domesday Book references to Anglo-Saxon tenants-in-chief of the time of Edward the Confessor are in the form of Chinisi, Chenisi, and Chenesis, when the English form would have been at that time Cynsige, Cinsie, or Censie (O. von Feilitzen, op. cit., pp. 54-55; H. C. Wyld, op. cit. p. 96).

PART IV

The Moneyer(s) Cynsige or Kinsey.

In his general rules for the investigation of names of persons, Professor Ingram gives CEN, KIN, CHIN, COEN, either from *cen* meaning 'keen' or from *cyn* meaning 'kindred, royal race', &c. (*The Saxon Chronicle*, 1823), and, in the text of the translation for *Cynsige* (*Kynsige*), gives the modern form of Kinsey. There is no exact Old German counterpart of Cynsige given by Forstemann in his monumental work on German names and therefore it may be a hypocoristic name, which has superseded an earlier German name (see further M. Redin, *Studies in Uncompounded Personal Names in England*, p. xxix). The name 'Giencea' is found as a moneyer at Derby on a Brooke type 5 coin of Æthelstan's reign (*B.M.C.*, p. 102; G. C. Brooke, op. cit., p. 253). At that time *G* was but a differentiated form of *C* (*Oxford English Dictionary*) and as a consonantal equation 'g' equalled 'k' or 'c' at this period (C. L. Ewen, op. cit., p. 309). Some Middle and South Germans do not distinguish at all between *G* and *K* (G. O. Curme, *Grammar of German Language*, p. 26). This palatization of *K* and *G* was also taking place in the French language at this time (M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*, pp. 77, 128). The form *Cen* on the Dover coins is a Kentish form, whilst the form *Cun* is due to a die-cutter's error. The first element in this compounded name is, according to von Feilitzen, from the old English noun *cynn*, *cyne*, *cin*, meaning 'family, kin'. A number of writers, however, say it is derived from the adjective *Cyne*, meaning 'royal', or from *Coen*, *Cen*, meaning 'bold'. It is in my opinion derived from 'Cyne' as the form *Cynesige*, although not found on coins, is found in charters of this period. The occurrence of 'e' for the original Old English 'y' is a dialectical feature and is common in Kent and London and Essex. According to Miss Serjeantson, in the Central Midlands dialects had both 'i' and 'u' for the Old English; they showed no traces of the characteristic South East and South East Midlands 'e' for 'y' (H. C. Wyld, op. cit., p. 91).

It is found with the following second element -gar, -gifu, -sige, -stan, -weard, -wine, -berht, -wulf, -weald.

The second element—'sige'—means 'victory'. It is frequently found as a

second element with Al-, Aelf-, Beorht-, Byrh-, Ead-, E(a)ld-, Earn- Hild-, Leof-, Thor-, Wiht-, Wulf-, Wyn-. In later times it took the form of si, sy, sie, sitius, sid, and sin.

The final element 'sige' was not popular in the Kentish, West Saxon, or Mercian royal genealogies.

Amongst the earlier moneyers operating at the mint of Canterbury who had *cyne* or *cen* as the first element in their name are found the following:

Cenred }
Cunehelm }, moneyers for Burgred, King of Mercia (*temp.* 852–74).

Cenweald (*Cenwald*), moneyer of Ceolnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury (*temp.* 855–66).

[*Cenred* and *Cenweald* were also moneyers at the mint of Canterbury for Æthelbert, King of Wessex (*temp.* 858–66) as also was *Cunefrith*.]

Cynewulf was a moneyer at the mint of Canterbury for Alfred (*temp.* 871–899).

There were also moneyers operating at unidentified mints during the reign of Edward the Elder (*temp.* 899–925). Coins are known of *Cynestan*, *Cenberht* (of West Mercian style), and *Cunulf* of a style identified with that of Canterbury (this is another form of the name *Cynwulf*); the latter was probably the same as the moneyer *Cynewulf* of Alfred's reign.

During Æthelstan's reign (925–39) moneyers at unidentified mints were *Cunwulf* [*Cenard*, i.e. the coin attributed to *Cenard* is wrongly read; the initial letter is *G*] and *Cynerof*, whilst *Cenberht* was at the Shrewsbury mint. There was a moneyer of the name of *Cenberht* at an unidentified West Mercian mint, probably Shrewsbury, under Edred (*temp.* 946–55).

Cenric (*Cinric*) was the name of a moneyer at Norwich under Æthelred II and at Thetford under William I and II. *Cynstan* was at the mint of Dover from the time of Cnut to that of William I.

Of the known examples of the coins struck by Kinsey, 1 was found in a hoard near Belfast (coin issued *c.* 970), 1 was found in Iceland (coin issued *c.* 985–8), 2 were found in hoards in Norway (coins issued between *c.* 985–1015), 9 in hoards in Denmark (989–1028), 36 from hoards in Sweden (972–1033), 10 from the south Baltic shore (1023–33), 1 in Finland (*c.* 1023–6), 1 in Russia (*c.* 997–1003). See Table.

These coins are:

<i>Chichester</i>	2 examples.
<i>London</i>	14 variants, from 20 pairs of dies.
<i>Dover</i>	40 variants from 60 pairs of dies.
<i>Northampton</i>	1 example.

The following spellings of the name are found on coins for over sixty years from the later types of Edgar to the last type of Cnut. The name occurs at an unknown mint and at Chichester, London, Dover, and Southampton, viz.: CENSIE, CENSIGE, CINSI, CINSIGE, CINSIGGE, CINSYGE, CYN SIGE, CYN SIE, CYN SIEGE, GUN SIGE, KYN SIGE.

The period over which coins bearing the name of Kinsey were minted stretched from *c.* 970 to 1035, that is to say at the most sixty-five years, or the very minimum would be fifty-seven years, if coins were minted towards the end of Edgar (*B.M.C.* type iii) and ceased during the early period of Cnut's

Short Cross type. It must therefore be presumed that we are concerned with more than one moneyer here of the name of Kinsey. The fact that there are no known coins of Æthelred II Crux type, which is a common type, of a moneyer Kinsey would suggest that the Dover moneyer was not the same person as the London one. Contemporary with the Dover moneyer Kinsey was *Cinstan* who continued to mint in Dover until William I. He was most probably the son of Kinsey.

The moneyer Kinsey of Northampton was possibly a relative of a monk of Peterborough who was chaplain to Edward the Confessor, and who from 1051 to 1060 was Archbishop of York. Saint Kinsy, as he was described in *The Peterborough Chronicle*, was a great benefactor to the Abbey of Peterborough and gave the Manor of Tinwell (thirty miles north-north-east of Northampton) out of his patrimony to the Abbey (*The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, edit. by Charles Mellows and William Thomas Mellows, 1941, p. 35).

Table I is a complete record of all known existing main types of coins of the moneyers Kinsey. All the coins listed are from hoards found along the major trade routes of the tenth and eleventh centuries. (For map of these routes, see A. R. Lewis, op. cit., pp. 369 and 475.)

The various mints at which a moneyer or moneyers of the name of Kinsey is found, together with the periods during which he or they are known to have operated and the types issued, is shown in the accompanying table. In this the type-sequence of Mr. R. H. M. Dolley is followed, as well as his nomenclature and classification.

By studying this table one is struck by the fact that as far as is known there is no overlapping of the issue of types, at any two or more mints, apart from the Pointed Helmet type of Cnut which was struck simultaneously at Dover and Northampton. The Northampton coin, however, is of very light weight and may not be an official production.

The mint was founded during the reign of Æthelstan (925–39).

CHICHESTER

Reign: Edgar.

Spelling of mint name: CI, CISE.

Variants of form of name, Kinsey: CYNISGE.

There is only one specimen known of coins issued by Kinsey at Chichester and this was the last type (Hild C. 2) and was issued c. 973–5, but there is a coin from which the mint name is missing of the earlier type (*B.M.C.* type iii, or Brooke No. 4) which was probably minted at Chichester (R. H. M. Dolley).

LONDON

Mint re-established in Egbert's reign c. 829.

Reign: Æthelred II.

Spelling of moneyer's name, Kinsey: CYNISIEGE, CYNISGE, GYNISGE, KYNISGE.

Kinsey was a moneyer in London in Æthelred II's reign, but the only instances known are of the Hand type (c. 985–91). Later we find moneyers of the name *Cinewig* (temp. Harold I, c. 1035), *Cinemaer* (temp. Edward the Confessor, c. 1053) and *Cinewold* (temp. Harold II, c. 1066) at London.

Types known—Æthelred II

Hand type—no sceptre (B. 1)—979–85
sceptre (B. 2)—985–91

The large number of coins of the Hand type—no sceptre (Hild B. 1) of the variety showing a pellet in the cloud above the hand—should be noted.

DOVER

Mint founded in Æthelstan's reign (925–39).

(a) *Reign*: Æthelred II.

Variant Spellings of the moneyer's name, Kinsey: CENSIE, CENSIGE, CINSI, CINSIGE, CUNSIGE, CYN SIGE, CYN SIE, GEN SIGE, GINSIGE.

(b) *Reign*: Cnut.

Spelling of moneyer's name, Kinsey: CINSIGE, CINSIGGE, CINSYGE, CINSIGE, CYN SIG.

Kinsey was the name of a moneyer who operated at Dover between c. 997 and c. 1035, and instances are found of coins of all types throughout this period except Agnus Dei of Æthelred II and the very provisional types of Cnut. It is interesting to note that there is *no* example of a quatrefoil type of Cnut which is generally accepted to have been minted between 1017 and 1023. Were there therefore two moneyers of this name at Dover—one in Æthelred II's reign and the other in Cnut's? Other moneyers at this mint who might have been related to Kinsey were *Cenric* (c. 993) and *Cynstan*. There were probably two moneyers of the latter name, for coins are found bearing this name from the beginning of the reign of Cnut to the end of that of William I (i.e. from c. 1018 to c. 1084). It should be noted that we do not find the Kentish spellings of the moneyer's name, *Censige* and *Censie*, on coins after the Helmet type of Æthelred II, which were presumably minted from dies made at the provincial die-centre at Canterbury. This would be in line with Mr. Dolley's view that the provincial die-cutting centre at Canterbury ceased to exist c. 1011 (*B.N.J.* xxvii (1954)).

The coins in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, and the Royal Collection at Stockholm (No. 4) show in the obverse legend a reduplication or homoeoteleuton on the part of the die-cutter. It should *not* be read as King of the Danes.

NORTHAMPTON

Mint founded in Æthelstan's reign (925–39). After its reconquest by Edward in 918 Northampton naturally became the centre of one of the new shires organized in the district recovered from the Danes, and in 940 it successfully resisted the invading forces of the Danish ruler of Northumbria. As in the case of other Danish towns, the military centre seems to have rapidly become a trading centre (*Victoria County History, Northamptonshire*, iii. 1).

Reign: Cnut.

Variant spellings of Kinsey: CYN SIGE.

It is possible that *Cynsige* was some relation of *Cynna* (moneyer at Chichester in Æthelred II's reign, and at Winchester during the reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut) but it is unlikely, although *Cynna* is an uncompounded name (von Feilitzen, *op. cit.*, p. 17). The coin, however, is suspiciously light.

Kinsey

[illegible]

TABLE II

The initials and contractions in col. (g), 'Collection', are as follows:

Belfast	Grainger collection, Belfast Museum	Leningrad	Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, U.S.S.R.
Bergen	Bergen University, Norway	Lund	Lund University, Sweden
<i>B.M.C.</i> 000	British Museum and number in <i>B.M. Catalogue</i>	Oslo	Oslo University, Norway
<i>B.M.</i>	British Museum, acquired since the catalogue	Reykjavik	Reykjavik Museum, Iceland
Cpgn.	Royal Danish collection, Copenhagen Museum	R. S. K.	The author's collection
Fitz. 000	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and number in Sylloge	Stockholm	Royal Swedish collection, Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm
Fred. 000	Bruun collection, Frederiksborg, Denmark, and number in catalogue	Stock. 000	Royal Swedish coll. and number of hoard in 'Inventarium'
Helsinki	National Museum, Helsinki, Finland	Trondheim	Trondheim Museum, Norway
Hild. 000	Royal Swedish collection, Stockholm: number in Hildebrand's <i>Anglosachsiska Mynt</i> (2nd edition, 1881)	Uppsala	Uppsala University, Sweden
Hunter	Hunterian collection, Glasgow University	Visby	Gotlands Fornsal, Visby, Gotland, Sweden

Mint: CHICHESTER

No. (a)	Type (b)	Obverse (c)	Reverse (d)	Weight (e)		Provenance (f)	Collection (g)	
				grains	grammes			
EDGAR, c. 970-2								
1. (a)	B.M.C. iii; Brooke 4 ,,	EADGAR REX ANG ,,	CYNSIGE MONCISA CYNSIGE MON A	.. ..	.. ..	Derry Keigham Hoard, Co. Antrim, Ireland	Belfast	(Pl. I, 1).
EDGAR, c. 973-5								
2. (a)	Last Small Cross ,,	+EADGAR REX ANGLON +EADGA XANGLON	+CYNSIGE MON CISE +CYNSIGE . . . CISE	.. 19.9	.. 1.29	Sweden	Hild. 5	Pl. I. 2.

1 (a). Attributed to the Chichester Mint on stylistic grounds by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley.

Mint: LONDON

No. (a)	Type (b)	Obverse (c)	Reverse (d)	Weight (e)		Provenance (f)	Collection(g)	
				grains	grammes			
ÆTHELRED II, c. 979-85								
1. (a)	Hand—No sceptre	+ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLOX	+GYNSIGE M [—] O LVNDONI	24.0	1.56	Ex Duke of Argyll	R. S. K.	Pl. I, 3
2. (a)	"	"	+CYNSIGE M [—] O LVNDONI	23.6	1.53	Troen in Rollag, Busk	Oslo	Pl. I, 4
3. (a)	"	"	+CYNSIGE M [—] O LVNDONI	24.3	1.58	Ex Admiral Lord M. Kerr (1841)	B.M.C. 191	Pl. I, 5
(b)	"	"	"	21.9	1.43	Sweden	B.M.	..
(c)	"	"	"	23.7	1.54	Gaulverjabær Hoard, Iceland	Reykjavik	..
4. (a)	"	"	+KYNSIGE M [—] O LVNDONI	23.2	1.50	Sweden	Hild. 2662	Pl. I, 6
5. (a)	(var. Pellet in Cloud)	"	+KYNSIGE M [—] O LVNDONI	..	..	..	..	..
6. (a)	"	"	+CYNSIGE M [—] O LVNDONI	20.7	1.34	Ex Isaac Rebello	Fitz. 634	Pl. I, 7
(b)	"	"	"	23.8	1.54	Ex H. A. Parsons, <i>Spink Num.</i> 1911 <i>Circ.</i>	R. S. K.	Pl. I, 8
	"	"	"	22.3	1.45	Ex Montagu; Duke of Argyll	R. S. K.	..
7. (a)	"	"	+CYNSIGE M [—] O LVNDONI	23.8	1.54	Ex Montagu & O'Hagan	R. S. K.	Pl. I, 9
(b)	"	"	"	21.9	1.42	Ex Carlyon-Britton; Jobling	R. S. K.	..

3 (b). Ex Morgan-Evans Coll. B.M. 1915-5-7/964.

3 (c). *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift*, 1948, p. 49, No. 104.

6 (a). Same obv. die

as 7 (a), (b), (c).

7 (a), (b). Same dies; same obv. die as 6 (a).

No. (a)	Type (b)	Obverse (c)	Reverse (d)	Weight (e)		Provenance (f)	Collection (g)	
				grains	grammes			
(c)	Hand—No sceptre	+ÆDEL R/ED REX ANGLOX	+CYNSIGE M ^o LVNDONI	25.5	1.65	Igelosa Torna Harad, in Skane Hoard	Lund	..
(d)	„	„	„	24.4	1.58	Sweden	Hild. 2294	..
ÆTHELRED II, c. 985–91								
8.	Hand—(Sceptre)	+ÆDEL R/ED REX ANGLOX	+CYNSIGE M ^o LVNDONI	24.4	1.58	Sweden	Hild. 2297	Pl. I, 10
(a)	„	„	„	23.9	1.55	Munkegaard Hoard, 1864	Cpgn.	Pl. I, 11
9.	„	„	+CYNSIGE M ^o LVNDONI	20.9	1.35	Spink Num. Circ. 1893. Later H. A. Parsons and Duke of Argyll	R. S. K.	Pl. I, 12
(a)	„	„	„	23.0	1.49	Iholm Hoard, 1853	Cpgn.	..
(b)	„	„	„	20.5	1.33	Ex Duke of Argyll	R. S. K.	Pl. I, 13
11.	„	„	+CYNSIGE M ^o LVND	23.2	1.50	Sweden	Hild. 2296	..
(a)	„	„	„	20.8	1.35	Ex A. H. Baldwin	R. S. K.	Pl. I, 14
12.	„	„	+CYNSIGE M ^o LVND	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	„	„	„	24.9	1.61	Sweden	Hild. 2295	Pl. I, 15
13.	(var. Pellet in Cloud)	„	+CYNSIEGE M ^o LVNDONI	Un- known	Un- known	Nas nr. Roslag Hoard, 1704. (Uppland, Sweden)	Unknown	..
(a)	„	„	„					

7 (c). Same dies; same obv. die as 6 (a).

10 (a), (b). Same rev. die.

11 (a). Small clip cut out of edge; 11 (a), (b). Same rev. die.

14 (a). Mentioned in Peringskiöld MS. of 1704 in State Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Mint: DOVER

No. (a)	Type (b)	Obverse (c)	Reverse (d)	Weight (e)		Provenance (f)	Collection (g)	
				grains	grammes			
ÆTHELRED II, c. 997-1003								
1.	Long Cross	+ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLA X	+ CYN SIGE M Q O D O F E R					
(a)	"	"	"	24.4	1.58	Ex A. H. Baldwin; Duke of Argyll	R. S. K.	Pl. I, 16
(b)	"	"	"	23.7	1.54	Ex Evans; Carlyon- Britton; F. Elmore Jones	R. S. K.	"
(c)	"	"	"	26.3	1.70	Sweden	Hild. 401	"
(d)	"	"	"	25.2	1.63	Ex. J. Evans, P.S.A. (1886)	B.M.C. 42	"
2.	"	+ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL :	+ GEN SIGE M Q O D O F E					
(a)	"	"	"	23.8	1.54	Sweden	Hild. 390	Pl. I, 17
3.	"	+ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL O	"					
(a)	"	"	"	21.6	1.40	Sweden	Hild. 391	Pl. I, 18
4.	"	+ /EDEL R/ED L R E D A	+ CYN SIE M Q O D O					
(a)	"	"	"	22.2	1.44	Lodeyase (Leningrad) Hoard, 1848	Leningrad	Pl. I, 19
(b)	"	"	"	23.2	1.50	Bosarve in Stanga (Gotland)	Stock. 22468	"
ÆTHELRED II, c. 1003-9								
5.	Helmet	+ /EDEL R/ED REX A N G L	+ CEN SIE M Q O D O F E R V					
(a)	"	"	"	20.9	1.35	Sweden	Hild. 389	Pl. I, 20
6.	"	+ /EDEL R/ED R EX A N G L	+ CEN SIGE M Q O D O F :					
(a)	"	"	"	22.1	1.43	Sweden	Hild. 392	Pl. II, 21

1 (a), (b), (c). Same rev. die; 1 (a), (b). Same obv. die.
 2 (a). Same rev. die as 3 (a).
 3 (a). Same rev. die as 2 (a).
 4 (a). Not to be read as King of the Danes but rather as a blunder of the die cutter.
 4 (b). Dr. B. von Kohne, *Die in Russischen Reiche gefundenen abendländischen Münzen des X., XI., and XII. Jahrh.* St. Petersburg, Imperial Society of St. Petersburg, 1850, p. 178.
 4 (a), (b). Die duplicates.
 6 (a). Same rev. die as 10 (a).

No. (a)	Type (b)	Obverse (c)	Reverse (d)	Weight (e)		Provenance (f)	Collection (g)	
				grains	grammes			
7.	Helmet	+ /EDEL R/ED R·EX· ANGL	+ CENSIGE M ^Y ⊙ DOFE	21·9	1·42	Ex R. C. Lockett	R. S. K.	Pl. II, 22
(a)	"	"	"	21·6	1·40	Kannungs Hoard	Stock. 20879	..
(b)	"	"	"	20·7	1·34	Ex Rolfe, Eastry, Kent, 1841	B.M.	..
(d)	"	"	"	21·9	1·42	Trondheim, 1950	Trondheim	..
8.	"	"	+ CENSIGE M ^Y ⊙ DOFE	21·8	1·41	Sweden	Hild. 393	Pl. II, 23
(a)	"	"	"	18·4	1·19	Sweden	Hild. 402	Pl. II, 24
9.	"	+ EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	+ CYNSIGE M ^Y ⊙ DOF	19·9	1·29	Tørring Hoard, 1830	Cpgn.	..
(a)	"	"	"	22·7	1·47	Stora Sojdebys Hoard (Gotland)	Visby	Pl. II, 25
(b)	"	"	"	21·9	1·42	Horr Hoard (Rogaland)	Bergen	..
10.	"	+ EDEL RED REX ANGL	+ CENSIGE :M·Ω·⊙ DOF:	25·1	1·59	Wedmore Hoard (Somerset) 1853	B.M.C. 43	Pl. II, 26
(a)	"	"	"	20·6	1·33	Kjaldstrup Hoard, 1859	Cpgn.	Pl. II, 27
ÆTHELRED II, c. 1009-17								
12.	Last Small Cross	+ /EDEL RED R·EX ANGL·⊙	+ CYNSIGE M ^Y ⊙ DO FER T	21·2	1·37	Sweden	Hild. 398	Pl. II, 28
(a)	"	"	"	..	..	Thjore Hoard (Rogaland)	Bergen	..
13.	"	+ /EDEL RED REX ANGL·⊙	+ C ^Y NSIGE ⊙ N DO FER T	..	..	Ex Lord Grantley, 1944	Not known	..
(a)	"	"	"					
(b)	"	"	"					
(c)	"	"	"					

7 (a), (b), (c). Same rev. die; B.M. 1915.5.7/1147. Ex Morgan-Evans Coll.
No. 1814. Same rev. die as No. 6 (a). Same dies as 10 (b).

9 (a), (b). Same dies.

10 (a). Bror Schnittger, *Silverskatten fra Stora Sojdebys*, No. 1814. Bergens Museum Årbok, 1896, No. XV. Gabriel Gustafson, *Solvfandet fra Horr*, p. 8.

13 (a). C. J. Schive, *Fortegrelsa over Mynter fra Middelalderen funde ... pa ...*, 1869, p. 88. (This coin had been mislaid in 1957.)

No. (a)	Type (b)	Obverse (c)	Reverse (d)	Weight (e)		Provenance (f)	Collection (g)	
				grains	grammes			
14.	Last Small Cross	+ /EDEL R/ED R•EX ANGL O	+ CƳNSIGE O N D O F E R A I	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	"	"	"	19.5	1.26	Sweden	Hild. 400	Pl. II, 29
(b)	"	"	"	16.8	1.09	Stopelkuse or Enner Hoards (1887 or 1849)	Cpgn.	..
(c)	"	"	"	17.3	1.12	Sweden	Hild. 399	..
15.	"	"	+ CINSIGE O N D O F R A N	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	"	"	"	25.8	1.67	Sweden	Hild. 397	Pl. II, 30
16.	Last Small Cross (left facing bust)	+ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL O	+ CINSIGE M O N D O F E	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	"	"	"	15.7	1.02	Ex Duke of Argyll	R. S. K.	Pl. II, 31
(b)	"	"	"	15.5	1.00	Stige Hoard, Sweden	Stock. 12079	..
17.	"	.. EL R/ED R E	+ C I N N D O F :	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	"	"	"	5.3	0.34	Sweden	Hild. 394	Pl. II, 32
18.	"	+ /EDEL R/ED REX AN G	+ C I N S I M O D O Ƴ E N D N	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	"	"	"	16.7	1.08	Sweden	Hild. 395	Pl. II, 33
19.	"	+ /EDEL R/ED REX AN G L	"	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	"	"	"	16.4	1.06	Sweden	Hild. 396	Pl. II, 34
20.	"	+ /EDEL R/ED REX A N	+ C I N S I N O D O Ƴ E N D I	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	"	"	"	15.8	1.02	Ex Carlyon-Britton; R. C. Lockett	R. S. K.	Pl. II, 35
21.	"	+ EDEL R E D R E X A N G	C I N S I G E M O N D O F E I	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	"	"	"	Un- known	Un- known	Spink Num. Circ. 1929	Unknown	..
22.	Last Small Cross (right facing bust)	+ /EDEL R E D R E X A N G L O	+ C I N S I G E • M • O N D O F E.	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	"	"	"	20.4	1.32	Sweden	Stockholm	Pl. II, 36
(b)	"	"	"	21.6	1.40	Stopelkuse Hoard, 1837	Cpgn.	..

14 (a), (b), (c). Same rev. dies as 13 (a), (b), (c). 16 (a), (b). Die duplicates.
21 (a). Listed as variety of Hild. 399. 22 (a), (b). Same dies.

17 (a), (b). Fragment, cut halfpenny.

18 (a). Same rev. die at 19 (a).

No. (a)	Type (b)	Obverse (c)	Reverse (d)	Weight (e)		Provenance (f)	Collection (g)	
				grains	grammes			
CNUT, c. 1023-9								
23.	Pointed Helmet	+CNUT R•EXΛ•N	+CINSIGE ON DOFR	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	17·6	1·14	Sweden	Hild. 293	Pl. II, 37
(b)	16·4	1·06	Lubeck Hoard, 1875	Cpgn.	..
24.	..	+CNUT: RECXΛ:	+CINSIGE ON DOFR	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	16·1	1·04	Sweden	Hild. 294	..
(b)	13·6	0·88	Lubeck Hoard, 1875	Cpgn.	..
(b)	15·3	0·98	Ex Carlyon-Britton; R. C. Lockett	R. S. K.	Pl. II, 38
25.	+CINSIGE ON DOFRΛN:	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	15·4	1·00	Wedmore Hoard (Somerset) 1853	B.M.C. 48	Pl. II, 39
(b)	15·5	1·00	Enner Hoard, 1849	Cpgn.	..
26.	+CI•NSIGE ON DOF••	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	15·6	1·01	Lubeck Hoard, 1875	Cpgn.	Pl. II, 40
27.	..	+CNVT R•E•CX•	..	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	13·9	0·90	Lubeck Hoard, 1875	Cpgn.	Pl. III, 41
28.	..	+•CNVT R•E•CX:	+•CINS•IG•G•E○N• DOF	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	13·5	0·87	Sweden	Hild. 298	Pl. III, 42
29.	..	+CNVT: R•ECXΛ•	..	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	14·2	0·92	Ex Bech Collection	Cpgn.	Pl. III, 43
30.	..	+••CNVT REXΛN	..	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	15·5	1·00	Nylarsker (Enegaard) Hoard in Born- holm, 1862	Cpgn.	Pl. III, 44
(b)	16·2	1·05	Sweden	Hild. 299	..
31.	..	+•KNVT R•E•CX•	+CI•NSIGE ON DOFR••	..	..	..	..	..
(a)	12·5	0·81	Lundo Hoard, 1897	Helsinki	Pl. III, 45

23 (a), (b). Same rev. die as 24 (b).

24 (a), (b). Same obv. die.

26 (a). Same rev. die as 27 (a).

27 (a). Same rev. die as 26 (a).

31 (a). C. A. Nordman, *Anglo-Saxon Coins found in Finland*, No. 29.

No. (a)	Type (b)	Obverse (c)	Reverse (d)	Weight (e)		Provenance (f)	Collection (g)	
				grains	grammes			
32. (a)	Pointed Helmet	+CNVT: RECXAN	+GYNSIG ON DOFR•N	14.5	0.94	Sweden	Hild. 334	Pl. III, 46
33. (a)	"	"	+CINSIGE ON DOFR	14.6	0.95	Sweden. Ex Morgan-Evans Collection	B.M.	Pl. III, 47
(b)	"	"	"	14.7	0.95	Lubeck Hoard, 1875	Cpgn.	"
CNUT, c. 1029-35								
34. (a)	Short Cross	+CNV•TREX:	+CIN•SIGE ON DOFE:	15.2	0.98	Sweden	Hild. 295	"
(b)	"	"	"	16.6	1.08	Ex. J. S. Cox	R. S. K.	Pl. III, 48
35. (a)	"	CNVT••REX	"	16.2	1.05	Lubeck Hoard, 1875	Fred. 102	Pl. III, 49
36. (a)	"	+CNVT RECX	"	15.6	1.01	Spink Num. Circ. 1929. Ex Duke of Argyll	R. S. K.	Pl. III, 50
37. (a)	"	"	+CINSIGE ON DOFRĀ:	16.2	1.05	"	Hunter	Pl. III, 51
(b)	"	"	"	16.2	1.05	Sweden	Hild. 297	"
38. (a)	"	+CNVTREX:	+CINSIGE ON DOFRĀ:	16.4	1.06	Sweden	Stockholm	Pl. III, 52
39. (a)	"	"	+CINSYGE ON DOFER	16.5	1.07	Lubeck Hoard, 1875	Cpgn.	Pl. III, 53
40. (a)	"	+CNVT••REX:	+CINSIGE ON DOFR•	17.3	1.12	Gandarve Hoard, 1952	Visby	"

33 (a). B.M. 1915.5.7/1225; 33 (a), (b). Same obv. dies.

Same obv. die as 36 (a).

37 (b). Same rev. die as 38 (a).

36 (a). Same obv. die as 37 (a).

38 (a). Same rev. die as 37 (b). Same obv. die as 39 (a)

37 (a). Known to Taylor-Combe in 1812.

39 (a). Same obv. die as 38 (a).

40 (a-f). Same dies as (c). S. Holm, *Uppsala Universitets Anglo-saxiska Myntsamling*, No. 435. Same obv. die as (a) and (c). Same dies as (a). Same rev. die as (a), (c), (e). Same rev. die as (a), (c), (d).

No. (a)	Type (b)	Obverse (c)	Reverse (d)	Weight (e)		Provenance (f)	Collection (g)	
				grains	grammes			
(b)	Short Cross	+CNVT••RECX:	+CINSIGE ON DOFR•	16·2	1·05	..	Uppsala	..
(c)	"	"	"	17·2	1·11	Lübeck Hoard, 1875	Fred. 103	..
(d)	"	"	"	17·0	1·10	Wedmore Hoard, Somerset, 1853	B.M.C. 51	Pl. III, 54
(e)	"	"	"	15·8	1·02	Sweden	Hild. 296	..
(f)	"	"	"	Un- known	Un- known	Ex Evans. <i>Spink Num.</i> Circ. 1917	Unknown	..

Mint: NORTHAMPTON

No. (a)	Type (b)	Obverse (c)	Reverse (d)	Weight (e)		Provenance (f)	Collection (g)	
				grains	grammes			
CNUT, c. 1023-9								
1. (a)	Pointed Helmet "	+CNVT RECX: "	+CINSIGE ON HAM•• "	8·8 8·8	0·57 0·57	Sweden ••	Hild. 1124	Pl. III, 55

THREE MORE LATE SAXON NOTES

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

A POSSIBLE SIXTH ANGLO-SAXON MINT IN LINCOLNSHIRE

UNTIL quite recently it was generally accepted that Lincoln and Stamford were the only late Saxon mints in Lincolnshire, but in recent notes I have restored to Torksey some at least of the coins which Brooke suggested were probably Scandinavian,¹ attributed with confidence to Caistor at least one coin of Edward the Martyr and another of Æthelræd II,² and argued that a case can be made out for regarding a very exceptional coin previously attributed to London as more probably of Louth.³ In the course of this note it is proposed to draw attention to an unpublished penny of Æthelræd II in one of the Swedish hoards, and once again members of the British Numismatic Society are under a heavy obligation to Dr. N. L. Rasmusson who has given permission for the coin to be published here and supplied the direct photographs from which the accompanying block has been made.



The coin is of the First Hand type which those of us privileged to work on the Swedish hoards are inclined to date between Michaelmas 979 and Michaelmas 985.⁴ The obverse is perfectly normal, though, as we shall see, there are reasons of style for associating the dies with a centre established in the northern midlands, very possibly at Lincoln itself. The reverse also is quite normal, and the weight (18.21 grains) and die-axis (180°) alike give no cause for suspicion. We may further remark that the First Hand type is not one of those normally imitated in Scandinavia, and that the continental imitations which do exist,

¹ *N.C.* 1956, pp. 293–5.

² *B.N.J.* 1955, pp. 88–92 and cf. also *ibid.*, p. 58.

³ *Ibid.*, 1957, pp. 499–504. After another season in Stockholm I can only repeat that I have still to see a certain London coin of ‘Lincoln’ style.

⁴ Cf. *Antikvariskt Arkiv*, ix (1958).

e.g. those from Bohemia and Stade, are blatant. Especially when the impeccable hoard-provenance is taken into consideration, there can be little doubt but that the new coin is English.¹

The reverse legend reads clearly +ÆÐELCÆR M^oHCN, and this immediately raises the question of the identification of the mint. Horndon at once comes to mind, and my first inclination was to associate the new penny of Æthelræd II with the still unique penny of Edward the Confessor (*B.M.C.* 554) with mint-signature HORNIDVNE which occurred in the eighteenth-century find from St. Mary Hill, London (Thompson 250), and which is now one of the glories of the National Collection.² At the time, however, my friend and mentor Mr. F. Elmore Jones expressed scepticism, and certainly his doubts have proved in the event well-justified. Both of us remain convinced of the essential validity of the precept 'monetæ non sunt multiplicandæ præter necessitatem', but to neither of us does it seem any more improbable that there should have been two HORN... mints operating at different times—the interval is in fact some seventy years—than that there should have been intermittent coining at Horndon throughout the late Saxon period. In this connexion it should be observed that technically at least Horndon should never have had the privilege of a mint. In 1066 it was not even a royal manor.³

During the last year I have begun to make a special study of the First Hand issue of Æthelræd II, and already I have detected a regional pattern of die-production very similar to that which seems to have prevailed at the close of the reign.⁴ Both the obverse and the reverse dies of the new coin of HORN... correspond exactly to those which predominate in north-eastern England. In the case of the First Hand coins recorded by Bror Emil Hildebrand in the 1881 edition of *Anglosachsiska Mynt* I have noted dies of this style at the following mints, Chester (2 coins out of 4), Derby (1/9), Gloucester (1/3), Hereford (1/3), Leicester (1/2), Lincoln (13/14), Northampton (2/3), Nottingham (1/1), Shrewsbury (1/3), Stamford (4/11), and Worcester (3/3). It might be added that the same style also occurs on the unique Anglo-Saxon penny of Peterborough published by me in these pages some years back.⁵ Even more significantly it is the style of the unique First Hand coin of Torksey (*B.M.C.* 335) to which allusion has already been made.⁶ The criteria used for distinguishing the products of the different 'schools' will be set out in detail in my forthcoming study of the First Hand issue as a whole, but here it is only necessary to draw attention to the fact that the 'Lincoln' dies are differentiated from those in general use over most of southern England by the form of contraction employed in the ethnic, by the use of two concentric arcs or parallel strokes instead of a loop to indicate the brooch at the shoulder, and,

¹ The mainland hoard in question (SHM *Inv.* 7673) contains only a few English coins but among them an unpublished First Small Cross of York and First Hand coins of Barnstaple, Cambridge and Lydford. The German coins, which are much more numerous, likewise suggest a date of deposit before c. 990, before, that is, the imitation of English coins in Scandinavia really began.

² In the *Inventory* Thompson has given the date of the discovery of the St. Mary Hill hoard as 1775, but Bonser in his *Bibliography* (entry 9180) says it was 1774. In *Archæologia*, iv (1786) the incumbent concerned, in a letter dated 27 Feb. 1776, states unequivocally that the coins were found on 24 June 1774, and one would like to know Thompson's reasons for rejecting what seems at first sight irrefutable evidence for 1774.

³ Cf. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 529.

⁴ Cf. *Antikvariskt Arkiv*, ix (1958) *passim*.

⁵ *B.N.J.* 1954, pp. 263–5.

⁶ *Supra*, p. 51, n. 1.

on the reverse, by a very pronounced tendency for the wrist to break the lower of the two arcs which form the 'clouds'.¹ Not all these criteria emerge from the pages of a printed catalogue nor even are present on a given coin, but I would remark how all eleven of the First Hand coins of London recorded in *B.M.C.* read *ANGLON* whereas the two of Lincoln read *ANGLON* and *ANGLON* respectively.

A First Hand coin of Horndon, then, might reasonably have been expected to exhibit the characteristics of the 'London' school of die-cutting, and a glance at the block should be sufficient to bring conviction that this demonstrably is not the case. Even more suggestive is the fact that the dies used at East Anglian mints lying athwart the obvious routes between Lincoln and Essex belong without exception to a third stylistic grouping which is perhaps the most distinctive of them all. The criteria here include the use of 'V'-shaped drapery on the obverse and a square cuff on the reverse, and in the case of coins listed by Hildebrand I have recorded it at Bedford (1/1), Cambridge (1/1), Huntingdon (3/3), Ipswich (5/6—the sixth an anomalous transitional die), Stamford (3/11), and Thetford (10/10). Significantly, too, Maldon's unique die is of 'London' style.

The *HORN* . . . coin of Æthelræd II certainly is not East Anglian in style, and we have already seen that its distinctive features can be matched at no mint nearer to Horndon than Northampton, and are in fact characteristic only of the area between Stamford and the Humber. It is precisely in this area that we find Horncastle, Hornecastre in the Lincolnshire Domesday, later at least an important market (readers of George Borrow will recall the celebrated horse-fair) and, more pertinent to our present investigation, a royal manor and the head of a soke and wapentake.² If Caistor is accepted as a late Saxon mint, the case for Horncastle would be no weaker, and I would draw attention to the fact that we have quite a cluster of north-eastern mints which are known in the decade immediately following Eadgar's great reform of 973 but from which coins have still to be recorded from the period *c.* 985–1010 when English coins generally have survived in such numbers as to be relatively common. To date these mints certainly include Newark, Torksey, Caistor, and Peterborough, the first two perhaps reopening but only very ephemerally *c.* 1015, and one begins to wonder whether a really large First Hand hoard from England might not throw up others.³ It is easy to forget how little in fact is known about the comparatively rare First Hand issue—as well as the mysterious mint or mints of *BRYGIN/NIWAN* we find Launceston uniquely known in this type—and the problems presented merit discussion in a full-length study.⁴ Here I would draw attention only to the fact that no Second Hand coins of Lincoln or of York are known to the numismatist, and make a tentative suggestion that the suppression of the minor mints of the Northern

¹ In the case of the *HORN* . . . coin I would further draw attention to the abbreviated ties of the diadem and to the absence of any line beneath the pellet expressing the eye, features in themselves sufficient to cast the gravest doubts on a southern attribution.

² *TRE* the manor was in the possession of Queen Edith and in 1086 in the possession of the king.

³ For Caistor, Louth, Peterborough, and Torksey *supra*, p. 51, nn. 1–3 and p. 52, n. 5: for Newark, *NNUM*, Nov. 1956, pp. 215–19.

⁴ For *BRYGIN/NIWAN* cf. *B.N.J.* 1955, pp. 92–99: for Launceston, *ibid.* 1905, where there seems a deliberate attempt to conceal from the reader the fact that the coin had already been acquired for the National Collection.

Danelaw which seems to have occurred at the same time may likewise be due either to the notorious anti-Danish policies of Æthelræd II or to a reluctance on the part of the commercial classes of the north-east to become too involved in the manipulations of the weight standard that are so essential a part of Saxon monetary history after 985.

In conclusion I should like to make clear two points. In the first place I am quite convinced that Horncastle—even if acceptable for the Horn coin—would *not* provide the answer to the problems presented by the HORNIDUNE coin of Edward the Confessor mentioned earlier in this note.¹ More important, my reasons for locating the mint of the HORN . . . coin of Æthelræd II in north-eastern England are still largely stylistic. The name Æthelgar, though, is not so very common among late Saxon moneyers. It is not found after c. 1010, and under Æthelræd, the HORN . . . coin apart, only at Shaftesbury and Winchester in four consecutive types.² At neither of these mints is a 'Lincoln' style First Hand die ever found, and we can rule out at once the possibility of there being any connexion between the Æthelgar of the HORN . . . coin of c. 980 and the Æthelgar(s) striking in Wessex throughout the period c. 985–1005. Under Eadwig and Eadgar there is, however, a very rare moneyer of this name, and his rare coins struck for the latter king (cf. *B.M.C.* 63) exhibit a number of features which collectively leave little room for doubt but that he was operating in north-eastern England. We may instance here the style of the lettering, identical with that found on coins of Heriger, that prolific moneyer whom the Tetney hoard seems firmly to have associated with Lincolnshire if not with the Lincoln mint itself, the very spelling of the moneyer's name ('Adelger'), the pellets interspersed between the letters of the king's name, and last but not least the elaborate stop (? a privy mark) which ends the obverse legend.³ It is a hypothesis that in the present state of our knowledge seems incapable of proof, but I should like to end this note with the suggestion that if there is any coin which is to be associated with the new coin of HORN . . . it is *B.M.C.* 63 of Eadgar.

AN ÆTHELRÆD II DIE-LINK BETWEEN LONDON AND HERTFORD

One of the more enigmatic of the late Saxon pence recorded by Bror Emil Hildebrand in the 1881 edition of *Anglosachsiska Mynt* is a coin of Æthelræd II's so-called Helmet type (Hild. E = Brooke 4 = *B.M.C.* viii = Hawkins 203, &c.) which is described in the following terms:

VRTF

(?)

3862 a5, ir. 60

★LEOFSTAN M^oOVRTF

E. *)

The footnote adds the information that there is a pellet in opposite quarters of the reverse field.

Surprisingly the identity of 'Vrtf' is not discussed by Carlyon-Britton in the course of his great paper in the 1909 *Journal*, and the time may now seem ripe for an elucidation of the mystery, and the more so because the passing

¹ *Supra*, p. 52. ² Cf. *Hild.*, Æthelræd 3324/5, 4067–4075, &c. ³ Cf. *N.C.* 1952, p. 118.

of the years has thrown up no new coin with a complementary form of mint-signature. Enlarged direct photographs of the coin which have been supplied by the authorities of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet make it clear that the coin cannot be dismissed as an imitation, and accordingly it is necessary to consider the signature from two angles. Is it a blundering of a mint name that is already known, or is it perhaps the name of some Saxon place with which coins have still to be associated?



Prosopography unfortunately is of little assistance. A moneyer Leofstan is known for the reign at the following mints, Aylesbury, Canterbury, Colchester, Ipswich, Lewes, London, Northampton, Southwark, and York. In no case does the mint-signature even appear to lend itself to a blundering VRTF, least of all in the case of Canterbury and London where alone the moneyer is known for the actual type. If, therefore, VRTF should be a blundering of a mint name already known to the numismatist, it will be necessary also to argue that the moneyer is new for the mint.

It is noticeable that an initial aspirate could give the Saxon die-engraver of this period considerable trouble. Often he omitted it, anticipating thereby the modern spellings in the case of mints such as Hlydanford and Hrofeceastre (Lydford and Rochester) where the aspirate preceded a consonant. Omission before a vowel is, as it happens, particularly well-attested in the very Helmet type with which we are concerned—one need only cite Hild. 1232 (ÆSTIC for Hæsti(n)g), Hild. 1283 (AMTV for Hamtu), and Hild. 1391 (VNTD for Hunt(an)d). Consequently we are by no means justified in rejecting the hypothesis that VRTF may be for HVRTF.

The obvious expansion of HVRTF would be HVRTFORD, but the objection will at once occur that Hildebrand has recorded no coin of Hertford of Æthelræd II other than of the Crux type, while the mint-signature there is invariably HEO(RT)- or HER(T)-. That the broken and unbroken vowels, however, can exist side by side in the same issue does at least indicate that the sound gave a certain difficulty, and further evidence of this comes from Hild. 1400, a Long Cross coin with mint-signature IORT, which the numismatist of today has no hesitation in giving to Hertford. Admittedly the moneyer Godric

is not known there in Crux, but an important hoard from the parish of Viby in the district of Närke in Central Sweden (SHM *Inv.* 14935) has thrown up a second Long Cross coin of the same moneyer with mint-signature HRT which must be for Hertford and which is also extremely relevant to the (H)VRTF signature under discussion.¹

Nor are Hertford coins of Æthelræd II in fact confined to the Crux and Long Cross issues. Two Gotland hoards (SHM *Inv.* 14565 and 18029) have produced Last Small Cross pennies of a moneyer Wulfric, the son or grandson presumably of the Wulfmær who was coining there in the earlier Small Cross issue for Eadgar and Edward the Martyr and a kinsman of the Wulfric who struck the Crux type for Æthelræd, while a third coin, also with mint-signature HEOR, has recently been acquired by the British Museum. Wulfric is, of course, the most prolific of the Cnut moneyers of Hertford in the Quatrefoil issue and it is interesting to list his different forms of mint-signature as recorded by Hildebrand, namely HEOR, HER, HET, HOR, HRE(TO), and—most significant of all—HYRT.



The Helmet type, then, is the only one of Æthelræd's last four issues of which a Hertford coin has still to be published, and the suggestion of this note is that the VRTF coin alone would fill the gap.² As is well known 'V' and 'Y' are for practical purposes indistinguishable at this period—it is a moot point whether most Lydford coins read (H)LYD . . or (H)LVD . . ('V' being of course the standard writing for 'U'), and forms such as (H)VRT- and (H)YRT- probably express the identical vowel sound. A feature of the Hertford mint that does not appear to have been remarked before is the tendency of the moneyers to strike at London in the same type, and accordingly it has seemed worth while to check the VRTF coin for a die-link with the capital. As it happens, Hildebrand records only two London pence of Leofstan in the Helmet type (Hild. 2724 and 2799), and the comparison was no onerous task although the

¹ A comparable coin is in the Fitzwilliam collection at Cambridge (*Sylloge* 694).

² In fairness it should be remarked that the late H. A. Parsons appears to have assumed the identification of VRTF with Hertford in the course of his controversial paper 'Symbols and Double Names on Late Saxon Coins' in the *B.N.J.* for 1917, but no attempt is there made to substantiate the assumption and Leofstan was not accepted as a Hertford moneyer by Brooke.

fact that neither is described as having the a5, ir. 60 variety of obverse legend meant that there could be little expectation of a positive result.

In fact the all-critical die-link has proved to exist, though it must be a matter of taste whether we describe the obverse legend as a5 or a5, ir. 60, and in support of this claim I illustrate Hild. 2724, likewise from enlarged direct photographs which have been made for the authorities of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet. The implication of the die-link is obvious. The mint of VRTF must lie in the neighbourhood of London, and, as is well known, Hertford is the nearest mint to the metropolis north of the Thames. As we have seen, VRTF is by no means an improbable mint-signature for a coin of Hertford at this period, and in combination these arguments must override the objection that Leofstan is not otherwise known for the mint.

TABLE OF HERTFORD TYPES AND MONEYS

	SMALL CROSS									
	<i>Eadga*</i>	<i>Edward Martyr</i>	<i>Æthelred</i>	FIRST HAND	SECOND HAND	CRUX	LONG CROSS	HELMET	SMALL CROSS	QUATREFOIL
Æthelwerd	+L	..	..	..	..
Æthelwine	? ¹	..	..
Beornulf	+
Boiga	+
Byhrtlaf ²	+L	..	..	..	..
Edwi(g)	+L	..	..	..	..
Godric	+L	..	..	..
Leofstan	+L	..	..
Lifinc	+L ³	..	..	..	..
Wulfmær	+ ⁴	+ ⁵	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wulfnoth	+L	..	..	..	..
Wulfric	+L	+L

(L signifies known at London in same type)

Die-links between mints are a phenomenon of the late Saxon coinage that until recently have received surprisingly little attention. Within the last five years, however, at least five pairs of mints have been coupled in this way, not to reckon numerous instances where there is a link between alternative names for the same place (i.e. Hamtun and Hamwic), and it is a commentary on the potentialities of the new approach that no fewer than five further pairings await publication in the near future.⁶ Just how little, too, is really known about

¹ Hild. 1333, which on the strength of a mint-signature HER is there given to Hereford where the moneyer admittedly is known for the type if we accept, as we probably should, *ÆLE-* as a writing for *ÆTHEL-* (cf. *N.C.* 1957, pp. 214-16 where the difficulties inherent in the apparent svarabhakti are perhaps insufficiently stressed, while insufficient weight is certainly given to the possibility in certain cases of the disappearance of OE medial *f* in interconsonantal positions or of assimilatory loss of the same consonant before *m* and *w*.) On the other hand it is difficult not to discount the evidence of the two annulets in the field, a feature very characteristic of the London area in this type.

² Intact coins in the British Museum (*B.M.C.* 113) and in several Swedish hoards show that this is the correct expansion of the Hildebrand fragment on which the moneyer's name was read BY.....E (Hild. 1311).

³ Unpublished coins in British Museum and in several Swedish hoards.

⁴ Cf. Glendining 17.vii.1957, lot 219—I have seen the coin.

⁵ *B.M.C.* 10.

⁶ It is indeed difficult to believe that until the work on the Swedish hoards began the only die-link claimed between late Saxon mints was one between Oxford and Cricklade which in the event has proved non-existent (cf. *B.N.J.*, 1957, p. 507, n. 1).

the Helmet issue of Æthelræd II can be gathered from the fact that this note has supplied not only the first die-link between mints for the type, but a new mint for the type, and a new moneyer for the mint.

At the time of writing my friend Miss G. van der Meer reports from Stockholm that she has discovered yet another instance of the Hertford mint employing a die used elsewhere, and in this case the moneyer at Hertford is one whose activities at other mints will have to be very carefully scrutinized. For this reason, if for no other, it may seem desirable to include in this note a table (p. 57) setting out the different types from the period 973–1023 for which each of the Hertford moneyers is known. The pattern is such that it may seem incredible that for Hildebrand the Hertford mint was known from coins of the Crux issue alone.

The absence of Hand coins of Æthelræd II is indeed extraordinary, and one even begins to wonder whether the minor mints around London may not have been closed c. 980 only to be reopened in 991 to help to cope with the first of the great Danegeld coinages.

THE MYTHICAL MINT OF TOTLEIGH

As no. 3566 on p. 304 of the 1881 edition of *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, Bror Emil Hildebrand has recorded a Pointed Helmet penny of Cnut on which the reverse legend is described as reading:

+FVLFFERD ON TOTE L

The suggestion is made that the mint might be Totleigh in Derbyshire, but Totleigh seems never to have been a place of sufficient importance to have aspired to the dignity of a mint. It was not even a royal manor in Domesday. The same objections can be raised in the case of other places of which the first element would appear to be a derivative from OE. *tūtian* or, as with Totleigh, a well-attested personal name Tot(t)a. What does not seem to have been remarked before is that the coin in question is principally notable because the sceptre on the obverse is completely wanting. It is indeed the only Pointed Helmet coin of this reign known to me where this omission occurs, but fortunately there can be no doubting that the dies were engraved in England as in all other respects the style is consistent with that found on roughly 40 per cent. of the coins of this issue. Unfortunately the die-cutting centre in question supplied dies to the whole country south of the Humber, and no clue is afforded by style to the vexed problem of the coin's correct attribution.

The Stockholm coin has long been considered unique, but in fact there is in the Copenhagen collection a second specimen from the same dies which occurred in the 1849 Enner hoard from Jutland (Skovmand, p. 150, no. 10) and which was almost certainly discovered before the coin described by Hildebrand. In some respects this coin is much better preserved than the Stockholm specimen, and I am indebted to the skill as well as to the kindness of my colleague Inspektør Fritze Lindahl for the superb direct photographs (Fig. 1) which have supplied a convincing answer to the whole problem. It will be seen that the true reading of the legend is:

+FVLFFERD ON TOTE••

Moreover there are clear indications that the mint-signature has been recut on the die.



In the reign of Cnut a moneyer Wulfwerd is found at very few mints. Leaving aside TOTE, they are Exeter and Shrewsbury. In each case the moneyer is recorded in Hildebrand on the strength of a single coin. A feature of the Exeter mint that has not been remarked before is a marked tendency for the moneyers to occur in the same type at other mints in the same general area, and it does not need much research to find such links with Castle Gotha (?), Launceston, Lydford, Barnstaple, Totnes, Watchet, and Axbridge, to take



only those mints where the phenomenon is uncontroversial. In the light of this it is difficult not to suspect that TOTE might indicate Totnes, and especially since there is no obvious TOT site in the vicinity of Shrewsbury. The principal objection must be that no spelling TOTE is recorded for the mint at this period, and TOT(T)A(N) is undoubtedly the norm on unimpeachable Totnes coins of Cnut where the mint-signature extends beyond TOT.

Wulfwerd, however, is recorded at Exeter in the Pointed Helmet issue

itself, whereas his by no means impeccable coin of Shrewsbury is of the succeeding Short Cross type. The substitution of unstressed 'E' for unstressed 'A' may disturb the linguistic purist, but it does not seem impossible, and in fact the numismatist can provide a very convincing explanation. As we have seen the TOTE is recut over a five-letter mint-signature, and the accompanying enlargement of the critical portion of the legend of the Stockholm specimen (Fig. 2) should be sufficient to convince the most hardened sceptic that the alteration is in the die. I think it is clear, too, that the underlying letters are E $\overline{\Lambda}$ XE $\overline{\Lambda}$. Particularly clear are the middle bar of the first E to the right of the upright of the T, the curiously splayed straight sides and the flat top of the A beneath the O, and the $\overline{\Lambda}$ beneath the trefoil stop which was of course the basis of the reading L on which the Totleigh attribution really hinged.

In the light of this discovery the attribution of Hild. 3566 to Totnes can no longer be resisted, and a new moneyer for the mint is supplied as well as yet another instance of a moneyer being known at Exeter and another Devonshire mint in the same type.¹ Nor is it unsatisfactory that we should have a convincing explanation of the phonologically slightly puzzling substitution of 'E' for 'A'. The engraver would doubtless have cut 'A' had he been working on a virgin die, but he was altering a misinscription and in the unstressed position 'E' was 'near enough'. It only remains to say that the die in its unaltered state is not known to exist.

It would be ungracious not to end with a word of thanks to Øverinspektør Georg Galster and to Förste antikvarie Nils Ludvig Rasmusson who have authorized the supply of the remarkable direct photographs which illustrate this note.

¹ A die-duplicate of Hild. 3566 and of the Enner Coin is in fact correctly read and attributed to Totnes in the 1920 catalogue of the Bruun Collection (no. 962), but the absence of the sceptre is not remarked.

THREE WEST COUNTRY NOTES

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

THE COINAGE OF MILBORNE PORT

ONE of the rarest of the Wessex mints is Milborne Port in Somerset, but the attribution to that place of a number of late Saxon pence would not appear to have been seriously in doubt since the appearance of Carlyon-Britton's '“Uncertain” Anglo-Saxon mints and some new attributions’ almost fifty years ago.¹ In fairness to the memory of a foreign numismatist, however, one is constrained to observe that Carlyon-Britton's attribution was not quite so novel as he believed. It will be found in the 1846 edition of *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, and one of the minor mysteries of English numismatics is why Hildebrand should have changed his mind and in 1881 preferred the alternative attribution to Milton which Carlyon-Britton so rightly condemned.² Nor can we any longer accept the attribution to Milborne Port of the Edward the Confessor coin in Carlyon-Britton's own collection, where the alleged M of the mint-signature proves on inspection to be one of the dittographies of the final N of the copulative which are so common in the late Saxon period.³

On the accompanying plate (Pl. IV), I have sought to illustrate every specimen known to me of the authentic coinage of Milborne Port, and I think that it is worthy of remark that the thirteen coins prove to be from no more than three obverse and four reverse dies, all of which were represented incidentally on the four coins recorded in the nineteenth century. That thirteen coins from at least ten different sources should prove to be from so few dies is extremely suggestive, and we may contrast the position at the neighbouring mint of Langport where the two dozen or so coins that I have already seen have proved to be from at least eighteen pairs of dies.⁴ In other words, the mathematical odds against a fourteenth coin of Milborne Port turning up and proving to be from new dies are very considerably greater than would be the case with a coin from Langport, and for this reason, if for no other, the time may seem ripe for a listing of the known coins of Milborne Port, the more so because it is possible to correct errors in Brooke and in Hildebrand that could mislead the student of Old English personal names.

The catalogue of the thirteen coins is as follows:

ÆTHELRÆD II

(978/9–1016)

Long Cross issue (Hild. D = *B.M.C. i va* — Brooke 5 = Hawkins 207)

(Michaelmas 997–Michaelmas 1003?)

¹ *B.N.J.*, 1910, pp. 13–47.

² B. E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongl. Myntkabinettet funna i Sveriges ord*, Stockholm, 1846. In 1958 one may still echo the description of Milborne Port as 'en obetydlig ort i Somersetshire' (*ibid.*, p. 316).

³ The dittography in question first occurs c. 1025 and persists until the Conquest.

⁴ The position as regards Axbridge in the same county seems even more remarkable—ten or so extant coins proving to be from as many pairs of dies—but for a variety of reasons I prefer to draw a comparison with Langport in the immediate vicinity of Milborne Port.

- (1) *Obv.* +ÆDELREÐREXANGLØX *Rev.* +ÆÐ|ELRI|CMΩO|MYLE
- (a) British Museum 24.9 grains 180°
From the 1940 Shaftesbury Find. (Pl. IV, 1)
 - (b) Stockholm 26.4 grains 180°
From the 1920 Oxarve, Hemse, Gotland Find. (Pl. IV, 2)
 - (c) Copenhagen 26.1 grains 180°
From the 1875 Lubeck Find. (Pl. IV, 3)
 - (d) London, Messrs. A. H. Baldwin & Sons 26.1 grains 180°
Without hoard provenance.
(ex Lockett vii, lot 2776) (Pl. IV, 4)
- (2) *Obv.* From the same die as no. 1 *Rev.* +ÆÐ|ELRI|CMʹO|MYLE
- (a) Stockholm 26.8 grains 180°
Without hoard provenance.
(Hild. 3093, not in 1846 edition) (Pl. IV, 5)
 - (b) Stockholm fragment 180°
Without hoard provenance.
(Hild. —, but 1577 in 1846 edition) (Pl. IV, 6)
 - (c) Stockholm 26.5 grains 180°
From the 1942 Halsarve, När, Gotland Find. (Pl. IV, 7)
 - (d) London, F. Elmore Jones Coll. 27.0 grains 180°
Without hoard provenance
(ex Argyll Coll., ex Grantley, lot 1131) (Pl. IV, 8)

CNUT

(1016–35)

Pointed Helmet issue (Hild. G = *B.M.C.* xiv = Brooke 3 = Hawkins 213)
(Michaelmas 1023–Michaelmas 1029?)

- (3) *Obv.* +CN.V TR*EEX *Rev.* +COPINEONMYLE
- (a) Stockholm 15.4 grains 180°
Without hoard provenance
(Hild. 2897, not in 1846 edition) (Pl. IV, 9)
 - (b) Stockholm 13.9 grains 180°
From the 1876 Lilla Klintegårda, Väske, Gotland Find. (Pl. IV, 10)
 - (c) Visby 14.7 grains 180°
From the 1910 Stora Sojdeby, Fole, Gotland Find. (Pl. IV, 11)

Short Cross issue (Hild. H = *B.M.C.* xvi = Brooke 4 = Hawkins 208)
(Michaelmas 1029–Michaelmas 1035?)

- (4) *Obv.* +CNVT ·R·EE·X: *Rev.* +SPETRICONMYLE
- (a) Stockholm 17.7 grains 90°
Without hoard provenance
(Hild. 2898, not in 1846 edition) (Pl. IV, 12)
 - (b) Copenhagen 16.8 grains 90°
From the 1875 Lubeck Find. (Pl. IV, 13)

From the above 'miniature corpus' it will at once be seen that we are in a position to make an addition to Hildebrand—the reverse die reading MΩO instead of MʹO—and also a not unimportant correction—the moneyer of Hild. 2898 proves to be not Swetinc but Swetric. This latter emendation, of course, necessitates consequential corrections to the lists of moneyers printed in the second volume of the *B.M.C.* and in Brooke's *English Coins*.

When at last the personal names of the Anglo-Saxon moneyers come to be

studied by those qualified to extract from them more than a tithe of their linguistic and demographic significance, a phenomenon that will surely command attention is a tendency for certain elements, protothemes as well as deuteriothemes, to be characteristic of certain areas. For this reason alone we might have suspected the occurrence of the suffix *-inc* at a small West Saxon mint. In the reign of Cnut names compounded with *-inc* (*-ing*) occur outside Wessex at Chester, Cricklade, Derby, Dover, Hertford, Ipswich, Lincoln, London, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford, Southwark, Sudbury, Thetford, Warwick, and York. In many cases more than one *-inc* moneyer occurs in the same mint. Within the same period we find in Wessex a Lifinc at Exeter and Winchester, an alleged Wilinc at Lydford, and a very dubious Bruni(n)c at Bath who is more probably to be associated with Bedford. Consequently the discovery that the third and last of the Milborne moneyers is Swetric and not Swetinc should not come as too great a surprise.

While on the subject of Swetric it may be noted that the suffix, admittedly a very common one, is common to the name of one of his predecessors at Milborne Port. I would suggest the possibility not only that this Æthelric who strikes in Long Cross at Milborne is the same as the Æthelric who strikes profusely at Shaftesbury over the next thirty years, but also that Swetric may have been a kinsman (? a son). Nor is it uninteresting that the name Swetric is one that is otherwise unrecorded on late Saxon coins except in the reign of the Confessor when for a time a moneyer of that name employs several dies at a third mint in the same general area, Wilton. While on the subject of this Swetric, too, it may be as well to consider one of his coins struck for the Confessor which almost incredibly has never been associated with Milborne Port—one suspects that this chance owes something to Hildebrand's lapse in the matter of Swetinc. The coin in question is *B.M.C.* 1079 attributed by Keary (and later by Brooke) to Maldon in Essex—the Richborough attribution of *B.M.C.* 1132, scotched by Carlyon-Britton, has now been given the *coup de grâce* as a result of an ill-judged attempt at resuscitation in the *Inventory*.¹ The coin has been in the National Collection since the eighteenth century, and Keary's reading of the reverse legend

†SPETRIC ON MEL

may be considered almost traditional.

If the coin in fact read MEL, an attribution to Milborne Port would be by no means impossible—and certainly preferable to the Carlyon-Britton attribution to Malmesbury.² Spellings in MEL- and MYLE- are found side by side in Domesday, and Milborne Port is not so far removed from Wilton that it would be impossible for Swetric to have struck at both places in the same type.³ Granted the accuracy of the *B.M.C.* reading, the principal objection to a Milborne attribution must be the long interval during which the mint would appear to have lain dormant, more than twenty years. The objection is not absolute—after all the mint had apparently been closed for at least as long earlier in the century—but there is a world of difference between the

¹ Cf. Galster in *NNUM*, 1957, p. 47.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

³ The distance involved is just over thirty miles. Farther to the West there are well-attested instances of moneyers striking at two mints even farther apart (e.g. Exeter and Barnstaple).

conditions obtaining under Æthelræd when we know that certain minor mints were transferred to less vulnerable sites, and those which prevailed under the successors of Cnut.¹ It is when we scrutinize the actual MEL coin, however, that the case for Milborne Port—and also for Maldon or Malmesbury—falls to the ground.



The accompanying enlarged direct photographs should make it clear that the coin does not read MEL at all! The three letters of the mint-signature quite obviously have been tampered with either on the die or on the coin, or possibly on both. Elsewhere in this number I am publishing conclusive evidence that a Saxon die could be altered by the engraver before it left the workshop,² but inasmuch as *B.M.C.* 1079 is without hoard-provenance one cannot rule out the possibility of 'improvement' by so notorious a character as Mr. John White.³ On the supposition that the alteration is on the die—and on balance this is, I think, the greater probability—the engraver would seem to have faltered after having put in the uprights of the copulative and mint-signature, and then to have dithered between ON PILT and ONN PIL with the result that the superimposition of P on N gives the effect of a crude M. It is not easy to suggest how Keary should have transcribed this curious freak of engraving, but the fact that the second letter appears as P while the last letter is clearly an L leaves no room for doubt but that we are dealing with a blundered coin of Wilton—the one mint where the moneyer is known and in this very type. Swetric, then, joins Æthelwi(g) among the mythical moneyers of Maldon,⁴ and the probability is that there is no direct connexion between the Swetric whose name appears on a single reverse die at Milborne Port *c.* 1030 and his namesake who strikes on an only less exiguous scale at Wilton *c.* 1058.⁵

¹ Once more we may cite the concentration *c.* 1009 of the Bruton, Crewkerne, and Ilchester moneyers at Cadbury.

² *Supra*, p. 58.

³ We must never forget that *B.M.C.* 466 of Cnut—a tooled penny of the Confessor—was perpetrated in the eighteenth century.

⁴ Cf. *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, 1957, c. 535.

⁵ It will be obvious that a note such as this could not have been written without the co-operation of all the possessors of coins mentioned, and my thanks are due to Mr. Elmore Jones and Messrs. A. H. Baldwin who submitted their coins to me, and to the authorities of the Coin Rooms of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and London who supplied the direct photographs which illustrate this paper.

THE IDENTITY OF THE MINT OF 'LA(N)G'

Since Carlyon-Britton's survey "'Uncertain" Anglo-Saxon mints and some new attributions' in the *British Numismatic Journal* for 1910, serious students of the late Saxon series have accepted, at least implicitly, his attribution to Langport in Somerset of a number of eleventh-century coins on which the mint-signature appears usually as LAG or LAN.¹ His individual arguments may not always bring conviction, but there can be little doubt but that in essence his case is sound. During the last few years, too, welcome corroboration has been furnished by the systematic stylistic analysis of the LA(N)G coins belonging to Cnut's Quatrefoil issue, all of which have proved to belong to one or other of two groupings which are peculiar to the southern part of Somerset.² The accession to Saxon numismatics of trained students of Old English, moreover, means that we are now in a position to offer reasoned explanations of forms such as LAG for LANG (cf. GRAT for GRANT) which before had to be dismissed as irrational aberrations on the part of barely literate engravers.³



Quite recently, however, attempts have been made to evoke from the distant past the shades of an Anglo-Saxon mint at Lancaster, and this in spite of the fact that there is valid numismatic and historical evidence to the contrary. One has only to contemplate the parcel of twenty-one Normandy deniers in the Cnut hoard from Halton Moor to realize that north of the Mersey the peace of the English king was honoured more in the breach than in the observance.⁴ That a mint should have been set up there is unthinkable, and it is

¹ e.g. *B.M.C.* Cnut 1, *Hild.* Cnut 1288/9, Harold 323, Harthacnut 72, *B.M.C.* Edw. Conf. 609, *Hild.* Edw. Conf. 3, &c. The LANDC coins, of course, are to be quite otherwise explained.

² Cf. *Num. Circ.*, 1956, pp. 321-5 and 373-6.

³ *Ibid.*, 1958, pp. 161-2.

⁴ For the identification of these twenty-one 'Danish' coins as Normandy deniers see my forthcoming note in *Hamburger Beiträge*.

unfortunate, too, that the names of the LA(N)G moneyers should be so uniformly West Saxon. In this note I wish once and for all to lay the ghost of a Saxon mint at Lancaster by drawing attention to a hitherto unnoticed observe die-link between a coin of Ilchester in Stockholm and a coin of LA(N)GP in Copenhagen.

The Stockholm coin (Hild. 881) does not appear in the 1846 edition of *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, and the presumptive provenance is one of the mid-nineteenth-century hoards from Sweden and in all probability one from the island of Gotland. The coin in the Royal Danish Coin Cabinet is from an 1859 hoard from Kelstrup (Kjeldstrup) in Zealand (Skovmand, p. 154, no. 17) which seems to have been deposited by the end of the third decade of the eleventh century. In both cases the moneyer is Ælfsige who is known at both mints from other coins, and the mint-signatures G1FL and LAGP seem impeccable even if on the Langport coin P is written almost as a Ʒ. When we compare the two obverses there can be no doubt but that they are from the same die, and I would draw especial attention to the triangular flaw immediately below the G in the ethnic. It is to be hoped, then, that we have heard the last of the mythical mint of Lancaster, and that henceforth the eleventh-century coins with mint-signatures ranging from LA(N)G to LAGEPOR will always be associated with the tenth-century coins of Æthelstan, on some of which the mint-signature actually reads LANGPORT.¹

AN UNPUBLISHED CNUT MONEYER OF LYDFORD

On p. 273 of the 1881 edition of Bror Emil Hildebrand's classic *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, two coins attributed to London are described as follows:

2509	a 6 (?).	+HV NE N LVN	E. (fragment)
2510	b 2.	+HVPINE ON LVNDAN	G.

The two coins are here illustrated by enlarged direct photographs supplied by the kindness of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet, and it will be suggested that there is sufficient evidence for us to transfer them to the Devonshire mint of Lydford (æt Hlydanforda), Cnut coins of which are extremely rare.

The first point concerns the transcription of the reverse legends. On 2509 little is absolutely certain beyond the fact that the second letter of the mint-signature is a Y of which the tail runs across the horizontal bar of the L. The third letter is composed apparently of two uprights, but there is no trace whatever of a bar between them, and it is not inconceivable that it is a carelessly written D. In other words, there would seem to be nothing at all inconsistent with what is discernible on the coin if we read the mint-signature LYD, and I would suggest that the true transcription of the legend should be:

+HV | | V ? | NLYD

As regards 2510 I would claim that there can be no doubt whatever but that the reverse legend reads:

+HVPINE ONLYHDAN

¹ e.g. *B.M. Acq.* 530. Since the above went to press Miss G. van der Meer has discovered a die-duplicate of the Copenhagen coin in a Swedish hoard and independently has remarked the die-link with Hild. 881.

Both coins, of course, belong to the same moneyer, a certain Hun(e)wine, and in a recent note I have indicated what I believe to be the explanation of the frequent omission of N from the legends on Anglo-Saxon coins. The moneyer Hunewine is not otherwise recorded at London, and I would also suggest that the two mint-signatures in conjunction favour Lydford rather than London. Throughout the late Saxon period the initial aspirate seems to have perplexed a succession of die-engravers, and my belief is that LVHD is an error for HLVĐ, while the attribution to London is absolutely precluded by the AN which follows this critical grouping.



An additional argument for attributing the two coins to a Devonshire mint may seem to be provided by prosopography. In the whole of the late Saxon period the name Hunewine has a marked West Country flavour, as least as far as moneyers are concerned. In the Second Hand type of Æthelræd II we find the name at Totnes, and in the Crux type at Exeter and Ilchester as well. In the Long Cross, Helmet, and Last Small Cross types of the same king, Hunewine is the sole moneyer of Watchet. In the Quatrefoil issue of Cnut he is also found at Exeter, but thereafter, with the exception of Hild. 2510, vanishes entirely from the scene. Nobody would pretend that such an argument is of itself conclusive, but it must be conceded that it is curious that we should find both mint-signature and prosopography pointing towards the same county.

There is, however, one argument in support of the reattribution of Hild. 2509 and 2510 to Lydford that is of itself wellnigh decisive. If we examine carefully the obverse die of the broken Quatrefoil coin, we find that it belongs to a stylistic grouping that is associated exclusively with the West Country. It is a style, moreover, that is present on four of the six coins of Lydford that are recorded for the type by Hildebrand, and after the examination of literally thousands of London coins of the type in question I can state with confidence that dies of this style did not find their way to the metropolis. A die-link has still to be found, but possessors of the second volume of the *British Museum Catalogue* should compare the enlarged direct photograph of the Stockholm coin with Plate XVIII, 10, a Lydford coin of the moneyer Saewine erroneously attributed to Hythe. Again the initial aspirate gave trouble to the engraver, and a form LHYD or LHVD (V and Y are for practical purposes indistinguishable at this period) only goes to show that a form LVHD is not impossible for HLYD at the period in question.

CNUT'S QUATREFOIL TYPE IN ENGLISH CABINETS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By R. H. M. DOLLEY and D. M. METCALF

By the early nineteenth century the British Museum had acquired a surprisingly high proportion of coins of Cnut's first (Quatrefoil) type from Chester, Gloucester, Oxford, and other mints in the region which those three places marked out. Thanks to the wise procedure of preserving old coin-tickets, the pedigrees of many of them can be taken back to the collections of Tyssen (therefore, before 1802), Hodson (1794), and Southgate (1795).¹ On the other hand, there is evidence to show that in 1777 coins of Cnut's first type were rare in this country.² It is clear that between that date and the end of the century there was an access of a large number of them into the cabinets of collectors; in other words, it is almost certain that within the twenty years which followed 1777 a major hoard, or possibly more than one hoard, of this type was found, probably in the west midlands. To these two points of reference may be added the recently discovered fact that Anglo-Saxon coins from Scandinavian hoards did not begin to find their way to this country in any quantity for another forty years.³

The coins of Cnut in various cabinets and publications mentioned by Gough in his work on the Caldale (Orkney) hoard amount to 223.⁴ This total and that of Quatrefoil coins from English sources are however very different. To begin with, the 70 coins from Keder and 30 from Lauerentzen⁵ may be excluded, since their provenance was presumably Scandinavian. Out of 21 coins in Fountaine's plates,⁶ 9 are of the Pointed Helmet type, 8 are Short Cross coins, and two are Arm and Sceptre issues which should be attributed to Harthacnut, leaving only two Quatrefoil coins. Of the 15 in the British Museum (from the Sloane, Cotton, and Maynard cabinets) only two are Quatrefoil pieces. Of White's six or seven coins of Cnut, Gough's illustrations show that three were of the early type. The one coin mentioned from Pembroke's plates⁷ is a Pointed Helmet issue. Thus, 137 out of the 223 coins have very quickly been eliminated.

¹ R. H. M. Dolley and J. S. Strudwick, 'The Provenances of the Anglo-Saxon Coins recorded in the two volumes of the British Museum Catalogue', *B.N.J.* 1956, pp. 26 ff.

² R. Gough, *A Catalogue of the Coins of Canute King of Denmark and England; with Specimens, 1777*.

³ R. H. M. Dolley, 'Det första myntet från en Gotlandsk skatt som nådde en Engelsk samling', *Nordisk Numismatisk Arsskrift*, 1958, 83 ff.

⁴ Gough, *op. cit.* The figure 223 is from Gough's summary of the totals at the beginning of his work. We suspect that it is not more than approximately accurate.

⁵ N. Keder, *Catalogus Nummorum . . . in Museo Graingeriano Holmiae . . .*, Lund, 1728; J. Lauerentzen (ed.), O. Jacobæus, *Museum Regium, seu Catalogus*, 1710; the Danish collection included a few early Anglo-Saxon coins of English provenance, but it may be presumed that the later ones were Scandinavian.

⁶ A. Fountaine, *Numismata Anglo-Saxonica et Anglo-Danica breviter illustrata*, Oxford, 1705.

⁷ *Numismata antiqua in tres partes divisa. Collegit olim . . . Thomas Pembrochia et Montis Gomerici Comes*, 1746.

The largest remaining group, thirty-eight coins, is that which came from the Duke of Devonshire's cabinet. At first sight it seemed impossible to us to get any exact evidence about them, since in the Devonshire sale the three lots of coins of Cnut were summarily described and were bought by dealers and presumably dispersed;¹ it has proved possible, however, by a study of Gough's legends in light of the very complete selection of coins in Hildebrand and *B.M.C.* to state with considerable confidence the types, mints, and moneyers of most of them. The list printed as Fig. 1, for which we are indebted to the help of Mrs. J. S. Martin, shows six Quatrefoil coins, and we think that eight is the maximum, allowing for errors in our interpretation, which there were in the Devonshire group.

CNUt (1016-35)			
Quatrefoil type (<i>B.M.C.</i> viii = Brooke 2 = Hild. E. 1017-23)		16. <i>Derby</i>	Swertinc
1. <i>Exeter</i>	Isegod	17. <i>Exeter</i>	Thegnwine
2. <i>Ilchester</i>	Oswi	18. <i>Hertford</i>	Deorsige
3. <i>Ipswich</i>	Leofric	19. <i>Lincoln</i>	Mathan
4. <i>London</i>	Brihtfrth	20. "	Oslac
5. <i>Salisbury</i>	Sæman	21. <i>London</i>	Ælfred
6. "	"	22. "	Brungar
Pointed Helmet type (<i>B.M.C.</i> xiv = Brooke 3 = Hild. G. 1023-9)		23. "	Swan
7. <i>Bath</i>	Ælfwine	24. <i>Northampton</i>	Ælfwine
8. <i>Canterbury</i>	Leofnoth	25. <i>Southwark</i>	Ægelwine
9. <i>Colchester</i>	Wlfwine	26. <i>Thetford</i>	Alfwald
10. <i>Langport</i>	Edric	27. "	Brunstan
11. <i>Lincoln</i>	Aslac	28. <i>Winchester</i>	Spileman
12. <i>London</i>	Elewig	29. <i>York</i>	Crucan
13. <i>York</i>	Crinan	HARTHACNUt (1040-2)	
Pointed Helmet or Short Cross Type		Arm and Sceptre type (<i>B.M.C.</i> Cnut xvii = Brooke Cnut 5 = Hild. Cnut I, 1040-2)	
14. <i>London</i>	Wulfwine	30. <i>Norwich</i>	Rinulf
Short Cross type (<i>B.M.C.</i> xvi = Brooke 4 = Hild. H. 1029-35)		31. <i>Thetford</i>	Edric
15. <i>Cambridge</i>	Edwine	32. <i>Winchester</i>	Godman
		UNCERTAIN	
		33-35. (3 coins, including one fragment and one blundered.)	

FIG. 1. Coins of Cnut in the Duke of Devonshire's collection in 1779, according to Gough, with types, mints, and legends reinterpreted in the light of *B.M.C.* and Hildebrand. The Charles Combe memo-book refers, it would seem, to Nos. 3, 9, 15, 17, 18, 24, 25, and 30, and in addition includes one Quatrefoil coin of Bath and one of Bristol, a Short Cross coin of Hereford, and an Arm and Sceptre issue of Ipswich.

The only other considerable group of coins is that from the Hunter collection. Gough's list of them, concerned as it is mainly with readings, can be supplemented from the better evidence provided by the Combe manuscripts. Whereas Gough gives thirty-two (not twenty-eight, as he states in the summary of totals at the beginning of his monograph) coins of Cnut, the Taylor Combe manuscript lists fifty-seven. In an earlier manuscript, which has only recently

¹ Coins of Cnut of 'Ipswich, London, Exeter, Bristol, Lincoln; some fine' were sold for moderate prices. Lot 333 (11 coins) went to Cureton for £1. 15s., lot 334 (11 coins) to Curt for £1. 13s., and lot 335 (12 coins) to Cureton again for £1. 9s.

been studied, and which seems to be a memo book kept by Charles Combe when buying for Hunter c. 1780, sixty coins in the Hunter cabinet are attributed to Cnut. Twenty of them are of the Quatrefoil type, as compared with sixteen in the Taylor Combe manuscript. The two lists agree fairly well, so that one can draw up a table of the Quatrefoil coins which were in Hunter's possession towards the end of his life.¹ They include a Bristol coin of the Diadem variety, two pieces from Chester, one from Oxford, and one from Shrewsbury. Thus, although the western group of mints is quite well represented, there is no clear evidence to associate the group with a postulated west midlands hoard. The coins are tabulated in Fig. 2.

1. <i>Bristol</i>	Ægelwine	c t	12. <i>Salisbury</i>	Sæman	c t
2. <i>Cambridge</i>	Cnight	g c t	13. <i>Shrewsbury</i>	?	c
3. <i>Canterbury</i>	Leofnoth	c t	14. <i>Stamford</i>	Brunstan	g c t
4. <i>Chester</i>	Leofa	c t	15. „	?	c
5. „	?	c	16. <i>Thetford</i>	Ealdred	t
6. <i>Huntingdon</i>	Eadnoth	g c t	17. <i>Wallingford</i>	Coleman	c t
7. <i>London</i>	Godwine	g c t	18. <i>Warwick</i>	?	c
8. „	Wulfred	c t	19. <i>Winchester</i>	Ordbriht	c t
9. „	Wulfwine	c t	20. <i>York</i>	Colgrim	g c t
10. <i>Oxford</i>	Coleman	c t	21. (Blundered)		c
11. <i>Rochester</i>	Godwine	g c t			

FIG. 2. Quatrefoil coins in the Hunter cabinet according to Charles Combe (c), Taylor Combe (t), and Gough (g)

Of the five coins which Gough reported in the Bodleian Library, Mr. Thompson kindly informs us, the one with the legend read as GOTEIL ON WID cannot now be found in the trays of the Heberden Coin Room, and only one of the others is of the Quatrefoil type (*Taunton*, Edric). All four, however, have a pedigree going back at least to 1750, when they were published by Wise,² as has a sixth coin, which is in Wise but not in Gough (Short Cross type, *York*, Hildulf), and the whole group seems, from the appearance of the coins, to be from the same source. Since three out of the six were from *Lydford*, *Taunton*, and *Watchet*³ it is tempting to suppose that the parcel was from the Constantine hoard.⁴ The only other item from Gough's totals which will be mentioned is that Hodsoll had three coins of Cnut: five further pieces in the hands of Bartlett, Southgate, and Tutet complete the list of 1777.

Although the unusually high proportion of coins of western mints was the fact which first drew attention to the possibility of a hoard,⁵ there seems to be no way of telling the extent to which it was composed of local issues, since all the coins from it cannot now be listed. We have as yet little knowledge of

¹ Miss Robertson has kindly informed us that it is not possible, unfortunately, to establish which individual coins were bought by Hunter in any particular parcel.

² F. Wise, *Catalogus nummorum*, Oxford, 1750.

³ The coin of GOTEIL, we suggest, should be read as GOTCIL ON PECD, or something similar. The name of the moneyer Godcild is, we believe, found only at Watchet. The other three coins are, Helmet Type, *York*, Sunolf; Jewel Cross type, *Lydford*, Elfriç; Arm and Sceptre type, *Warwick*, Leowic. The conclusion will not have escaped the reader, that if all the coins are from the suggested source, the time-range of the Constantine hoard must have been quite large. Taylor Combe lists the moneyer 'Goteil', doubtless from the same specimen, as of the Quatrefoil type.

⁴ *Magna Britannia* vol. i, p. 310. Mrs. Martin hopes to publish a note on the hoard.

⁵ One of the authors previously wrote, 'An earlier West Country hoard (of Cnut) may also be postulated, the source doubtless of the unique Cadbury penny of Ælfelm and his Bruton penny from the same obverse die.' Dolley and Strudwick, op. cit.

the changing geographical patterns of monetary affairs in tenth and eleventh-century England,¹ and we do not know how far, if at all, there was a region of closed monetary circulation in, for example, the west midlands. The hoards which are close enough in date of deposit to the Quatrefoil issue to offer good circumstantial evidence are few. The Barrowby parcel contained twelve, out of fourteen, coins of the near-by Stamford mint, but only a fraction of the find was recovered. From the north of England, the Halton Moor hoard was made up of coins of the York mint to the extent of over 90 per cent. In the St. Martin's-le-Grand find from London, 45 per cent. of the coins were of the London mint, while the western group of mints made up only 8 per cent. of the total. The Wedmore hoard, which would probably afford the best comparison, awaits proper publication; it contained many local issues, but their proportion to the whole is not yet known. From these meagre and inadequate pointers, one may guess, provisionally, that monetary circulation in the north of England was very self-contained, that the currency of the Home Counties mingled with that of the east midlands, and that money in the west of England did not wander into the north, nor, very markedly, to London. The few scraps of evidence about the Constantine hoard, and the virtual absence of coins of Taunton and Exeter from the British Museum's early Quatrefoil acquisitions, hint that there may have been a boundary in monetary circulation between Somerset and Devon. These, however, are no more than clues to a problem, which, we suggest, will have to be solved not only from hoard-evidence, but also by plotting on maps scores of stray finds and by observing the general tendency of their evidence: one must judge on the balance of as much information as possible.²

To return to the postulated hoard of Cnut, the few other finds which are relevant, and about which proper information is available, encourage one to think that a large group of local issues might be expected in a hoard from the west midlands, or, conversely, that such a group might have a west-of-England provenance. It is at present quite impossible to say whether a quarter, for example, or a half, of coins from other regions was a normal admixture. As one considers the issues of mints further away from the west midlands, among the British Museum's early acquisitions, it becomes increasingly less arguable that they were from the postulated hoard. One cannot, of course, be sure that any particular coin was from it, but one can point to a group of coins and suggest that the great majority of them were of the same provenance.

In the same way as it is not profitable to discuss the provenance of coins far removed from, say, the Gloucester area by distance, so it is fruitless to trouble about those which are distant from the 1780's in their known provenance. Only from the group of coins with pedigrees going back to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century can one argue usefully. A total of 110 coins of the Quatrefoil type which have been in the British Museum since 1838 or earlier are the strongest candidates in this respect for a provenance from the postulated western hoard. They are listed in Fig. 3. Two further pieces (*B.M.C.*

¹ But see R. H. M. Dolley, *Some Reflections on Hildebrand Type A of Æthelræd II*, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 33 ff.

² The important Shaftesbury hoard is a warning against arguing from a single piece of evidence. See *N.C.* 1956, pp. 267 ff.

Nos. 308 and 546) which have pedigrees taking them back before the date of Gough's publication, make a total of 112, which may be compared with 27 of the Pointed Helmet type and 28 of the Short Cross type; expressed as percentages of the total for Cnut, the proportions of the three types are respectively 68, 16, and 16. This striking disproportion may be set against the quantities of the three substantive types in Hildebrand, viz. 1,568 Quatrefoil, 1,186 Pointed Helmet, and 860 Short Cross coins, or 43, 33, and 24 per cent. of the total (for all mints). The preponderance of the Quatrefoil type in the British Museum if only the mints of the Chester-Gloucester-Oxford group are counted is even greater—62 as against 2 and 5, or 90, 3, and 7 per cent.

<i>B.M.C.</i>		<i>B.M.C.</i>		<i>B.M.C.</i>	
1	LANGPORT	254-5	Lewes	497-8	Shaftesbury
3-8	BATH	263-5	LANGPORT	502-3	SHREWSBURY
14	Bedford	270-80,	}	514	Cissbury
17	BRISTOL	282-7,		515	Nottingham
22	BRUTON	289-94		522-3	Stamford
24	CADBURY	304-5,	}	545	Totnes
41-43	CRICKLADE	307, 309		547	Warwick
47	Dover	357-60,		551, 556	WALLINGFORD
55	Derby	363-4, 369,	}	560	Winchester
60	Exeter	371, 373-5,		563	WORCESTER
81, 83-84	York	377-8,		565-6, 1	Winchester
209	ILCHESTER	380-1		570	
215-22	GLOUCESTER	471	MALMESBURY	597	WINCHCOMBE
228	Cambridge	478-83	OXFORD	598	Thetford
245	?	491	?	611	?
249	Huntingdon	493	Buckingham	612	?
253	Lydford	494	Romney		

FIG. 3. Quatrefoil coins in the British Museum with pedigrees going back to 1838 or earlier. (308 and 546 omitted.) SMALL CAPITALS show mints in the Chester-Gloucester-Oxford group

The coins in Hildebrand¹ are a good yardstick by which to judge how far the group of 110 early acquisitions of the British Museum are untypical, for the former are a very large collection, built up from hoards acquired under treasure trove laws and therefore not selective of rarities or otherwise, and also they avoid, with one important reservation, the suspicion of showing a regional flavour to which a collection formed anywhere in Britain would be open. The reservation is that the eastern mints, lying nearer the North Sea, might turn out to be over-represented. For comparing the output of the mints in any one large part of the country, however, the Swedish collection may be presumed to be a reliable indicator. Accordingly, the number of Quatrefoil coins from each mint has been set out in a table (see Fig. 4) and the numbers have also been expressed as a percentage of the total. The same has been done with the group of coins from the British Museum. Thus, one arrives at two sets of percentage figures which are comparable. The larger differences between individual mints, and their direction, have been shown in the fifth column of the table. The figure for variation thus obtained is not, of course, a proper index, but it serves to draw attention to the mints where

¹ B. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, Stockholm, 1881.

Mint	Hildebrand		B.M.		Variation
	Total	%	Total	%	
Aylesbury	3	0.2	..	..	..
AXBRIDGE	1	0.1	..	..	..
Barnstaple	4	0.3	..	..	..
BATH	11	0.7	6	6	+5.3
Bedford	12	0.8	1	1	..
BRISTOL	22	1.4	1	1	..
BRUTON	5	0.3	1	1	..
Buckingham	2	0.1	1	1	..
CADBURY	1	0.1	1	1	..
Canterbury	21	1.4	..	..	-1.4
Chichester	8	0.5	..	..	..
Colchester	15	1.0	..	..	-1.0
CRICKLADE	12	0.8	3	3	+2.2
CREWKERNE	6	0.4	..	..	..
Derby	4	0.3	1	1	..
Dover	14	0.9	1	1	..
Exeter	23	1.5	1	1	..
York	140	9.0	3	3	-6.0
ILCHESTER	43	2.8	1	1	+1.8
Ipswich	21	1.4	..	..	-1.4
GLOUCESTER	19	1.2	8	8	+6.8
Castle Gotha	4	0.3	..	..	..
Cambridge	53	3.4	1	1	-2.4
Guildford	2	0.1	..	..	..
Hastings	6	0.4	..	..	..
Southampton	11	0.7	..	..	..
Northampton	15	1.0	..	..	-1.0
Hertford	23	1.5	..	..	-1.5
HEREFORD	17	1.1	..	..	-1.1
Huntingdon	17	1.1	1	1	..
Lewes	11	0.7	2	2	+1.3
LANGPORT	2	0.1	4	4	+3.9
Leicester	9	0.6	..	..	..
CHESTER	83	5.4	23	24	+18.6
Lympne	1	0.1	..	..	..
Lincoln	122	7.8	4	4	-3.8
London	355	22.7	15	16	-6.7
Lydford	6	0.4	1	1	..
Maldon	13	0.8	..	..	..
MALMESBURY	2	0.1	1	1	..
Norwich	45	2.9	..	..	-2.9
OXFORD	29	1.9	6	6	+4.1
Rochester	6	0.4	..	..	..
Romney	3	0.2	1	1	..
Shaftesbury	13	0.8	2	2	+1.2
SHREWSBURY	16	1.0	2	2	+1.0
Salisbury	11	0.7	..	..	..
Cissbury	1	0.1	1	1	..
Nottingham	4	0.3	1	1	..
Stamford	37	2.4	2	2	..
Southwark	45	2.9	..	..	-2.9
Taunton	9	0.6	..	..	..
Thetford	51	3.3	1	1	-2.3
Torksey	2	0.1	..	..	..
Totnes	6	0.4	1	1	..
Warwick	3	0.2	1	1	..
Watchet	4	0.3	..	..	..
WALLINGFORD	13	0.8	2	2	+1.2
WORCESTER	5	0.3	1	1	..
Wilton	3	0.2	..	..	..
WINCHCOMBE	3	0.2	1	1	..
Winchester	103	6.6	4	4	-2.6
TOTALS	1,551	..	106	..	..

FIG. 4. Table to show the relative output of the mints during the Quatrefoil type, and the extent to which the British Museum's early coins were un-typical. (Hildebrand E varieties are included, but the obviously Scandinavian coins have been excluded; several mint-attributions have been corrected, e.g. Chester, Barnstaple, Northampton, Lympne, &c. have been added or increased, while Bardney, Dorchester, Dunwich, Sudbury, and Walsingham are omitted; four British Museum coins of uncertain mints are omitted; variations of less than one are ignored.)

the British group of coins is strong (especially Chester, Gloucester, Bath, Oxford, &c.) and to those where it is weak, or Hildebrand perhaps strong (note York and Lincoln, Norwich, Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester).

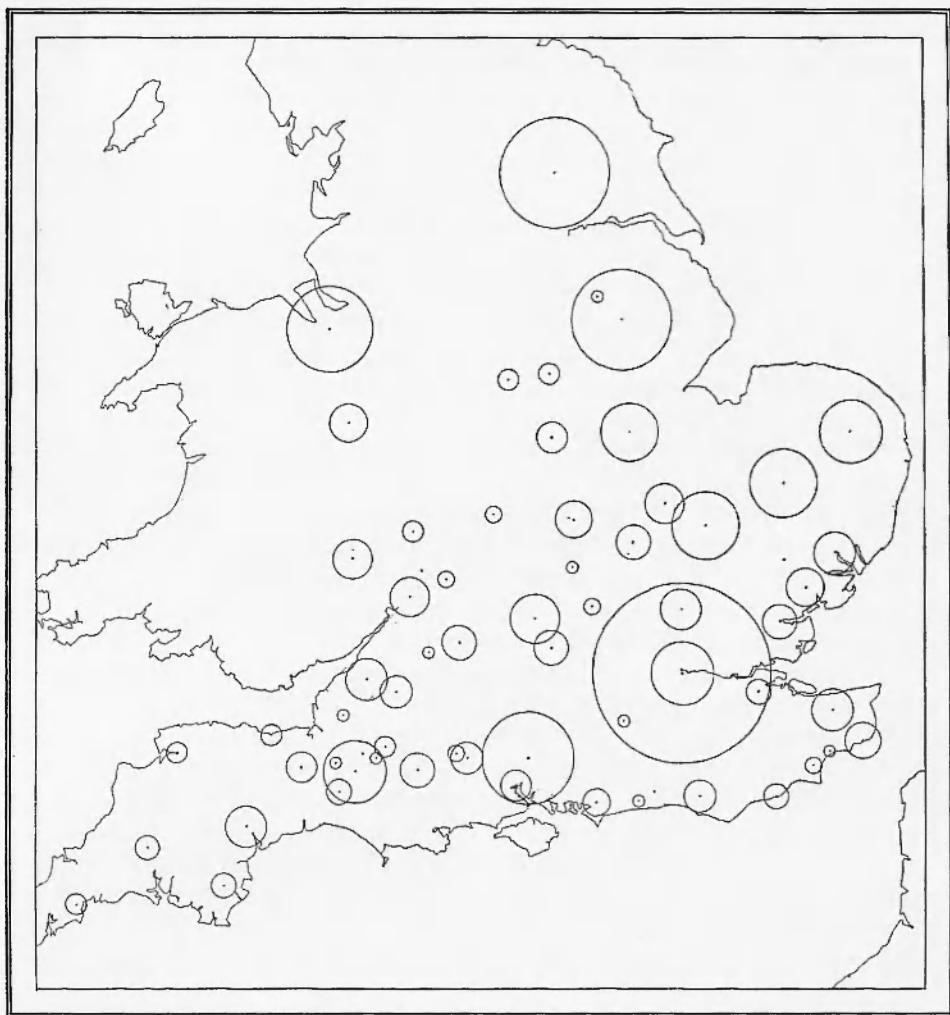


FIG. 5. Map illustrating the regional pattern of mint-output, 1017-23. (Based on Hildebrand.) The areas of the circles, which are centred on the mints, are proportional to the percentages given in Fig. 4

One of the first principles of the science of statistics is that more information cannot be extracted from a set of figures than they already conceal; a proportion arrived at from a sample consisting of just over 100 examples is not such an accurate or reliable figure as when the sample consists of over 1,500 examples. In particular it cannot distinguish between mints from which 0, 1, or 2 pieces are included. Nevertheless, the survey of Hildebrand provides valuable evidence for the regional pattern of mint-output, while that of the British Museum's group of coins gives equally useful evidence of their regional flavour.

It has been suggested by Stenton¹ that the number of moneyers who were at work gives an idea of the importance of a mint. This is true, although for a small mint a comparison of the numbers of specimens in a large and unbiased collection is valuable complementary evidence. But the relation even between

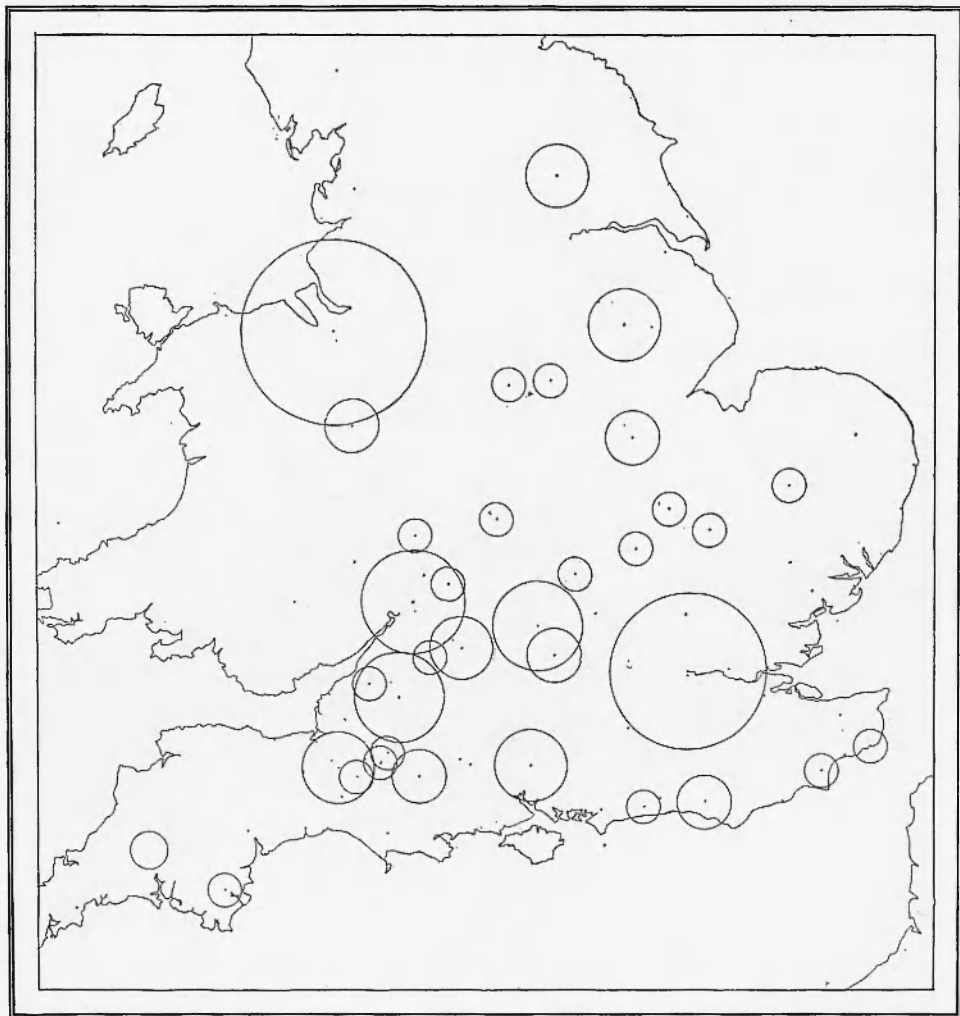


FIG. 6. Map illustrating the regional flavour of the British Museum's early acquisitions of Quatrefoil coins. (Based on the percentages given in Fig. 4.)

mint-output and the volume of currency in a district is not nearly so simple. Assuming in the first place that mint-output is geared to local needs (and it is a large assumption) one must still remember that a mint would supply the currency not only of the town in which it was situated but also of the surrounding countryside. If the next mint were fifty miles away, one would expect that the output would be larger, other things being equal, than if it were only ten miles away. Thus the York mint, because it served a larger area, might be expected to have a larger output than either Gloucester or Bath. If the

¹ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 529.

evidence is set out on a map, this difficulty is taken care of; the eye immediately takes account of the distribution of the mints and makes allowance for it. Accordingly, the proportions tabulated in Fig. 4 have been presented in cartographic form in Figs. 5 and 6. In the second map, the preponderance of coins of the western mints stands out very clearly.

The evidence which has been set out so far puts it beyond question, we think, that a hoard or hoards containing a high proportion of Quatrefoil coins from western mints came to light, probably in that part of the country, between about 1775 and 1794. Nothing has yet been said to associate the coins with any particular source. They certainly do not come from a known hoard, and it is possible that no record of the find-spot has survived. We would point out, however, that there is a record of a find of Anglo-Saxon pennies from Kingsholm, on the northern outskirts of Gloucester, at some date not very long before 1785. A note in *Archaeologia* for that year reads,

There have been a great number of coins, both Roman and Saxon, found in the field (at Kingsholm) at different times . . . There was found more than half a peck of Saxon coins in a heap between some stones: I have sent all that I could procure, as the man, by having many visitors, is become pert and mercenary, so that it is difficult to procure them.¹

From such an unpromising account one would not expect to be able to make very much. It refers only to 'Saxon coins', so that it could equally well refer to a score of different types. There are other find-records of the same sort; in 1759 Stukeley noted in his diary,² '500 more Saxon coins, extremely fair as new minted, found at Castor by Peterborough, lately. Mr. John White has bought some, some halfpennys very rare.' We do not know what these coins were (but should very much like to), nor have we any detailed information about an Anglo-Saxon hoard from Stretford, Lancashire, 1774, to which Mrs. Martin has recently discovered a reference. Doubtless hoards were discovered in the eighteenth century which went into the melting-pot without either a record or any coins from them surviving. One cannot suppose for a moment, however, that Kingsholm is such a 'vanished hoard'.

We know that coins from it were dispersed among a good number of people, who, since they were willing to pay the increasingly mercenary prices asked by the finder—an indication, by the way, that the coins were of some uncommon type—were presumably collectors who would look after what they had paid for. We know that the discovery came to the ears of the Society of Antiquaries. We know that the Hodsoll collection, which in 1777 was reported to include only three coins of Cnut, in 1794 included twelve of the Quatrefoil type alone, and those twelve from the mints of Chester (2), Gloucester (2), Oxford (2), Bath, Cadbury, Winchester, London, Cambridge, and Huntingdon.³ In a word, it is suggested that Kingsholm and the British Museum's Quatrefoil group were very probably one and the same.

Let us admit that no stronger argument than probability can be adduced, and that it might turn out to be wrong. The writers feel that the risk is small

¹ T. Mutlow, 'Account of some Antiquities found in Gloucestershire', *Archaeologia*, vii (1785), 380.

² W. Stukeley, *Memoirs*, &c., iii (Surtees Soc. lxxx (1885)), p. 73.

³ Hodsoll may, perhaps, have selected two each of the common mints for his collection. Cf. D. M. Metcalf, 'Find-records of medieval coins from Gough's Camden's *Britannia*', *N.C.* 1957, p. 183.

enough to justify making the suggestion, and hope that further study of eighteenth-century hoards and cabinets will either settle the question definitely or else gradually lessen the doubts which must at present remain.

The unknown often seems larger than it really is. Only a small part of the unknown need trouble us in connexion with the group of Quatrefoil coins, since only find-spots from the west midlands or the West Country are likely to include the right one. Peterborough, for example, is too far to the east, and even if it were not, it is much too early. The date of the Stretford find, 1774, is just possible, but it is extremely improbable that a Lancashire hoard should be heavily flavoured with coins from Somerset and Gloucestershire. The study of the provenances of the Anglo-Saxon coins in the British Museum has suggested the existence of one or two other parcels from forgotten hoards, but none of them is obviously made up of coins from western mints.

On average, the number of major hoards of Anglo-Saxon coins discovered in two decades is not large. Between 1777 and 1794 penny hoards are known to have been discovered at Tiree 1782, Nottingham 1786, Leicester 1789, Nottingham 1789, and Oving 1789. Among these, there is none from the reign of Cnut, and none from the west of England. There are, however, two hoards from the same place, perhaps even from the same year. One concludes that it is improbable that two further hoards, both from the west midlands, should have to be added to so short a list, but that if they were, then more probably than not their dates of deposit and composition would be much the same. The chances are that Kingsholm was a Quatrefoil hoard.

There may have been earlier types in the hoard, but it is virtually certain that there were none later. The brief but, we think, powerful argument that the Pointed Helmet type was not represented lies in the numbers of those and of the Quatrefoil type from western mints in the British Museum in 1838—2 and 62. If the find had been hidden early in the currency of the Pointed Helmet type, one would have expected an even higher proportion of local issues among the new coins than among the others which had been circulating for six years. Thus it is very unlikely that there were any coins in the hoard struck after Michaelmas 1023, and only less unlikely that the date of deposit was after 1023.

There are one or two hints that the deposit was early in the sexennium 1017–23. Their value will have to be decided in the light of future research. First, Kingsholm may have included the two die-linked pennies of Bruton and Cadbury; the Cadbury mint was closed early in the currency of the type,¹ and the chances of a die-linkage surviving in a hoard are greater (if the output of coinage is considerable) the nearer its deposit to the date of issue. Secondly, the mints of Crewkerne and Ilchester appear to have been somewhat under-represented in the hoard, and Langport over-represented. The first two were closed during Æthelræd's Last Small Cross issue, and it looks therefore as though they may not have begun to strike the Quatrefoil type immediately at the beginning of its issue, and that Langport may for a time have flourished without competition. Thirdly, the group of coins from Oxford is all in the same regional style, whereas two styles are known for the mint. The implication, which would need to be studied further, is that they were chronological, and, once again, that the hoard was deposited early in the sexennium.

¹ R. H. M. Dolley, 'Three late Anglo-Saxon notes', *B.N.J.* 1956, pp. 88 ff.

It is difficult to bring to bear much definite evidence on the question of what occasioned the deposit. Town life had revived at Gloucester at about the beginning of the tenth century,¹ at the time when the policy of Alfred and Edward the Elder against the Danes was stimulating urban growth in Wessex. The settlement took on again the function it had had in Roman times as a regional centre for what is now northern Gloucestershire.² Its importance in this respect was increased when it became the shire town under the new administrative arrangements made in the area at the beginning of the eleventh century. The city's position was of military significance, since it was situated over against the unconquered Welsh district of Gwent,³ and at the head of the Severn estuary. It seems also to have been a market for iron from the Forest of Dean. The earliest documentary reference to Kingsholm is in the Domesday Survey, from which, and from the formation of the name itself,⁴ one may infer that it was the centre of a royal estate in late Saxon times—an *aula regis*. It may, from time to time, have been the residence of the king and his court. Royal manors of this kind were economic centres of importance, however, not merely when the king and his court were there but also throughout the year, since many of the royal taxes and dues were rendered at the royal estates to the king's reeve, who was in charge there.⁵ Again, although the evidence is fragmentary and uncertain, it is possible that Kingsholm was a residence of the ealdorman of the Mercian lands.⁶ Fourthly, the wealthy abbey of St. Peter lay in the northern suburb of the city, and provides another reason for supposing that Gloucester was a centre of wealth and of monetary affairs in the eleventh century. Finally, among the possible circumstances of the Kingsholm hoard, the money may have been brought together for recoinage at the important mint of Gloucester; if that were so, the date of deposit would presumably have been towards the end of the sexennium. Since the find-spot was at Kingsholm, it would seem *prima facie* that the money was in some way connected with the royal finances. Our knowledge of the topography of Anglo-Saxon Gloucester is, however, so defective⁷ that one cannot rule out the possibility of the hoard's having been deposited just outside the walls of the city.⁸ If information even of the precise find-spot would not at present help to solve the problem, the find-record itself contains one or two clues.

The account that the coins were found 'in a heap between some stones' suggests that the deposit may have been in a churchyard. Douglas, contributing to the discussion about the age of an ancient sword (from which, characteristically enough for the eighteenth century, the reference to Anglo-Saxon coins arose) wrote, 'At Kings-holm also within these few years stone coffins were found, nor are we to conclude, because tradition has

¹ See H. P. R. Finberg, 'The Genesis of the Gloucestershire towns', in his *Gloucestershire Studies*, 1957, p. 59, and also C. S. Taylor, *ibid.*, p. 17.

² For comment on Glevum as a provincial sub-capital, see Finberg, *op. cit.*

³ The country beyond the Wye remained in Welsh hands until 1065, when it was annexed to the marcher earldom of Hereford.

⁴ On the element *ham* and the form of organization to which it referred, see P. Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century*, 1908, pp. 340 et seqq.

⁵ See Dorothy Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, 1952, p. 64.

⁶ Whitelock, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁷ Finberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 60 n.

⁸ Again, see the account of the Shaftesbury hoard, *N.C.* 1956, at p. 273.

handed down to us an account of the palace of a Mercian king being situated near this spot, that these are Saxon remains.¹ This, incidentally, is the best evidence available about the date of discovery of the hoard, which, it seems likely, was found within two or three years of 1780, either earlier or later. The modern scholar will be inclined to guess that Mutlow's stones were in fact Douglas's coffins, and that the hoard belonged to a well-known group, heavily represented in the early years of Alfred's reign, and known also among later deposits (e.g. Goldsborough, Bath 1755, Wedmore).

Mutlow's account stated that more than half a peck of coins was found. A peck, then as now, was a measure of volume equal to two gallons; one may gather an idea of the alleged size of the hoard by thinking of an ordinary domestic bucket more than half filled with silver pennies. Perhaps when he discovered them, a bucket was what the finder brought to carry them away. Half a bucketful of Anglo-Saxon coins would number something like 10,000, or about £40 worth, a very considerable, if not quite unparalleled, total for an English Anglo-Saxon penny hoard.² Even allowing a margin for the exaggeration which can take place in hearsay, the deposit must have been very large. At a time when a hoard containing several hundred coins was a large one, a merchant would have been unlikely to have accumulated so much money, and even more unlikely to have been carrying it with him on a journey. If, on the other hand, the sum were the collected taxes of the region, one would not be surprised at its size. The years 1012–50 were those of the standing fleet and the regular 'army-payment', whilst heavy taxation and the amassing of large sums must have been necessary to meet the payments which were made to the Danes. Turning to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, we find that the entry under the year 1018 begins, 'In this year the following tribute was paid over all England: it amounted in all to seventy-two thousand pounds, in addition to that which the citizens of London paid, which was ten thousand five hundred pounds.'³ Here is a sum beside which an estimated £40 looks trifling. As this is the only mention of money in the *Chronicle* during the six years for which the Quatrefoil type was current, 1018 is the year to which the documentary evidence points as the most likely date of deposit. It agrees satisfactorily with the purely numismatic evidence, such as it is, that the coins were hidden early in the sexennium. But within the limits 1017–23 the exact date of deposit must at present remain conjectural.

The tentative reconstruction of a suspected but otherwise unknown eighteenth-century hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins is offered here as an example of the methods which can be employed in recovering early find-records from forgotten or overlooked sources. That one should be able to do so depends on a number of advances which have recently been made, or are being made, in our knowledge of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage. An increasing volume of evidence about the state of numismatic cabinets and studies in the late

¹ *Archaeologia* 1785, pp. 376 f.

² Mr. C. L. Powell, of the Royal Mint, has been kind enough to inform us that a gallon of modern sixpences totals a little less than 7,000. Beaworth, with 12,000 coins, and Walbrook, with 7,000, are the other very large eleventh-century hoards. Among earlier deposits, Cuerdale contained about 7,000 coins, together with a thousand ounces of silver. An Irish hoard, Drogheda 1846, was alleged to contain nearly two gallons of coins.

³ tr. G. N. Garmonsway, 1953.

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, an increasingly complete list of finds, and the recognition of the sexennial type-sequence and the one-type hoard, are among these advances.

All research into the monetary history of the earlier medieval period must depend continually on the use of hoard-evidence based on close and persistent numismatic study. The monetary historian can rarely have enough hoards for his purpose. Hence the encouragement to recover early find-records, even when the information is slight and unsatisfactory. Only a few years ago this greed for detailed knowledge and for a comprehensive register of finds might have seemed as unprofitable as the precise dating of coins and of deposits would have appeared an improbable achievement.

A PARCEL OF CROSS-AND-CROSSLETS PENCE FROM THE TEALBY FIND

By R. H. M. DOLLEY and F. ELMORE JONES

RECENTLY Mr. R. L. Austen of Chichester was kind enough to bring to our notice a little collection of no fewer than fifty-nine of the so-called 'Tealby' pennies of Henry II. Upon investigation these have proved to be from the original Tealby hoard of 1807. It will be recalled that on that occasion more than 5,700 coins were discovered, and that after examination more than 5,100 were sent to the Mint to be melted down. It was known that Taylor Combe besides making a wide selection for the National Collection picked out an uncertain number of the more attractive coins for presentation to various collectors of the day, and the composition of the present parcel leaves no room for doubt but that the coins were selected for such a purpose by somebody who knew a great deal about the series. At this point we would only remark that coins of London and Canterbury, the 'common' mints of the type and which combine to account for no less than 40 per cent. of the coins in the British Museum, are conspicuously absent, and we feel that no less significance attaches to the circumstance that on virtually every coin the mint-signature is quite legible, a phenomenon that would be unprecedented if the parcel in question were a random sample from any of the recorded finds. Discreet inquiries have clinched the Tealby provenance by eliciting the fact that the parcel derives ultimately from Lincolnshire, and we have good grounds for our belief that the coins to be described were selected by Taylor Combe himself for presentation to a gentleman who had rendered a signal service to numismatic science by ensuring that the hoard was recovered substantially intact.

The parcel under consideration, then, throws new light on the care with which Taylor Combe applied himself to the study of an immense treasure the sheer volume of which must surely have daunted a lesser scholar, and we feel that it is a tribute to the skill with which he selected the 10 per cent. of the coins not consigned to the melting-pot that not one of the forty-four obverse and forty-two reverse dies represented in this parcel is certainly 'new'. When, too, we consider that his selection of pieces for the National Collection amounted to something like 5 per cent. of the total, it is indeed remarkable that so few of the coins in the parcel prove to be from dies not already represented in the British Museum trays. Once again, too, time has proved to be on the side of the National Collection, and it is pleasant to be able to record the fact that the eleven most significant coins have been presented to the British Museum. In the description that follows they are distinguished by an asterisk, and they are also illustrated on the accompanying plate (Pl. V, 1-11).

The list of the fifty-nine coins is on the model of the *British Museum Catalogue*, and is arranged under mints and moneyers. There is one trifling departure in that it has not been thought necessary to indicate the precise number of letters which are wanting at any point, and in fact there are not more than

half a dozen readings which could not be reconstructed with complete certainty by a collation of all the known specimens of the piece in question. Where *B.M.C.* numbers are given, too, it is to indicate an actual die-identity and not simply a superficial agreement. It is satisfying to find Mr. Derek Allen's tentative attribution of *B.M.C.* 822 absolutely vindicated by no. 3, but the crucial coin is of course no. 58. A queried attribution to 'Harvi' (for Hervi) from a third die-duplicate is now seen to be impossible in the case of *B.M.C.* 811, but the identity of the moneyer remains a mystery. A reading 'Katel' for the 'Cetel' of the Pipe Rolls is just possible, but the well-attested Scandinavian name 'Karel' may seem equally attractive. Since, too, 'K' and 'R' are indistinguishable at this date, and 'H' approximates very closely, the possibility of an unrecorded moneyer 'Ra . . l' or 'Ha . . l' cannot altogether be precluded.

Catalogue

No.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
BRISTOL (3 coins)			
<i>Moneyer: Elaf (Eilaf) (1)</i>			
1.*	20.77	✠ hEN—: R—	✠ E—ON—RI.
<i>Bust C¹. B.M.C.—Die dupl. of coins in A. W. Lainchbury and F. E. J. colls. (casts in B.M.) which combine to read ✠ EI—: ON: BRI.</i>			
(Pl. V, 6)			
<i>Moneyer: Rogier (1)</i>			
2.	23.15	✠ —ENRI REX	—ON: BR—S—
<i>Bust E². B.M.C. 10</i>			
<i>Moneyer: Tancard (1)</i>			
3.	21.88	✠ hEN—TNG	✠ TT—N: BR—S
<i>Bust A². B.M.C. 822 (proving queried attribution to this mint and moneyer). Nos. 2 and 3 with their upturned edges are typical Bristol striking.</i>			
BURY ST. EDMUNDS (4 coins)			
<i>Moneyer: Henri (4)</i>			
4.	16.22	✠ hENRI: R: AG:	—ENRI: ON: S: EDM—
<i>Bust C¹. B.M.C. 17</i>			
5.	22.28	✠ h—NRI REX TN	✠ hE—RI: ON: S: EDM:
<i>Bust B¹. B.M.C. 19 An unusually round striking.</i>			
6.	21.08	—hEN REX TN	✠ hENR—: S: ED—
<i>Bust D³. B.M.C. 24</i>			
7.	21.86	—RI REX	✠ hENR—ON: S: ED—
<i>Bust E². B.M.C. 28. (Amplifies Bust classification in B.M.C.)</i>			
LINCOLN (11 coins)			
<i>Moneyer: Andreu (3)</i>			
8.*	21.86	✠ hEN—RE (Double struck)	✠ AND—LIN
<i>Bust C². B.M.C. 385. (Shows bust of B.M.C. coin.)</i>			
9.	21.17	—hENRI: —:	✠ —V: ON: LIN
<i>Die duplicate of preceding coin.</i>			
10.	22.02	✠ hE—	—N: LINE
<i>Bust D¹. B.M.C. 386</i>			
<i>Moneyer: Godric (2)</i>			
11.	23.78	✠ hENR—	—: LINE:
<i>Bust A². B.M.C. 388A</i>			

No.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
12.	17·56	— hE — ANGL <i>Die duplicate of preceding coin.</i>	— ON : LINE :
		<i>Moneyer: Lanfram (1)</i>	
13.	22·19	* h — RI REX T — <i>Bust A¹. B.M.C. 397</i>	* LT — LINEO
		<i>Moneyer: Raulf (2)</i>	
14.	20·01	— NRI REX ANG <i>Bust B³ (var.). B.M.C. 408A</i>	— R : ON : LIN —
15.*	18·15	* ————— <i>Bust C¹. Combines dies of B.M.C. 391/407A</i>	— N : LINE — (Pl. V, 4)
		<i>Moneyer: Raven (1)</i>	
16.	21·91	— hEN REX — <i>Irregular Bust C¹—with inner circle. B.M.C. 424</i>	— LINEOL
		<i>Moneyer: Swein (1)</i>	
17.*	22·53	— ENRI R — <i>Bust E. B.M.C. 387/— (Reverse die not in B.M.)</i>	— WEI — LIN — O (Pl. V, 3)
		<i>Uncertain Moneyer (1)</i>	
18.	17·22	————— <i>Bust A². Possibly rev. die of B.M.C. 406 (Raulf)</i>	— N : LINE —

NEWCASTLE (3 coins)

		<i>Moneyer: Willem (3)</i>	
19.	22·53	————— <i>Mule C¹/A. B.M.C. 587</i>	— I — : ON : NIVE —
20.	22·08	* h — I : <i>Bust F². B.M.C. 609</i>	— : ON : NIV
21.	21·12	* hENRI : REI : <i>Die duplicate of preceding coin. All three of typical Newcastle fabric and roundness.</i>	— : ON : NIV

NORTHAMPTON (5 coins)

		<i>Moneyer: Engelram (1)</i>	
22.	21·83	* hENRI RE — NGU <i>Bust A¹. B.M.C. 614A</i>	* ENG — T — : NOR
		<i>Moneyer: Pieres (2)</i>	
23.	22·34	* hENRI R — <i>Bust A¹. B.M.C. 620</i>	* P — RhT :
24.	22·17	* hENRI REX — <i>Die duplicate of preceding coin.</i>	— ES : ON : NO —
		<i>Moneyer: Reimund (2)</i>	
25.*	21·94	* hE — NGU <i>Bust A¹. B.M.C. — ('new' dies)</i>	* RE — NORh (Pl. V, 2)
26.*	21·82	* hENRI REX ANG <i>Bust A². B.M.C. 621/—. Same rev. die as preceding coin.</i>	* — EI — : NORh (Pl. V, 1)

NORWICH (21 coins)

		<i>Moneyer: Herbert (3)</i>	
27.	22·02	— NRI REX — <i>Bust A². B.M.C. 644</i>	— T : ON : NOR —
28.*	22·90	— R : T <i>Bust C¹. B.M.C. —/649. Obv. die not in B.M.</i>	* h — T : ON : NO (Pl. V, 11)

No.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
29.	22.14	—ENRI:REX <i>Bust D. B.M.C. 651</i> <i>Moneys: Hue (Hugo) (4)</i>	✠ hE—B—ON:NOR
30.	22.13	* hENRI REX T— <i>Bust A. B.M.C. 653</i>	—E:ON:NOR—
31.	22.30	—ENRI REX TNGU <i>Bust A (with features of B). B.M.C. 656</i>	—O:ON:NOR—
32.	21.68	—IRE—N— <i>Die duplicate of preceding coin.</i>	✠ h—NORWI
33.*	21.04	* hENRI REX TNGU <i>Bust A¹. B.M.C. 645/656. Same rev. die as 2 preceding coins. Die combination not in B.M.</i>	—O:ON:NO—W— (Pl. V, 10)
34.	21.97	—ENRI—TNG <i>Bust A (with features of B). B.M.C. 665</i>	—U:ON:—ORW
35.	22.44	—REX TNG <i>Die duplicate of preceding coin</i> <i>Moneys: Picol (4)</i>	—:ON:NOR—
36.	21.88	* hENRI—TNG— <i>Bust A¹. B.M.C. 669. (Same obv. die as Nos. 43 and 44)</i>	—LOT:—N:NO—
37.	20.31	✠ hENRI RE— <i>Bust B². B.M.C. 674</i>	✠ PI—NORW
38.	21.32	—hENRI REX— <i>Die duplicate of preceding coin.</i>	—N:NORWI
39.	21.61	—RI REX TNG <i>Die duplicate of 2 preceding coins. Unusually round.</i> <i>Moneys: Reinier (7)</i>	—T:ON:NOR—
40.	22.30	—REX TNG <i>Bust A¹. B.M.C. 678</i>	—NER:ON:NORE—
41.	22.01	✠ h—NR—G <i>Die duplicate of preceding coin.</i>	—R:ON:NORE—
42.	21.91	—REX T— <i>Bust A². Die combination of B.M.C. 671/678. (Same rev. die as 2 preceding coins)</i>	—REIN—N:NORE—
43.	22.47	—RI— <i>Bust A¹. Die combination of B.M.C. 669/678. (Same rev. die as 3 preceding coins)</i>	—N:NOR—
44.*	21.82	* h—NRIR—NGU <i>Bust A¹. B.M.C. 669/— Rev. die not in B.M. Die dupl. in F. E. J. coll. reads * R—:ON:NOR— (Same obv. die as preceding coin and as No. 36)</i>	* —:ON:NOR—E (Pl. V. 9)
45.	22.01	* hENRI:REX <i>Bust D². B.M.C. 681</i>	* R—R:ON:NOR.
46.	22.44	—ENRI:R— <i>Die duplicate of preceding coin.</i> <i>Moneys: Ricard (1)</i>	✠ RE—:ON:NOR.
47.	22.61	* hENRI— <i>Bust A². B.M.C. 684</i>	—RD:ON:NOR—
OXFORD (1 coin)			
48.	21.16	<i>Moneys: Adam (1)</i> —NRIREXTNGU <i>Bust A. B.M.C. 687</i>	—TDT—:ON:OXENF—

No. Weight

Obverse

Reverse

THETFORD (3 coins)

Moneyer: Siwate (1)

49. 21.54 * hENRIRE—
Bust A. B.M.C. 710

* S—E:ON:TERRO

Moneyer: Turstein (2)

50. 22.36 —ENRIR—TNG
Bust A¹. B.M.C. 722

—RSTEIN:ON:TE—

51. 21.84 * hENRI—N
Bust C¹. B.M.C. 724

* —EI—:ON:TE

YORK (8 coins)

Moneyer: Godwin (1)

52. 22.01 * hENRI—
Bust D¹. B.M.C. 787

—IN—:ON:EV—

Moneyer: Herbert (3)

- 53.* 21.22 —NGU

—:ON:EV—

Bust A¹. B.M.C. 794. Shows Bust A¹ and adds a little to reading of
B.M. specimen. (Pl. V, 8)

54. 21.63 * hEN—EX TNGU

* —RB—R—:ON:EVER

Bust A/D Mule. B.M.C. 795. (Obv. die of B.M.C. 785 of Godwin)

55. 22.24 —NRI:RE—

* hERBER—N:EVER

Bust D¹. B.M.C. 798 Obv. die of No. 52. Rev. die of preceding coin.

Moneyer: Norman (2)

56. 22.98 * —
Bust A¹. B.M.C. 806

* N—EVER

57. 19.78 —ENRIRE—NG—

* N—R—N—EVER

Die duplicate of preceding coin.

Unidentified Moneyer (2) 'R (or H or R) A—U' (possibly Ketel, see
B.M.C. p. clxxiv)

- 58.* 17.98 —TNGU

—U:ON:EV—

Bust A¹. B.M.C. 811. Die dupl. in F. E. J. coll. adds second letter (A)
of moneyer's name and possibly first (K, H, or R). (Pl. V, 7)

59. 21.87 —NRI REX—

—EVERW—

Die duplicate of preceding coin.

A ST. PATRICK HALFPENNY OF JOHN DE COURCI

By W. A. SEABY

LISMAHON, Co. Down, also known as Ballykinlar Motte, lies $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east of Clough Castle. It is a Dark Age occupation site which was heightened in the manner of a motte castle after the English conquest of Down in 1177 and continued in use until the fourteenth century. Excavation on this site was carried out by the Northern Ireland Archaeological Survey under the direction of Mr. Dudley Waterman in June 1958.

Here the excavator discovered the remains of a raised timber revetted platform which, with a refurbishing of the defences, had remained in occupation until the end of the twelfth century, when it was heightened to form a castle mound. The summit of the mound was enclosed by a palisade and contained a residential building with attached tower adjacent to the palisade and a secondary building, probably used as a workshop. The palisade was subsequently rebuilt and in the later thirteenth century the house was enlarged, part of the workshop being demolished in the process.¹



OBVERSE



REVERSE

Twice natural size.

Associated with the late twelfth-century defences was a weapon pit at the top of the mound on the north-east side, and in the excavation of this a small silver coin was discovered in a primary position on the floor of the pit. Mr. Waterman immediately informed the writer who examined the coin at the Belfast Museum on 15 June, coming to the conclusion that this piece was a type of John de Courci apparently unrecorded. Subsequent correspondence with Mr. R. H. M. Dolley at the British Museum and Dr. William O'Sullivan at the National Museum, Dublin, confirmed this supposition.

The coin is of thin brittle impure silver, having a maximum diameter of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch (19 mm.), and weighs a fraction under 8 grains. When found it had a good deal of dirt and some corrosive salts adhering to the surface. In an attempt to clean off the latter, a small fragment broke away from the edge.

¹ To be published in a forthcoming volume of *Medieval Archaeology*.

Expert attention at the British Museum Laboratory, where an electrotype of the coin was produced, has now made good the fracture and brought up most of the lettering with clarity.

The following is a description of the coin:¹

Oby. +PATRICIVS (outer and inner beaded circles). In centre, the representation of the head of a bishop's pastoral staff or crosier, probably symbolizing the Saint; to left, a cross botonée.

Rev. +IOHNS: DE CVRCI (outer and inner beaded circles). Cross annuletty, each terminal circle and the central circle enclosing a pellet; a pellet in each angle. Possibly representing the head of a monumental or processional cross. (Pl. V)

Although of a size or module only slightly less than a normal penny of the twelfth century, it weighs less than the halfpennies issued in Dublin and Waterford by Prince John, as Lord of Ireland, between c. 1185 and 1199 (11½ grains). In view of the fact that John de Courci issued three or more types of farthing, weighing from 4¾ to 6 grains, it may be best to consider the new coin as a halfpenny. Since the edge is not clipped, it can be assumed that the issuer purposely used a large module to 'offset' the lightness of the coin. Even when freshly struck it is unlikely that this piece could have weighed as much as 9 grains. The brittleness would suggest a percentage of tin in its composition but owing to its fragility no assay has been made.

The lettering is typical of the latter part of the twelfth century but shows some peculiarities. The T, while somewhat small compared with the wide dolmen-shaped A, appears to be of normal Roman form and not Celtic, such as appears on some of the de Courci farthings (e.g. *N.C.*, n.s. iii, pl. iv, nos. 14 and 15). The S on both sides has a tendency to lean forwards or overbalance, while the V's, like the A, are very wide. Most noticeable is the Lombardic or minuscule h joined by a line of contraction, or tittle, making it resemble the letter K. Henry I seems to have adopted the small H in England sometime before 1108,² but during Henry II's reign it was employed both on the Tealby and the Short Cross pennies.

The form of the name PATRICIVS in the nominative does not occur on the Down and Carrickfergus farthings, where it is always in the genitive, and Aquilla Smith took this to mean that the cross-head and shaft stood for the word CRVX.³ It is noticeable, however, that on the farthings, where John de Courci's own name appears, the obverse reading is sometimes +PATRIC+ using the Celtic T, as has been noted.

Of interest is the abbreviated form IOHS for IOHANNES in place of GOAN⁴ as appears on the farthing cited above. CVRCI also differs from the reading

¹ Obverse and reverse are difficult to determine in this instance but the writer has followed Aquilla Smith's interpretation of the de Courci farthings (*N.C.*, n.s. iii (1863), pp. 149-61).

² G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, 1932, p. 88.

³ Aquilla Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-4.

⁴ The form GOAN is in itself peculiar since normally the *j*-sound was written *g* before *e* and *i*, and *i* before *a*, *o*, and *u* in Old French, but occasionally *i* was used before *e* and sometimes *g* was used before *o* and *u*. Although there are various spellings of John de Courci in the original Irish text of the *Annals of Ulster*, that most commonly met with is Eoan do Chuir, so it may be assumed that the spelling of the farthings follows an Anglo-Norman dialect and is not an Irish rendering. The writer is indebted to Mr. G. Brendan Adams for this information.

given by Aquilla Smith who assumes the initial letter to be a Q.¹ The contraction IOHS is more commonly found on continental coins,² and does not appear to have been used by the moneyers of Prince John in Ireland, either when he was Lord or after he became King. Contractions of IOHANNES were, however, used by some moneyers on the Long Cross coinage of Henry III.

The obverse design is unusual. At first glance it appears linked with the highly stylized and much debased heads found on the later Hiberno-Norse pennies and bracteates,³ but a closer inspection shows that it is not a head and there is no question of a crested hair style. On the other hand the central design can best be interpreted as a crosier, a symbol commonly found on the Irish series. It is noticeable that the shaft continues across the legend space in the same way as the cross shafts on the de Courci farthings. What, however, seems to clinch the argument in favour of a crosier is the representation of a large knop at the base of the spiral head. This form is typical of all the French and English-type pastoral staves of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries,⁴ although less characteristic of the earlier Celtic form used in Ireland.⁵ That this staff represents the saint himself is shown in the inscription PATRICIVS, whereas if CROCCIA were to be understood the reading would be PATRICII as on the farthings (see above).⁶

De Courci seems to have held the patron saint in such veneration as amounted almost to an adoration. He rededicated the cathedral at Down (formerly consecrated to the Blessed Trinity) to St. Patrick and replaced the secular canons there with Benedictine Monks. Also in association with Thomas, Archbishop of Armagh, and Malachy, Bishop of Down, he brought over the monk, Jocelyn, from Furness Abbey to write the saint's life.⁷

The reverse resembles some of the cruciform types found on coinage of Henry I's and Stephen's reigns as well as certain derivative designs on the Hiberno-Danish series. It might be argued, however, that the annuletty cross and pellets are more closely analogous to the head of a processional or monumental cross such as would be then in use in the Anglo-Irish church.⁸ It would be unwise to be dogmatic on this point, but, by analogy with the crosses on the farthings, it would certainly seem to have a purposeful meaning, rather than derive from a purely decorative pattern.

Mr. Derek Allen has discussed at some length the twelfth-century IOHANNES class of halfpenny with filleted head to right and with reverse

¹ Aquilla Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. iv, nos. 13 to 15.

² IOHS and variants are fairly common contractions in France, Germany, and the Low Countries during the late twelfth to fifteenth centuries. See W. C. Hazlitt, *Coinage of the European Continent*, 1893, pp. 257 et seq.

³ e.g. B. Roth, 'The Coins of the Danish Kings of Ireland', *B.N.J.* vi, pl. viii, nos. 172-7.

⁴ W. W. Watts, *Catalogue of Pastoral Staves* (V. and A. Museum, 1924), French and English types, frontispiece and pls. 2-6.

⁵ Margaret Stokes, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, 1911, p. 101. Joseph Raftery, *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, 1941, pls. 86-96.

⁶ PATRICIVS also occurs on the obverse and reverse of the copper farthings struck by Edward IV in 1463. In this instance the type represents a bishop's mitred head. See P. Nelson, *The Coinage of Ireland in Copper, Tin and Pewter*, 1905, p. 2 and pl. i, 5.

⁷ Sir James Ware, *Commentary of the Prelates of Ireland, &c.* (folio ed. 1704), pp. 39-40.

⁸ The basic design of the Celtic processional cross is seen in the Cross of Cong (about 1123) but perhaps a form more closely analogous to that on the coin is the finely decorated cross on the back of St. Manchan's shrine which also probably dates from about 1130. See Raftery, *op. cit.*, pl. 97 and p. 152, and Kendrick in *Archaeologia*, lxxxvi 1936, pl. xxv and pp. 108-12.

bearing cross potent and fleur-de-lis in each angle.¹ After weighing the matter carefully he assigns these to John de Courci and not Prince John, as had previously been suggested by Sainthill, Aquilla Smith, and others, and tentatively places them as a counterpart of the farthing series. With the discovery of the new halfpenny of precisely the same weight, can we now equate the two series to one and the same person?

One or two things should be borne in mind. The first is that de Courci may have struck coins in Dublin as well as in the north. Secondly, that the facing head on the halfpennies of Prince John almost certainly represents St. John the Baptist and not the prince himself.² Allen has even gone so far as to suggest that there may have been deliberate ambiguity in the issue of the IOHANNES (side view) halfpennies as to which of the two earthly Johns was implied.³ Prince John in 1177, when Henry II declared him Lord of Ireland, was only about ten years old, and it is not impossible that de Courci was in fact responsible for striking his first coinage in Dublin and for summoning the three moneyers Elis, Raul, and Roger, two of whose full names have yet to be substantiated. The side-view head and reverse type, simulating the comparatively new coinage of William the Lion of Scotland, would act as an up-to-date model without 'infringing the royal English copyright', but in view of the small issue⁴ it may be implied that this coinage was unsuccessful and quickly suppressed.

There can be little doubt, however, that the coin from Lismahon was struck in Ulster. Its location in a Norman-type structure some five or six miles from Downpatrick might be sufficient evidence in itself, but the unequivocal inscription suggests that, in the north of Ireland at least, John de Courci was undisputed lord and master. But should he claim that he was his own mint-master, even Prince John could not ask, 'Whose image and superscription hath it?'

If the new coin belongs to the same series as the farthings, they were all probably struck after 1185. It is true that de Courci might have established mints at Carrick and Down as early as 1182 and given the colonists there the right to strike farthings as tokens, with the names of their townships, in order to carry on some form of local trading. It is more likely, however, that those coins bearing his full name were issued perhaps in defiance of young Prince John after he had been dismissed from his post as Chief Justice of Ireland in 1189, and when he had established a feudal court at Downpatrick and reigned as prince over part of Ulster.⁵ Be that as it may, the issue of all de Courci's coinage is likely to have ceased after John came to the throne in 1199,⁶ so that if the de Courci halfpenny was in circulation when it was dropped at Lismahon it dates the refortification of the mound closely to the latter part of the twelfth century.

¹ *N.C.* 5th ser., no. 72 (1938), pt. iv, pp. 282-92 and pl. xix.

² First suggested by D. H. Haigh in *N.C.* 1839 and later verified by Aquilla Smith in *N.C.* 1864, p. 96.

³ In a recent letter to the writer.

⁴ Fewer than a dozen specimens of the three moneyers together have come to light, most if not all from Ireland.

⁵ *D.N.B.* xii. p. 331.

⁶ Aquilla Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-1.

THE BRUSSELS HOARD: MR. BALDWIN'S ARRANGEMENT OF THE SCOTTISH COINS

By B. H. I. H. STEWART

IN July 1908 an enormous hoard of sterling or penny-sized silver coins was found in Brussels. Workmen demolishing an old tavern in the Rue d'Assaut, near St. Gudule, found under a cistern in the kitchen at the back of the house a large cauldron containing about 150,000 coins. By Belgian law, treasure trove is the property of the owner of the soil upon which it is found. In the case of the Brussels hoard, the owner put up the whole hoard for auction, at which the British portion, well over 80,000 coins, was sold as one lot to Mr. A. H. Baldwin. Some coins were stolen from the hoard, and Mr. Baldwin a few months later was able to gather more than 2,000 strays.

The British section was largely composed of Long Cross pennies of Henry III, with small proportions of English Short Cross coins and Scottish and Irish pennies. Only incidental notices of the English coins have appeared in print: they were, however, thoroughly sorted through by the late Mr. Baldwin, and it was clear that the latest type represented in the hoard was class Vg. Mr. L. A. Lawrence, who was enabled in the light of the English Long Cross coins from Brussels to evolve his standard classification of that series, wrote:¹

The long-cross coins cover the whole period to and including coins of type Vg, that with the sceptre and low lys-marked crown. Every variety previously known down to this type was in the hoard, and besides them a host of new varieties such as the jewelled crown type, previously quite unknown. All the moneyers, provincial and otherwise, were present. The continental coins dated the hoard to about 1264. The English pieces tell the same story. There were no coins of Richard of Canterbury, date 1267, no coins of John de Burnedissee of St. Edmundsbury, 1265, no late coins of Renaud of London, and of course no coins of the Edwardian Class VIII, so that the English coins confirm the correctness of the date as supplied by those of the continent.

Because of the number of the coins, and since no report for inquest was required, as would have been in the case of English treasure trove, no complete report or catalogue of the hoard has ever been made. Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin has been kind enough to put in my hands all the available material about the hoard; this consists of a manuscript catalogue of all the Scottish coins (about 1,750 in number of which more than 1,000 are of type III), a press cutting,² and a note by the late Mr. A. H. Baldwin on the circumstances and summary contents of the find.

As with the English coins, the Brussels hoard produced many unrecorded varieties in the Scottish series. Burns³ figured only 120 coins, but Mr. Baldwin's catalogue contains about 320 separate varieties of the long double-cross issue of Alexander III. The late Mr. R. C. Lockett acquired from Mr. Baldwin the finest, sometimes the only, specimen of each variety: the Lockett

¹ *B.N.J.* ix, 1912, 170.

² *The Belgian Gazette*, Saturday, 20 Nov. 1909.

³ *The Coinage of Scotland*, vol. iii, pl. ix-xiv.

collection did not, in fact, contain any other examples of the first coinage of Alexander III, so that the photographic record of it covers the series of Scottish coins from the Brussels hoard, completely and exclusively. At the first part of the sale of the Lockett Scottish coins,¹ they were numbered² and listed according to the A. H. Baldwin classification.

Eventually it should be possible to produce a corpus of specimens of this coinage, but in the meantime it may be useful to publish a summary of the Scottish coins in the hoard according to the Baldwin catalogue, and to explain the classification, which has never been published. The list of mints, moneyers, and types will reveal how many important varieties, unknown to earlier students, have appeared in the Brussels hoard.

The only classification ever attempted was made by Burns,³ and was based on letter forms. Although Mr. Baldwin supplied no text to his catalogue notes, it is apparent from the layout and marginal comments that his order of types was based largely on reverse die-links between obverse types. Almost all previously known varieties were present in the hoard and so it appears that the year of deposit, about 1264, coincides approximately with the end of minting on a large scale. The English and Scottish Long Cross coinages ran a parallel course, the one from 1247 to 1279, the other from 1250 to c. 1280. Both started off with the main mint of the previous coinage (London: Berwick) and soon added other mints in support. After a few years of heavy coining, output fell off, mints were closed, and only the largest still continued. This was the stage reached by 1264, and illustrated by the Brussels hoard. After about 1267 coinage was at very low pressure, and standards of production, both of dies and of coins, deteriorated.

Mr. Baldwin differentiates eight separate types of Alexander III's coinage, according to the obverse portrait. His definitions,⁴ with a corrected list of mints and moneyers for the types, are as follows:

Type I. Jewelled cap. Mule coins struck only at Berwick by the moneyers Robert and Wallace. *Obverse:* Large head to right, wearing a cap extending low down behind and ornamented with scroll work; from the same die as the Short Cross penny of Alexander II (B, fig. 76B). The sceptre in front of the bust cuts the inner circle, and the sceptre-head, a cross *pommée* tilted slightly to the right, divides the inscription after the first Λ of Alexander. *Reverse:* Long double cross extending to outer beaded circle, a pellet in the centre, and a six-pointed star in each angle.

Mint. Berwick: Robert (5 reverse dies, 1-5); Wallace (1 reverse, 6).

Type II. Obverse: Small youthful head to right wearing a small, close-fitting cap; sceptre in front, headed by cross *pommée* or *pattée*. *Varieties:* A, normal, with head to right, and cross-ends terminating in pellets. B, similar, but hooked cross-ends (Berwick, Perth, and Roxburgh only). C, head to left, normal cross ends (Glasgow only). Burns figs. 78-9, 92 B-D and 104-5 are good examples

¹ R. C. Lockett Sale, part v, Glendining's, 18 June 1957.

² In the lists of mints and moneyers the number of reverse dies used by each moneyer in each type is recorded in brackets, followed by the serial numbers used in the original catalogue.

³ Op. cit. i. 120-1; followed in *The Scottish Coinage*, pp. 18-20.

⁴ Mostly in his own words: but I have added a few points of description, and given references to Burns's figures for illustration.

of the type of variety A; in the following list all are of var. A unless otherwise indicated.

- Mints. Aberdeen: Alexander (3 reverses, 7–9); Andreas (1 reverse, 12–13); Ion (2 reverses, 10–11).
 Berwick: Robert (3 reverses, 14–16); Wallace (1 reverse: var. B, 17, 18); Robert and Wallace (1 reverse, 19).
 Glasgow: Walter (Var. A, 7 revs., 20–28; var. C, 3 revs., 29–31).
 Lanark: Wilam (2 reverses, 32–33).
 Perth: Ion Corin (Var. A, 3 revs., 35–37; Var. B, 1 rev., 34).
 Roxburgh: Andrew (1 reverse: var. B, 38); Michel (1 reverse, 39).

Type III. Obverse: A small head to left, with neat crown, the band of which is usually shown, but occasionally the band and ornaments are represented by pellets only; in front, sceptre with head a cross *pommée*, the handle often ornamented with saltires. No *reverse* varieties. Easily the most plentiful type: for illustrations, see Burns, Plates XII and XIII.

- Mints. Aberdeen: Alexander (9 reverses, 40–48); Andreas (1 reverse, 49); Ion (2 reverses, 50–52).
 St. Andrews: Thomas (4 reverses, 184–7).
 Ayr: Simon (8 reverses, 53–58, 209–12).
 Berwick: Robert (18 reverses, 59–76); Wallace (2 reverses, 78–79a); Walter (2 reverses, 77, 80); Willem (4 reverses, 81–85).
 DVN: Walter (6 reverses, 86–91); Wilam (1 reverse, 92).
 Edinburgh: Alexander (8 reverses, 93–100); Nicol (1 reverse, 101); Wilam (3 reverses, 102–4).
 FOR: Simond (2 reverses, 117, 118); Wilam (8 reverses, 109–16).
 FRES: Walter (3 reverses, 105–8).
 Glasgow: Walter (9 reverses, 119–28).
 Inverness: Gefrai (10 reverses, 129–38).
 Kinghorn: Walter (2 reverses, 140–1); Wilam (1 reverse, 139).
 Lanark: Wilam (6 reverses, 142–7).
 Montrose: Walter (1 reverse, 149).
 Perth: Ion (6 reverses, 150–5); Ion Corin (10 reverses, 156–65).
 Roxburgh: Adam (5 reverses, 166–70); Andrew (10 reverses, 171–80); Michel (3 reverses, 181–3).
 Stirling: Henri (11 reverses, 188–98).
 Uncertain: TERWILANER (1 reverse, 148).

Type IV. A variety of type III, with a new crown, and a more moulded bust. See Burns figs. 94 D and E.

- Mints. St. Andrews: Thomas (2 reverses, 204–5).
 Ayr: Simon (3 reverses, 199–201).
 Edinburgh: Alexander (1 reverse, 202).
 Glasgow: Walter (1 reverse, 203).
 Stirling: Henri (3 reverses, 206–8).

Type V. Mr. Baldwin says merely 'Head to left, transitional'. Not a substantive type: see remarks below. It is really a left-headed variety of type VI. The mints given by Baldwin are Ayr (really type III), Berwick (later corrected by Baldwin to type VIII), Edinburgh, Fres (really VIII), Glasgow, Kinghorn, and

Lanark. The face is larger and taller than on types III and VIII, and the lettering is large and thick. The Glasgow coin (B, fig. 102) stands alone, and is probably a left-head variety of type VII. Burns figs. 94 A, B, and C are true type V coins.

Mints. Edinburgh: Alexander (3 reverses, 216–18); Wilan (10 reverses, 219–28).

Kinghorn: Wilan (3 reverses, 231–3).

Lanark: Wilan (1 reverse, 134).

Type VI. Tall crowned head to right with neat crown: large plain lettering. See Burns figs. 93 B–C, 94, for type.

Mints. Berwick: Robert (1 reverse, 235).

Edinburgh: Nicol (1 reverse, 236).

Kinghorn: Walter (1 reverse, 239); Wilan (2 reverses, 237–8).

Roxburgh: Andrew (1 reverse, 241); Michel (1 reverse, 242).

Uncertain: TERWILANER (1 reverse, 240).

Type VII. A main type, generally similar to type VI, but a pronounced zigzag profile; very little neck, if any; thick jewelled band to crown; ornamented with pellets on stalks. New, finer lettering. See Burns figs. 95–101 B.

Mints. Aberdeen: Rainald (2 reverses, 243–4).

Ayr: Simon (1 reverse, 245).

Berwick: Arnald (1 reverse, 246); Iohan (3 reverses, 247–9);

Robert (1 reverse, 250); Walter (4 reverses, 151–4); Willelm (9 reverses, 255–63).

Edinburgh: Alexander (4 reverses, 264–6).

FRES: Walter (1 reverse, 267).

Glasgow: Walter (1 reverse; head left type, 230).

Perth: Ion (5 reverses, 268–74); Ion Corin (5 reverses, 275–8);

Rainald (1 reverse, 279).

Roxburgh: Adam (1 reverse, 280); Andrew (1 reverse, 281).

Type VIII. Labelled by Baldwin 'Low crown variety'. A considerable number of different busts, all small, with low flat crown, usually squarish face. A few are very neat, but many blundered, with sometimes retrograde legends. Varieties: *VIIIa*, normal stars on reverse, bust left; *VIIIb*, stars on reverse, bust right; *VIIIc*, mullets on reverse, bust right; *VIIId*, mullets on reverse, bust left. Examples in Burns: figs. 80–92 A, and 103 and 103 A. A large number of similar coins from different dies at Berwick suggests a long period of minting. All *VIIIa* unless otherwise stated.

Mints. Berwick: Arnald (2 reverses, 282–3); Iohan (5 reverses, 284–8);

Walter (*VIIIa*, about 26 reverses, 213–15 and 289–311; *VIIIb*,

1 reverse, 318; *VIIIc*, 1 reverse, 323; *VIIId*, 4 reverses, 319–22);

Willem (1 reverse, 312).

FRES: Walter (2 reverses, 229, 313).

Perth: Rainald (1 reverse, 314–15).

Roxburgh: Andrew (2 reverses, 316–17).

It will at once be seen that the above arrangement differs markedly from that of Burns: here it is not possible to examine the case in detail but a few remarks about type sequence may suggest what an important advance is made

by Mr. Baldwin's arrangement. As a starting point, the mule coins, Ba, type I, are certain. Thereafter a complete series of die-links between obverse types can be found among the Brussels coins to reinforce the sequence. Wallace, not Walter, it transpires, is the moneyer joined with Robert on the pennies of Alexander II (B, figs. 76, 76A, 76B): Walter's coins, in fact, now appear to be the latest, not the earliest,¹ of the Berwick issues. Two tables best show the merits of the Baldwin classification, while suggesting also that some modification of the eight types could be made. The first is of mints and types:

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Aberdeen	+	+	+	..
St. Andrews	+	+
Ayr	+	+	+	..
Berwick	+	+	+	+	+
DVN	+
Edinburgh	+	+	+	+	+	..
FOR	+
FRES	+	+	+
Glasgow	+	+	+	+	..
Inverness	+
KING, RIN	+	..	+	+
Lanark	+	+	..	+
Montrose	+
Perth	+	+	+	+
Roxburgh	+	+	+	+	+
Stirling	+	+
TERWILANER	+	+

The second table is a summary of the die-links between types as noted by Baldwin, with some which he overlooked. The list of examples is probably not quite complete, but it seems unlikely that any further discoveries would do more than strengthen the existing pattern:

	Alex. II	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
1	+	+
2	..	+	+
3	+	+
4	+	+	+
5	+	+
6	+	+	+
7	+	+
8	+	+	+	+
9	+	+	+	+
10	+	+	+	+	..
11	+	+

Examples of 1: Berwick (Robert and Wallace).

2: Berwick (Robert and Wallace).

3: Aberdeen (Alexander, Andreas, Ion), Glasgow, Lanark, Perth (Ion Corin).
Roxburgh (Michel).

4: Glasgow.²

5: St. Andrews, Ayr, Stirling.

6: Edinburgh (Alexander, Wilam), Kinghorn (Wilam).

7: Kinghorn (Wilam).

8: Berwick (Robert), Edinburgh (Nicol), Kinghorn (Wilam), Terwilaner.

9: Ayr.

10: Edinburgh (Alexander).

11: Berwick (Arnald, Walter, Willem), Fres.

¹ Suggested in *B.N.J.* 1955, p. 279.

² The type IV coin in my collection, not represented in Brussels hoard.

An immediate reaction to these tables seems to be that types IV, V, and VI are not substantive, in that they were not struck by four of the main mints—Berwick, Aberdeen, Roxburgh (except for two of type VI), and Perth. This is in accordance with the evidence of the coins. Type IV appears to be a late variety of type III; type V is common at Edinburgh but otherwise hardly exists, whilst type VI again seems to have been a variety peculiar to a few moneyers only.

Five main groups might be distinguished. Group A is the type with uncrowned head to right, Ba, type II, the first main issue, struck by the four big mints with Glasgow and Lanark. Group B is the largest in number of mints, moneyers, dies, and coins, and consists of Ba, type III, and its variety Ba, type IV, in other words, many of the coins with a crowned bust to the left; several new mints were opened for this issue—St. Andrews, Ayr, Dun, Edinburgh, For, Fres, Inverness, Kinghorn, Montrose, and Stirling. Six of these do not coin again, and it must be supposed that they were provincial mints temporarily opened for some sort of recoinage programme, like that in England in 1248–50, but on a much smaller scale. Group C, Ba, types V and VI, is intermediate, with a strong local bias to Edinburgh; not a general issue. The next main issue, Group D, involving all the mints which were striking at the time, is Ba, type VII, including the supposed type V of Glasgow, and, with this one exception, consists of all the coins with a crowned bust to the right, and a zigzag profile.

It is not possible to give any general criterion for distinguishing the last issue, Ba, type VIII, here Group E. The bust is normally small, with a low crown, usually to the left but sometimes to the right. Mullets, instead of stars, are found on a few coins. Inscriptions become blundered or even retrograde, and the impression is that the type was a long one, covering the later years of the coinage when minting was almost confined to Berwick; the number of small varieties and different dies at that mint, particularly of the moneyer Walter, suggests minting at low pressure over many years.

Replotting our two tables according to the five groups we get a much more straightforward picture. The mints and groups are:

	A	B	C	D	E
Aberdeen .	+	+	..	+	..
St. Andrews .	..	+
Ayr .	..	+	..	+	..
Berwick .	+	+	..	+	+
DVN .	..	+
Edinburgh .	..	+	+	+	..
FOR .	..	+
FRES .	..	+	..	+	+
Glasgow .	+	+	..	+	..
Inverness .	..	+
KING, RIN .	..	+	+
Lanark .	+	+	+
Montrose .	..	+
Perth .	+	+	..	+	+
Roxburgh .	+	+	+	+	+
Stirling .	..	+
TERWILANER .	..	+	+

Since C is not a substantive group, a satisfactory pattern emerges, with no

mint issuing non-consecutive types. The table of die-links between types also is much more convincing after the amalgamation into five groups:

	A	B	C	D	E
3, 4	× — ×
6, 8	..	× — ×
9, 10	..	× — ×
11	× — ×	..

Again, group C stands out as irregular, but otherwise the direct consecutive muling is heavy.

Less can be said at the moment about the mints. The main ones are certain: Berwick, Perth, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen, in about that order of importance. Of the rest, Glasgow, Lanark, St. Andrews, Inverness, Montrose, and Stirling are all identifiable as one-moneyer mints; and Ayr seems probable. Dun, For, Fres, and perhaps RIN still puzzle. King is certainly Kinghorn, with the moneyer Wilam, but the absence of die-links between Wilam's coins and those of Walter, which always read RIN, must give doubts to Dakers's confident attribution,¹ in favour of the original caution shown by Burns.² Simond and Wilam at For . . . share obverse dies, and one mint is likely; but Dun . . . is another case, like Kinghorn-Rin . . ., of two moneyers with similar mint signatures who do not share obverse dies. Die-links between mints may eventually help to sort out the uncertain signatures. For instance, Fres does not link with Inverness, so is unlikely to be Forres; it does link heavily with Roxburgh, Glasgow, and Dun . . . (Walter), which suggests a south-western mint. Walter could quite easily be using two parts of the name Dumfries. Another possibility is that Wilam of Dun . . . and Will of For . . ., connected by a hitherto unnoticed die-link, might be the same man striking at Dundee and Forfar, which are within easy distance of each other. An enigma of which nothing can be made as yet is the Terwilaner inscription.

Many of these die-links were noticed by Mr. Baldwin, but their number is much greater than he ever expected. For instance, every one of twenty-three known varieties of Aberdeen pennies of Ba, types II and III, is linked to every other by a complete chain. It is hoped that a thorough study, die by die, will enable much more accurate conclusions to be drawn in due course; meanwhile the basis of Mr. Baldwin's classification is put forward for consideration. It seems to be a great improvement, in the light of much new material, upon the scheme evolved by Burns. I should like to thank Mr. Fred Baldwin for allowing me to study and publish material from the catalogue, and for providing photographs of the Alexander III pennies in the Lockett collection.

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, lxxi. 411.

² *Coinage of Scotland*, i. 147.

NOTE. In the lists of moneyers and types the total number of reverse dies does not always appear to correspond with the sequence numbers in the Baldwin catalogue. Sometimes the serial numbers represent more or less coins than the number of reverse dies recorded; more, when a reverse die has been used with more than one obverse, and less, when extra numbers (e.g. 265A) have been inserted.

AN ANGLO-GALLIC GOLD HOARD

By F. S. SNOW

IN 1876, a gold hoard of fifteen pavilions of Edward the Black Prince and one leopard of Edward III was discovered at Branne which is situated about 35 kilometres due east of Bordeaux. Unfortunately no details concerning the circumstances of the find are available but hoards of Anglo-Gallic gold are rare enough and it seemed worth while to list the types. The coins are the property of Messrs. A. H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd. to whom I am indebted for permission to publish.

The hoard contains two coins of the 1st (heavy) issue and thirteen coins of the 2nd (light) issue of pavilions and only two mints, Bordeaux and Rochelle, are represented. All are illustrated on Pls. V and VI.

The legends are variously abbreviated forms of the following:

Obv. EDWARDUS PRIMOGENITUS REGIS ANGLIE PRINCEPS
AQUITANIE

Rev. DOMINUS ADJUTOR ET PROTECTOR MEUS ET IN IPSO
SPERAVIT COR MEUM

On the obverse the Prince is depicted standing, facing, beneath a Gothic portico and he carries a sword in his right hand. Two ostrich feathers are shown on either side of the Prince and there are two leopards couchant at his feet.

On the reverse is a curvilinear cross decorated with acorns and oak leaves within an ornamented quatrefoil. In addition to the oak leaf and acorn decoration there are trefoils in the spandrels. In the centre of the cross is a cinquefoil on the 1st (heavy) issue and a closed 'E' on the 2nd (light) issue. On the reverse of two of the coins minted at Rochelle the ornamented quatrefoil is larger than usual and as a result the flan is less crowded. The die-cutting on these two reverses is meticulous and the style is specially attractive.

FIRST ISSUE

Bordeaux

Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle. ↑
Weight 82.4 grains.

1. *Obv.* ED: P'O: GNS: REG: — ANGL: PN: A'P'S: A
Rev. * DNS: NIVTO: †: PTECIO: ME: †: IPO: SPANVI: COR:
MEV: B:

Rochelle

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle. ↗
Weight 82.4 grains.

2. *Obv.* ED: PO: GN: REG: A — — — — PNPS: ANVIT
Rev. * DNS: NIV — — †: PTECITO: ME †: IPO: SPANIT. COR:
MEVM: R

SECOND ISSUE

Bordeaux

- Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle. ↗
Weight 76.1 grains.
3. *Obv.* ED' : P'O : GN'S : RAG — ANGL : PTAS : TQI
Rev. * DN'S : TIVTO : † : PTADIO : ME : † : IPO : SPANVIT : QOR :
MEVM : B

Bordeaux

- Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle. ↓
4. *Obv.* ED' : P'O : GN'S : RAG — ANGL' : PNAPS : T
Rev. * DNS : TIVTO : † : PTADIO : ME : † : IPO : SPANVI : QOR :
MEVM : B

Bordeaux

- Type 2. Lis in 1st angle. ↓
5. *Obv.* ED' : P'O : GN'S : RAG* — ANGL : PNCS : TQI
Rev. * DN'S : TITO : † : PTADIO : ME : † : IPO : SPANVIT : QOR :
MEVM : B

Bordeaux

- Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle. ↗
6. *Obv.* ED' : P'O : GN'S : RAG — ANGL : PNAPS : T
Rev. * DNS : TIVTO : PTADIO : ME : † : IPO : SPAN : QOR :
MEVM : B

Bordeaux

- Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle. ↑
7. *Obv.* ED' : P'O : GN'S : RAG — ANGL : PTAS : TQI
Rev. * DN'S : TIVTO : † : PTADIO : ME : † : IPO : SPANVIT : QOR :
MEVM : B

Bordeaux

- Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle. ↓
8. *Obv.* ED' : P'O : GN'S : RAG' — ANGL : PNCS : TQI
Rev. * DN'S : TIVTO' : † : P.TADIO : ME : † : IPO : SPANVIT :
QOR : MEVM : B

Bordeaux

- Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle. ←
9. *Obv.* ED' : P'O : GN'S : RAG' — ANGL' : PNAPS : T
Rev. * DN'S : TIVTO' : † : P.TADIO : ME : † : IPO : SPANVI :
QOR : MEVM : B

Bordeaux

- Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.
10. *Obv.* ED' : P'O : GN'S : RAG' — ANGL' : PNCS : TQI
Rev. * DN'S : TIVTO : † : PTADIO : ME : † : IPO : SPANVIT :
QOR : MEVM : B

Bordeaux

Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle. ↗
Weight 68.5 grains.

11. *Obv.* ED:PO:GN'S:REG' — NGLU:PNS:QLI

Rev. * DNS:PIVTO:‡:P.TACTIO:ME:‡:IPO.SPATIVIT:
COR:MEVM:B

Rochelle

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle. ←
Weight 74.9 grains.

12. *Obv.* ED:PO:GNS:REI:‡ — NGLU:PNS:(QLVI)

Rev. * DNS:PIVTO:PTACTO:ME:‡:IPO.SPATIVIT COR:
MEVM:R

Rochelle

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle. ↓
Weight 74.6 grains.

13. *Obv.* ED:PO:GNS:REI:‡ — NGLU:PNS:QLVI

Rev. * DNS:PIVTO:‡:PTACTO:ME:‡:IPO.SPATIVIT:COR:
MEVM:R

Rochelle

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle. ↑
Weight 74.4 grains.

14. *Obv.* ED:PO:GNS:REI:‡ — NGLU:PNS:QLVI

Rev. * DNS:PIVTO:‡:PTACTO:ME:‡:IPO.SPATIVIT:COR:
MEVM:R

Note—The 'E' of ED appears to be a reversed 'P'

Rochelle

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle. ↗
Weight 68.5 grains.

15. *Obv.* * ED:PO:GN'S:REG' ‡ — NGLU:PNS ‡ OVIT

Rev. * DNS:PIVTO:‡:PTACTO:ME:‡:(M)PO.SPATIVIT:
COR:MEVM:R

Note—The 'Q' appears to have no tail.

The closed 'E' in the centre of the reverse is upside-down.

Edward III. Leopard. 3rd issue, Type 2.

Weight 51.4 grains. ↗

16. *Obv.* * EDWARDVS:DEI:GRA:ANGLIE:FRANCIE:REX

Rev. * XPC:VINCIIT:XPC:REGNAT:XPC:IMPERAT

NOTES. 1. There is no consistency about die-axis.

2. On the Rochelle coins the lower ends of the A's and the upper ends of the V's are split.

3. On coins 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, and 11 the 'Q' on the obverse appears as an open 'C' with an elongated tail.

THE TOWER GOLD OF CHARLES I

By H. SCHNEIDER

PART II

THE DOUBLE CROWNS

THE double crowns¹ follow the general pattern of the unites only to a limited extent and only during the earlier stages of the coinage. As is the rule in the post-medieval portrait series, the double crowns link up with the sixpenny pieces rather than with the unites, just as the unites are related to the shillings so far as portraiture is concerned. The reverse design of the double crowns, however, follows the lead of the unites—often in a simplified form—almost without exception.

Group A

Class I. (Obv. Bust 1 with King's Crown 1. Rev. Shield 1 with Reverse Crown 1 or 2.) Obv. **Pl. VII, 1**. Rev. **Pl. VIII, 23**, showing Reverse Crown 2.

Class II. (Obv. Bust 1a with King's Crown 2. Rev. Shield 1 with Reverse Crown 1 or 2.) Obv. **Pl. VII, 2**. Rev. **Pl. VIII, 24**, showing Reverse Crown 1.

Generally speaking the double crowns of Group A tally with one of the unite varieties only, that of Class II. Bust 1 of the double crowns strongly resembles Bust 1 of the unites with King's Crown 1 (**Pl. VII, 1**). From this, Bust 1a of the double crowns differs only by having a larger and broader king's crown of basically the same double-arched design (**Pl. VII, 2**). On the reverse only the plainly garnished shield design occurs (Shield 1, **Pl. VIII, 23, 24**) and the crown above the shield differs completely from that of the unites. Since the unique pattern for the double crown of Group A which bears the Trefoil privy mark² has King's Crown 1, I have listed Bust 1 as the first variety. This pattern has the small square lettering on the obverse which was used on some of the early dies of the ordinary issue as well. However, as is the case

¹ When dealing with the Oxford unites of Charles I (*B.N.J.* xxviii) Mr. Beresford-Jones mentioned that the contemporary name for the coins had been 'twenty shilling pieces' and not 'unites' although the coins were so described in the mint reports. In the absence of other popular successes and achievements James I had, of course, rather advertised *HENRICVS ROSAS REGNA IACOBVS* but it would appear that the term 'unite' had never been popularly current. During the reign of Charles I the mint still used this but it had really become an anachronism because the reverse legend had been changed. For the double crowns, however, not even the mint appears to have used the term 'half unite' and the public certainly did not. It seems therefore logical to revert to the traditional word 'double crown' which we find in contemporary literature, although 'half unite' is correct but rather academic.

² Cf. Martin, Bergne, Addington, Montagu (3rd sale, Lot 359), and Murdoch (2nd sale, Lot 287, illustrated on Plate IX). The coin was subsequently in Dr. E. Carter's collection. Mr. Whitton has erroneously listed it as forming part of the ordinary issue of double crowns in his *Addenda and Corrigenda* to Dr. Brooke's *English Coins*. He was perhaps confused by Dr. Carter's exhibit on 3 October 1940 (*B.N.J.* xxiii, 1938/40) because it was not stated on this occasion that the coin was a pattern.

for the unites, both bust varieties were used concurrently for quite some time and we find frequently Bust 1 and Bust 1*a* of the double crowns with reverses from the same dies. It seems probable that the Bust 1 variety was abandoned at a comparatively early stage of the Group A issue. For not only is Bust 1 much rarer than Bust 1*a*, failing to survive the change of privy mark from Lis to Cross Calvary, but I know of no assured late die-link with a Bust 1 obverse.

Group A is known with privy marks Lis and Cross Calvary. Bust 1 with King's Crown 1 occurs with the Lis mark only. We find Bust 1*a* with King's Crown 2 on coins bearing privy mark Lis and Cross Calvary. All the double crowns of Group A have the Shield 1 reverse.

In order to maintain a more or less coherent general pattern for my records of the basic designs of unites, double crowns, and crowns of Charles I, I have co-ordinated the principal groups. It will thus be found that a unite of Group A has the same type of portrait and reverse design as a double crown or a crown of Group A. But the subdivisions into classes do not correspond as a rule and a unite of, say, Group D, Class II, has not exactly the same features as a double crown of that group and class. The impressive number of varieties which we find for one denomination but not the other makes it impossible to co-ordinate the classes. I could have used additional class figures for each variety which does not occur in the unite series, but this would have caused formidable gaps in the numbering of the classes and would, I think, be confusing and of no statistical advantage; for the double crowns break away almost completely from the unite designs in the later stages of the coinage.

Group B

Class I. (Obv. Bust 2 with King's Crown 3. Rev. Shield 2 with Rev. Crown 2.)
Obv. **PL. VII, 3.** Rev. **PL. VIII, 25.**

The first bust with the small portrait of the king does not occur in the unite series and may well have been an early experiment. Alternatively, it could have been John Gilbert's version of the Vanderdort model, for it must have been issued concurrently with the larger and much more common Bust 2*a* which was no doubt Greene's work (**PL. VII, 4 or 5**). Only one set of punches for Bust 1 appears to have been made and I have carefully weighed the very few coins with the Cross Calvary mark which passed through my hands in order to ascertain whether this rare small portrait was not perhaps made for the 'Light Coinage of 1626'. I found, however, that all the coins have about the correct weight and, for chronological reasons, it must be regarded as more likely that a double crown of the 'Light Coinage of 1626' with the Cross Calvary mark would have the Group A rather than the Group B portrait. It is strange that the real villain of this attempt at a debasement of the coinage in 1626 should have been the joint-chief engraver Gilbert rather than one of the leading court officials or the king himself. Gilbert can hardly be described as an inspired artist but he was certainly a very resourceful and versatile man with a great deal of imagination. He had been warden of the Edinburgh mint establishment during the reign of James I, had travelled extensively and

worked on the Continent of Europe, and it seems probable that his interests and, for that matter, his knowledge went well beyond the scope of his work at the Tower. Gilbert had in fact secretly submitted a scheme to the Treasury which provided for a reduction of the fineness of the coins by the use of his 'secret alloy', which was supposed to 'deceive the touchstone without any possible means of discovery'.¹ The alternative proposal—and this is the really important one because it makes Gilbert the *spiritus rector* of the 'Light Coinage of 1626'—was a reduction of the weight of the coins by $8\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. However, we have yet to find a gold coin which can be convincingly assigned to the short period of debasement during the year 1626.²

The reverse of the coins corresponds exactly with the reverse of the contemporary unites of Group B except for the different crown punch above the shield (Pl. VIII, 25).

Class I occurs with privy marks Cross Calvary and Blackamoor's Head.

Class II. (Obv. Bust 2a with King's Crown 3a. Rev. Shield 2 with Reverse Crown 1 or 2.) Obv. Pl. VII, 4 or 5. Rev. Pl. VIII, 25.

This tallies with the unites of Group B, Class Ia, and was issued concurrently with the small portrait model of Class I for some little time. The Class II bust became the standard design for the earlier double crowns of Group B and we find it with privy marks Cross Calvary, Blackamoor's Head, Castle and Anchor. The reverse of the coins with Shield 2 remains unchanged.

Class III. (Obv. Bust 3 with King's Crown 4. Rev. Shield 2 with Reverse Crown 2.) Obv. Pl. VII, 6. Rev. Pl. VIII, 25.

This is the double crown version of the 'elongated' bust variety of the unites of Group B, Class Ib, and why this popular and common unite design should not have been generally adopted for the double crowns is hard to say. I have recorded only one single specimen with this portrait. The illustration shows that the bust was rather too long for the diameter of the flan but it would have been easy to correct this. Class III occurs with the Anchor mark only. The reverse with Shield 2 is maintained.

Class IVa+b. (Obv. of Class IVa has Bust 3a with King's Crown 4. Rev. Shield 2 with Reverse Crown 2.) Obv. Pl. VII, 7. Rev. Pl. VIII, 25.

(Obv. of Class IVb has Bust 3a with King's Crown 4. Rev. Shield 2a with Reverse Crown 2.) Obv. Pl. VII, 7. Rev. Pl. VIII, 26.

We have here, to all intents and purposes, the equivalent of the 'elongated' portrait for the double crown and it is not unlike that of Class III. But the face punch is noticeably different and the bust truncation somewhat shorter. It constitutes, as it were, an elongated bust design without the king's elongated profile which we find on the Class III variety. On the reverse Shield 2

¹ Sir John Craig's *The Mint*, p. 138.

² The normal weight of a double crown was $70\frac{1}{4}$ gr., but the moneyers worked as a rule only to the tolerance per pound troy and were often rather careless about the weight of individual coins. I found that unclipped and almost unworn unites vary in weight from a little below 138 gr. to almost 142 gr., but heavy coins are obviously rare. The range for the double crowns is roughly from $68\frac{1}{2}$ to $71\frac{1}{4}$ gr. There are thus considerable discrepancies, but unless a unite weighs below 133 gr. and a double crown a maximum of $66\frac{1}{2}$ gr. the coins would not qualify for the light coinage of 1626.

is maintained but a later form of shield-garnishing which we know already from the unites also occurs. This is not an exact copy of the Shield 3a design of the unites and has no garnishing below the reverse crown. I have listed it as Shield 2a. Both shield varieties were used concurrently until the end of Group B. Class IVa+b is known with privy marks Heart and Feathers.

Class Va+b. (Obv. of Class Va has Bust 4 with King's Crown 5. Rev. Shield 2 with Reverse Crown 2.) Obv. **Pl. VII, 8.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 25.**

(Obv. of Class Vb has Bust 4 with King's Crown 5. Rev. Shield 2a with Reverse Crown 2.) Obv. **Pl. VII, 8.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 26.**

This variety is remarkable for its neat, well-balanced design and for the good execution of the coins. It is perhaps Briot's most attractive bust model of Group B. Since the Class IVa+b and the Class Va+b coins were obviously issued concurrently, it is difficult to explain why the Frenchman took the trouble to make a new bust design and probably to cut the master punches for the Class Va+b coins himself, knowing that an altogether different portrait would soon come into use.¹ Maybe Briot was not altogether satisfied with Greene's execution of his models for the Class IVa+b double crowns. This would not be surprising because their portrait is not very pleasing. On the reverse of the coins we find Shield 2 or Shield 2a, as was to be expected. Class Va+b is known with privy marks Heart and Feathers.

Mules Group B/C

(Obv. Bust 4 with King's Crown 5. Rev. has the new design of Group C with an oval shield (Shield 3) and Reverse Crowns 3 or 6 above. The royal initials C-R are placed beside the shield.) Obv. **Pl. VII, 8.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 27,** showing Reverse Crown 3.

The change-over to the new portrait and reverse design of Group C went much more smoothly in the double crown series than in the other crown-gold denominations, and muling is extremely rare. The two specimens I have seen have the obverse of Group B, Class V, with a reverse of Group C (Shield 3, without pellets in the field). Group B/C mules occur with the Feathers mark only, and I know of no Group C/B mules.

Group C

The same new bust-and-shield design which we know from the unites of Group C was introduced on the double crowns during the privy mark Feathers period but perhaps a little later than on the unites, for the double crowns of Group C with privy mark Feathers are quite rare. The pellets in the field also occur on the reverses of many double crowns, but there is not the same profusion of pellets which we find on some of the unite reverses of Group C. As a rule there is only one pellet on each side of the reverse crown above the shield but, here and there, a pellet on each side of the shield occurs which forms almost part of the shield garnishing.

Class Ia+b. (Obv. of Class Ia has Bust 5 with King's Crown 6. Rev. Shield 3

¹ Cf. *B.N.J.* xxviii, 1957, 342.

with or without pellets and Reverse Crown 4, 5, or 6.) Obv. **Pl. VII, 9**. Rev. **Pl. VIII, 28**, showing Reverse Crown 4 between pellets.

(Obv. of Class Ib has Bust 5 with King's Crown 6a. Rev. Shield 3 with or without pellets next to it and Reverse Crown 5 or 6). Obv. **Pl. VII, 10**. Rev. **Pl. VIII, 29**, showing Reverse Crown 5.

The double crown series of Group C lacks the great profusion of portrait varieties which we have noticed on the unites. The only noteworthy difference which does actually change the aspect of the king's bust lies in the crown punches. We find a high and fairly round crown or a flatter and rather broader crown on the king's head, but the latter crown punch is not often seen. Basically, the double crowns of Group C tally with the unites of Group C, Class IIa, only, and they occur with privy mark Feathers and Rose.

Group D

As is the case for the other crown-gold denominations, there was a complete break between the double crowns of Group C and Group D. No mules have been recorded. There is, however, a noteworthy pattern with a variety of the usual Group D bust and a variety of the Shield 4 design of Group D in the British Museum. It bears a large privy mark Rose on the obverse and there is no privy mark on the reverse. The reverse die was made of most unusual punches which resemble those of Briot's high relief patterns¹ and were not used for the double crowns of Group C or Group D of the regular Tower coinage. It may well be one of the cases where Master Briot 'intermeddled with the graving of His Matsy's arms'. This pattern was no doubt struck in preparing the Group D design which was accepted only after some alterations were made. The coin seems to have been used as a touch-piece later on and we find it illustrated in *B.N.J.* xiii (1917), 99, in Miss Farquhar's paper 'Royal Charities'. It is a little unfortunate, however, that both Miss Farquhar and Dr. Crawford² have described this coin as a 'typical' makeshift touch-piece when no Angels were available, for the pattern in question appears to be unique.

From the Group D period onwards the double crowns show an ever-increasing tendency to break away from the portraiture of the unites and to follow the lead of the sixpenny pieces. The new reverse design with the crowned C-R initials beside an oval shield having a garnishing which differs considerably from that of Group C conforms strictly, however, with the corresponding reverse design of the unites of Group D and shows hardly any noteworthy alterations during the long run of the Group D issue.

Class I. (Obv. Bust 6 with King's Crown 7. Rev. Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 6.) Obv. **Pl. VII, 11**. Rev. **Pl. VIII, 30**.

This portrait still links up with the unite bust of Group D, Class I, and has the typical high crown which divides the obverse legend. The issue of Class I double crowns must have been very small indeed and the former Clarke-Thornhill specimen which is now in the British Museum may be the sole

¹ Cf. Brooke's *English Coins*, pl. lvii. 11, so far as the basic design of the shield garnishing is concerned.

² *The King's Evil*, p. 105.

surviving representative of Class I which is known with privy mark Harp only.

Class II. (Obv. Bust 7 with King's Crown 8. Rev. Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 6 or 7.) Obv. **Pl. VII, 12.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 31,** showing Reverse Crown 6.

The king's portrait differs completely from that of the corresponding unites of Group D, Class II. The double crowns of Class II have a smaller face punch than those of Class I and the king's crown is flatter with jewelled outer and unjewelled inner arches. The anomaly in this class which occurs normally with privy mark Harp and Portcullis are coins with the Tun mark struck over Portcullis which therefore belong to this portrait class.

Class IIa. Obv. Bust 7a with King's Crown 9. Rev. Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 5, 6, or 7.) Obv. **Pl. VII, 13.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 32,** showing Reverse Crown 7 (early variety), and **Pl. VIII, 33,** showing the later model of Reverse Crown 7.

The portrait design itself shows little change, but the king's head is distinctly smaller now and the king's crown was correspondingly reduced in size. It has higher and unjewelled arches. The lace collar of the king's dress is somewhat less elaborate and the bust truncation differs slightly. This is by far the commonest class of Group D double crowns and we find it with privy marks Bell, Crown, Tun, and Anchor.

Class IIb. (Obv. Bust 6a with King's Crown 7a. Rev. Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 6.) Obv. **Pl. VII, 14.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 31.**

It is mainly for statistical reasons that I have placed in a class of its own what may well be an isolated obverse die made from tools which had already gone out of use. For the coin is perhaps a very rare curiosity rather than an important departure from the usual portraiture, and I am therefore reluctant to assign it to a separate issue. The portrait reveals, in fact, a strange *mixtum compositum* of punches: we can identify the face punch of Class I but the king's crown, although not unlike that of Class I (King's Crown 7), is not quite so high and inner and outer arches are unjewelled. It does not divide the obverse legend and is in fact well confined within the inner circle. I know of no specimen other than the late Dr. Ernest Carter's. This variety has privy mark Crown.

Group Da

Since the portraits are my main criterion for the classification of the coins, I must now deal with the double crowns bearing privy mark Eye, regardless of the fact that from a chronological point of view they are to be placed after the coins of Group E and Group F.

After the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, when the Group F model of Briot's design was in force, the existing dies and tools were used until they became completely unserviceable. The output of double crowns seems to have dwindled much more than that of the other crown-gold denominations. Actually, the total number of double crowns which have come down to us

with a privy mark later than Triangle-in-Circle appears to be about 15, and only those with the Sun mark, which had by far the highest pyx figure for Tower gold coined during the Civil War, are sometimes seen. During the (P) mark period the tools of Group F were still used but they had clearly come to the end of their tether, and, apart from the noteworthy exception with which I shall deal a little later,¹ no new bust punches for the double crowns were made at all after the outbreak of the Civil War.

No serviceable tools of the double crown bust of Group F seem to have survived when privy mark Eye came into use. As was the case for the unites during the (P) mark period when the old punches of Group D were cleaned, touched up, and put into commission again, the discarded tools for the Group D double crowns of Class IIa were revived and used for the dies bearing privy mark Eye. Only three specimens appear to be extant with that mark and they are all so worn that it is difficult to ascertain whether alterations—such as the addition of armour—were made when the punches were recut. It does not look like it but the condition of the coins leaves us in doubt.

Group Da has Bust 7b with King's Crown 9 and on the reverse Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 8. (Obv. **PL. VII, 15**. Rev. **PL. VIII, 35**.) Excepting the late Reverse Crown 8 above the shield, this tallies almost exactly with the coins of Group D, Class IIa. Group Da is known with privy mark Eye only.

Group E

The double crowns—following the usual lead of the sixpenny pieces—adopted the so-called 'Aberystwyth Bust', but it must have been only at the very end of the Anchor mark period that the bust design of Group D was superseded. For nearly all the double crowns bearing privy mark Anchor belong to Group D, Class IIa, whereas specimens with the 'Aberystwyth Bust' are very rare. I know of only three specimens of Class I and I have not seen more than half a dozen Group E double crowns of Class II with the Anchor mark.

It is rather strange that in her otherwise exhaustive paper on the portraiture of the Stuart sovereigns² Miss Farquhar ignored this bust design almost completely and did not tackle the question of the artist's identity. Since Briot was responsible for the model he must have approved of it and he may have checked and corrected the master punches. But one feels that Briot has no more designed it personally than Rubens has personally painted so many pictures which originated from his school of painting in Antwerp. Just as they were all painted under the strong influence of Rubens's style but lack that 'something extra' of the great artist, the coins of Group E, Class I, lack to a much greater extent than those of Class II the personal touch of Master Briot. It is a well-balanced, well-executed, and quite pleasing portrait design, but not an impressive likeness of the king.

The almost universally accepted term 'Aberystwyth Bust' for the Group E portrait is quite justified, although the design did not of course originate from the Aberystwyth mint establishment and was extensively used for Tower silver coins. However, for the London mint the Group E portrait is no more than

¹ Group H. ² *B.N.J.* v, 1908, 145.

one of the major bust varieties: for Aberystwyth it became the standard model and typical of Bushell's mint.

The view that the portrait tools were in fact specially designed and made for Aberystwyth and only given a practical test on Tower dies for a little while is wrong for so many obvious and irrefutable reasons that it would be futile to muster half a dozen arguments against it. It will be sufficient to point to the fact that Aberystwyth was never authorized to strike gold and that a practical test of punches on dies destined to produce gold coins would have been pointless. And one may add that the silver coins struck at the Tower with the 'Aberystwyth' bust are so plentiful that the very volume, as much as the period of time during which the Group E bust was exclusively used in London, rules out the possibility of a test of punches. One does not test punches for several years and there is no reason to assume that a special bust design was ordered for so small and unimportant a mint establishment as Bushell's.

The idea that the Group E portrait was designed for a special purpose and is, in a way, on a plane of its own, having a direct link with Wales and an indirect one with Oxford, can I think be attributed to a departure from what might be described as the usual 'Van Dyck-Briot style'. But that does not alter the fact that the coins are perfectly orthodox and form part of the ordinary indenture. It will be remembered that Briot was getting ready for his second trial and for his 'Anchor Coinage of 1638' at the very moment the Tower mint was retooling. In these circumstances it would not be surprising if he had left the new bust model to another senior engraver to execute and confined his work to checking and correcting the design.

Class I. (Obv. Bust 8 with King's Crown 10. Rev. Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 5 or 7.) Obv. **Pl. VII, 16.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 33**, showing later variety of reverse crown 7.

This early variety is extremely rare and seems to be only represented in the National Collection, except for Dr. E. Carter's coin which has an upright Anchor mark on both sides. Class I occurs with privy mark Anchor only, and the bust design corresponds with that of some of the later sixpenny pieces bearing the Tun mark which Francis¹ has listed as his Type 4. A particularly good proof of a shilling piece with this portrait was in the Ryan collection and the illustration permits the study of all the relevant features of the design.²

Class II. (Obv. Bust 9 with King's Crown 10a. Rev. Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 5 or 7.) Obv. **Pl. VII, 17.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 33**, showing later variety of reverse crown 7.

The difference between Class I and Class II lies mainly in the face punch and the execution of the king's crown. Also the king's hair is somewhat differently arranged. King's Crown 10a is distinctly smaller than King's Crown 10 and the inner arches are missing so that it gives the impression of being higher and loftier. The Class II profile is nearer to Briot's usual style than that of

¹ *B.N.J.* 1919/20, 'Silver Coins of the Tower Mint of Charles I'.

² Ryan Sale, Second Part, Jan. 1952, lot 1126, Pl. xix.

Class I and the face punch may well have been corrected or made by Briot. So far as the king's crown and profile are concerned, there is clearly some resemblance between the portraiture of this Class II and the Oxford portrait of Charles after the arrival of Parkhurst and his team of workmen in that city.¹ This points, *prima facie*, towards Rawlins's rather than Briot's design, but even if Bust 9 were actually Rawlins's work it would tell us no more than we know already: that Rawlins was strongly influenced by Briot's style and that he could copy the Frenchman's models convincingly. It throws no additional light on the problem as to who was responsible for the Oxford portrait, where Mr. Beresford-Jones very wisely refused to commit himself, as any responsible student would.

If, however, the punches for the king's crown and profile which we find on the double crowns of Class II were in fact made and designed by Briot—or at least corrected by Briot—it would only prove that the 'Oxford Head' of Charles I is from Briot tools which were smuggled out of the Tower. And that is not precisely a new and revolutionary idea! Although Mr. Beresford-Jones's research on the Oxford coinage and my work on the Tower mint issues were conducted quite independently, we had, I think, both hoped that our efforts would solve the problem of the Oxford portrait and the Class II bust of the Tower double crowns of Group E. But it must be openly admitted that we have failed to identify the artist beyond any considerable doubt, and we have only shaken the traditional belief in Rawlins's 'independent' Oxford bust to some extent.

Class II is known with privy mark Anchor and includes practically all the double crowns bearing the Triangle mark.

Group Ea

The very few surviving portrait tools of Group D, Class II*a*, which were used during the Eye mark period of Group D*a*, had apparently become unserviceable in 1645. It is not really surprising that, in the absence of new bust punches, the old tools of Group E were recut, a little more armour added, and used anew. For during the Group E period proper astonishingly few double crowns had been struck and the master punches were therefore still in such good condition that they could meet the very reduced requirements of the Tower mint until the end of the coinage in the name of Charles I. The king's portrait and crown correspond exactly with that of Group E, Class II, except for those very minor differences one must expect when tools are cleaned and touched up.

Class I. (Obv. Bust 9*a* with King's Crown 10*a*. Rev. Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 8.) Obv. **PL. VII, 18.** Rev. **PL. VIII, 35.**

Mr. Lockett's coin² is the only specimen of Class I which I know of. It has still the long-lived reverse design which was introduced at the very beginning of the Group D period when privy mark Harp superseded Rose. The coin cannot, however, be regarded as a mule in the accepted sense of the word.

¹ *B.N.J.*, vol. xxvii. 'The Oxford Mint and the Triple Unites of Charles I' by R. D. Beresford-Jones. Portrait varieties V, VI, VII, and VIII. ² Lockett Sale, Part IV (Oct. 1956), lot 2226.

The alteration of the shield garnishing on the reverses of the crown-gold coins does not coincide with the change of the privy mark from Eye to Sun, not, at any rate, so far as the double crowns and the gold crowns are concerned. It took place some time early during the Sun mark period and Mr. Lockett's coin is not an isolated case: Dr. Ernest Carter's double crown with that privy mark¹ has the same Shield 4 reverse design. Since these are not coins which have the Sun punch struck over an earlier privy mark, it must be assumed that Shield 4 was still in regular use during the early stage of the Sun mark period. Class I is known with that privy mark only.

Class II. (Obv. Bust 9a with King's Crown 10a. Rev. Shield 4a with Reverse Crown 9.) Obv. **Pl. VII, 18.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 36.**

The bulk of the double crowns bearing the Sun mark have the late Shield 4a reverse with a shield of a slightly different shape and a much cruder and more simplified garnishing. The crown above (Reverse Crown 9) becomes smaller and has the outer arches jewelled and the inner arches unjewelled. Class II occurs with privy marks Sun and Sceptre.

Group F

That the Briot bust of Group F is found on double crowns bearing privy marks Anchor, Triangle, Star, and (P) cannot be interpreted as a return to the lead of the unite design. All the larger portrait coins adopted Briot's bust model and the double crowns were no exception to the rule.

For reasons which I have already explained,² I am including Briot's hammered double crown with Briot's own reverse design in Group F, because I regard it as belonging to the regular Tower coinage rather than to Briot's personal coinage of 1638.

Class I. (Obv. Bust 10 with King's Crown 11. The reverse has Briot's own shield design with Briot's personal reverse crown and harp punches.) Obv. **Pl. VII, 19.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 34.**

The specimen which appeared in the Ryan sale³ seems to be the only surviving one. It bears the long Anchor of Briot's design as privy mark and the coin tallies with the unites of Group F, Class I.

Class II. (Obv. Bust 10 with King's Crown 11. Rev. Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 5 or 8.) Obv. **Pl. VII, 20, 21.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 33 or 35,** which shows Reverse Crown 8.

The coins with the Triangle mark deserve special attention. The three specimens⁴ I have recorded are all from the same obverse die and were evidently struck very early during the Triangle mark period. On the reverse they have, on both die varieties, the Triangle punched over a prostrate Anchor, and on the obverse the Anchor mark seems to have been removed before the Triangle punch was applied to the die. It is important to note that these three

¹ Cf. Group H.

² *B.N.J.* xxviii, 1957, 349/351.

³ First part, June 1950, lot 512.

⁴ Raynes Sale, 1950, lot 253, which was misdescribed in the catalogue; Ryan sale, First Part, lot 485; and Lockett sale, Part IV, lot 2223.

coins—and they alone of the entire double-crown series of the regular issue—have the ‘pure’ Briot legend MAG BRIT FR ET HIB which otherwise occurs only on assured Briot dies. It seems plausible to suggest therefore that the obverse of the coins was struck from a Briot ‘test die’¹ which was combined with an ordinary Tower reverse die.² Two other facts seem to corroborate this:

1. Briot’s personal punch for the Anchor privy mark was considerably longer than any of the Anchor punches used at the Tower mint for the ordinary coinage and it has also quite a different shape.³ The area of tooling on the obverse die to remove the Anchor mark is suspiciously large and suggests that a punch of the dimensions of Briot’s was obliterated.

2. All the double crowns bearing privy mark Triangle have the Group E portrait, except for these three coins under review. There can be no doubt that the Briot portrait of Group F was not generally used for the double crowns until the Star mark came into force. And yet these three coins were indubitably struck very early during the Triangle mark period and are in fact from an altered obverse and two overstruck reverse dies of the Anchor issue. That the double crowns bearing privy mark Triangle should firstly have been issued with the Group F bust, that they should subsequently have been switched over to the old Group E bust model, and should have finally reverted to the Group F bust when the Star mark came into force, makes no sense.

My contention that the double crowns of Group F with the Triangle mark were struck from a Briot ‘test’ obverse die and issued within the scope of the regular Tower coinage solves this chronological problem. The coins can, in my opinion, be regarded as Briot/Tower mules.

All the other double crowns of Group F, Class II which occur with privy marks Star, Triangle-in-Circle, and (P) have the normal BRI FRA legend of that period and read sometimes HIB and sometimes HI. They tally with the unites of Group F, Class II.

No double crowns with the puzzling privy mark (R) have so far been discovered but that they were struck can hardly be doubted. The question whether they had Briot’s Group F bust or the Aberystwyth bust of Group Ea must be left open. The corresponding sixpenny pieces bearing privy mark (R) are extant with both bust varieties, and the same may have applied to the double crowns with that mark as well.

Group H

The Group G portrait of the unites was not adopted for the double crowns, but half-hearted attempts at retooling were made during the year 1645 for the double crowns also. As was the case for the sixpenny pieces, however, it was apparently decided that the existing old punches of Group E were good enough to be recut and that the making of new punches was not a matter of urgency. Actually these recut punches could meet the requirements of the small output of double crowns at the Tower for another three years and the retooling of 1645 remained in an experimental stage.

¹ Cf. *B.N.J.* xxviii, 1957, 350.

² Cf. *B.N.J.* xxviii, 1957, 351.

³ Cf. *Pl. VII, 19* and *VIII, 34* for Briot’s punch and *Pl. VII, 16, 17* for ordinary Tower punch.

The Group H bust (Bust 11 with King's Crown 12, **Pl. VIII, 22**) belongs to this very short period during which experiments with a new bust design were made and it constitutes an important departure from the hitherto predominant Briot style. It is the only double-crown portrait from punches which were unquestionably made after the outbreak of the Civil War; and that Miss Farquhar did not comment on this bust in her review of Stuart portraiture seems at first sight incredible. But it is not really surprising, although the only specimen which has hitherto been recorded is an 'old friend' which we can trace back to the collections of Shepherd, Bieber, Montagu, Murdoch, and Dr. Carter. None of the previous owners seems to have appreciated the importance of this coin from the point of view of the portraiture; it was never illustrated and was rather irrelevantly described in the old sale catalogues. As painstaking a student as Miss Farquhar could not have missed the portrait variety; she simply did not know it existed. I should have missed it myself had it not been for Mr. Albert Baldwin who drew my attention to it.

That the coin is a very early experiment during the Sun mark period is certain. For the reverse has still the old design (Shield 4) which was abandoned soon after the Sun superseded the Eye privy mark (**Pl. VIII, 35**). Briot was still alive, but whether he was still active at the Tower is rather doubtful and that he had any authority over the king's portrait at that time improbable. The design and the punches are certainly not his and, ultimately, Simon and Wade, who were in charge at the time, are of course responsible for it. From the point of view of style the portrait can no more be assigned to Simon's hand than to Briot's. We have unfortunately no points of comparison with work which can convincingly be attributed to Wade, but it is just possible that the Group H bust design is his. I personally feel that the engraver of this bust is likely to have been a comparatively new acquisition of the Tower mint, because—unlike the Group G unites—the double crown of Group H has a bust which shows no resemblance to the otherwise quite firmly established 'Briot style'. And the old hands at the mint, including Simon himself, were very strongly influenced by Briot's portraiture.

Group H is known with privy mark Sun only and the coin has on the obverse the very small Sun punch which also occurs on some gold crown pieces bearing that mark.

BRIOT'S MILL DOUBLE CROWNS OF 1631/3

The existence of five different obverse dies, four of which were exclusively used with the same reverse die, points towards technical difficulties with Briot's minting equipment. This may explain why the issue of double crowns was so very small. The coins are all rare; some of the varieties are very rare and one of them seems to be unique.

In his excellent and carefully documented book,¹ Sir John H. Craig stated that in contrast to his Edinburgh work Briot confined himself at the Tower to the use of screw presses and flat-faced dies and that he worked with round blanks only. That Briot did not use rollers is a little difficult to reconcile with certain common defects of his mill coins. Many of the earliest unites with the

¹ *The Mint*, p. 150.

Anemone+B mark are not quite round. They are slightly convex-concave with the edge in one place—and invariably the same place—somewhat bent and forced down. And they are nearly all off centre at the same place. The traces of ‘shaving’ on some unites and on nearly all the double crowns seem to be equally inconsistent with flat dies and a screw-stamping device. Sometimes the ‘shaving’ is only very slight but I have seen quite a few specimens with a series of really deep parallel scratches right across the centre of the reverse, and I think we must exclude filing to reduce heavy blanks in this case. That blanks of mill coins minted after 1662 were at times filed to reduce the weight is of course certain. But, quite apart from the fact that the scratches on Briot’s mill coins are too deep and much too far apart to have been inflicted by even the coarsest file, one cannot possibly believe that the Frenchman would have compromised the aspect of his own special coins *a priori* by using severely damaged blanks. In any case most of the scratches, if inflicted on the blanks before the coining process, would have been obliterated or smoothed out by the striking, whereas the contours of the ‘shaving’ are perfectly sharp and well defined. We must assume therefore that the damage was caused in the striking process and not before.

Certain defects of Briot’s mill coins are nevertheless puzzling and that the ‘shaving’ does not occur parallel to the die axis is only one of them. Unfortunately we know far too little about Briot’s coining presses beyond the generally accepted theory that the model was basically that of the continental minting equipment, to which Briot had added certain inventions of his own. To probe into the mechanics of Briot’s rollers and presses is outside the scope of this review and would in fact require a separate paper altogether, a paper well worth while which should be written by a practising mint engineer rather than by a numismatist.

As was to be expected we find Briot’s mill double crowns with the Anemone+B and with the Daisy+B privy marks on the obverses (cf. drawings). The former variety, of which I only recorded one obverse die, is, however, much rarer than the corresponding unite and, of the five specimens I have seen, three are damaged and badly scratched (Pl. VIII, 37).

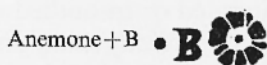
The king’s portrait remains unchanged on the double crowns during the entire period of the mill coinage of 1631/2, but the later issues omit the pearls on the arches of the king’s crown. However unimportant this difference may be from a numismatic point of view, it changes the aspect of the king’s bust quite appreciably.

On one of the obverse dies the usual flower mark is missing and we find only Briot’s initial B. The reverse of the coin offers no helpful clue to its chronological place, for it was struck from the same reverse die as all the other double crowns except one. Since Briot used his initial B punch without a flower mark on some of his earliest patterns, the coin in question could be the first variety. I would, however, rather subscribe to the place Mr. Derek Allen has given it in the British Museum tray and assign it to the end of the coinage. For it seems to me that the absence of jewels on the king’s crown is a fairly certain late feature, whereas the absence of a flower mark is in itself meaningless and points in no particular direction. In any case the exact chronological sequence of the various varieties of Briot’s mill coinage of

1631/2 is somewhat debatable, but it is not really a problem of very great importance. For the chances are that the dies in Briot's engines were used on and off more or less at random. It seems probable that a minting method which was still in a completely experimental stage in England required very frequent changes of dies for the purpose of cleaning and adjustment. In these circumstances the chronological sequence of the varieties is probably impossible to ascertain beyond a considerable measure of doubt and an unusually large margin of error. For it cannot even be taken for granted that coins from the same couple of dies were necessarily minted at the same time.

A subdivision of Briot's mill double crowns into classes seems pointless and I have listed the five varieties in their probable chronological order.

Variety 1. Obv. Die 1. Rev. Die 1. (Obv. **Pl. VIII, 37.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 42.**)

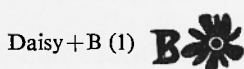


Reverse B (1)



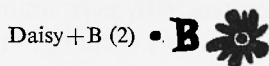
The obverse shows the Anemone+B mark and the arches of the king's crown are jewelled. On the reverse this and all subsequent varieties have apex crosses on top of the crown above the shield and diamond stops below the royal initials C-R. The same punch for Briot's harp (cf. drawings) was used throughout the entire period during which the mill double crowns were minted.

Variety 2. Obv. Die 2. Rev. Die 1. (Obv. **Pl. VIII, 38.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 42.**)



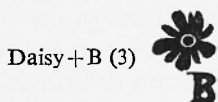
Except for the Flower mark, which is now a Daisy instead of an Anemone and has also Briot's initial B next to it in the same position, obverse die 2 is absolutely identical with obverse die 1. The reverse is from the same die as Variety 1.

Variety 3. Obv. Die 3. Rev. Die 1. (Obv. **Pl. VIII, 39.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 42.**)



Obverse die 3 differs from the previous ones by having an unjewelled king's crown. Otherwise there are no noteworthy new features in the portraiture and the reverse is from the same die as before.

Variety 4. Obv. Die 4. Rev. Die 2. (Obv. **Pl. VIII, 40.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 43.**)



Reverse B (2)



On the obverse the coin reads MAGN instead of the usual MAG and Briot's

initial mark B is placed below the Daisy. The unjewelled crown on the king's head is maintained. Reverse die 2 has a different crown punch above the shield and the position of Briot's B changes. I know of no specimen other than the B.M. coin.

Variety 5. Obv. Die 5. Rev. Die 1. (Obv. **Pl. VIII, 41.** Rev. **Pl. VIII, 42.**)

B without flower



On the obverse the coin reverts to the normal MAG legend and omits the Flower mark next to Briot's initial B. It has the unjewelled king's crown and we find it combined with the same reverse die from which all mill double crowns except Variety 4 were struck.

THE PUNCHES

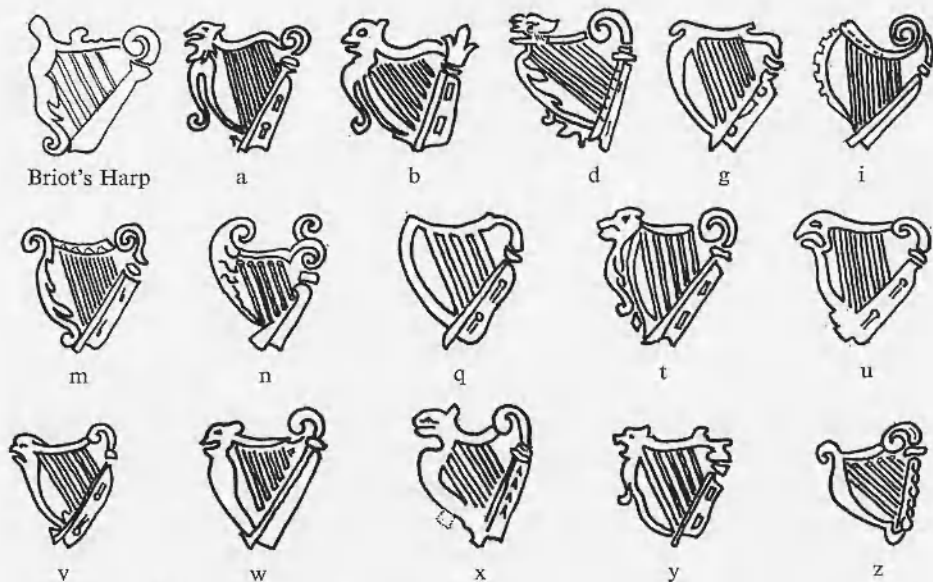
The bust models with the various varieties of the king's crown are all illustrated and require therefore no detailed description. I have also illustrated two smaller types of letter punches which occur on some of the early double crowns of Group A and Group B (**Pl. VII, 1, 3**). To infer that the smaller fount has any special significance would be wrong in my opinion, but the variety has an obvious collector's interest. Briot's letter punch A with the slanting top will be seen on the illustration of the mill coins of 1631/2 and, on and off, on ordinary Tower double crowns struck after that date.

As we have seen, the reverse design follows the lead of the unites and the shield models with the varied garnishing are all illustrated, as are the crown varieties above the shield.

So far as the royal arms are concerned, the extremely reduced space demanded minute punches, and the fleurs-de-lis for France as well as the leopards for England are mostly rather symbolical. Briot, and Briot alone, managed to cut dies which bring the French and the English arms up properly in the first and fourth quarter on the double crowns of his own coinage, but otherwise one would hardly recognize the heraldic emblems if one did not know them. The fleurs-de-lis are still quite fair on a number of coins, but the late Mr. Forrer's story that a continental collector once asked him 'what those German Dachshunds stood for' is not altogether surprising, even if one looks at the English leopards under a magnifying glass.

In the second quarter of the shield the arms of Scotland undergo much the same changes as those we have noticed on the unites. While the rectangular shield was in use during the Group A and Group B period, the size of the Scottish lion differs very considerably and so does the garnished frame round it (**Pl. VIII, 23-26**). With the introduction of the oval shield the very small lion punch disappears. The shape of the frame is now adapted to the different shape of the second quarter in an oval shield on Groups C-D-E coins, but the size of the Scottish lion keeps fairly normal proportions. It was only with the increasing tendency to make the frame of the arms of Scotland nearly triangular and consequently smaller that the lion punch was appreciably reduced in size. We find this on the double crowns from the Star mark onwards and the later issues of Group F as well as the coins of Groups *Da*, *Ea*,

and H have almost without exception a small Scottish lion inside a triangular frame. There are also changes in the fleurs-de-lis garnishing of the inner frame of the arms of Scotland. As this inner frame is getting gradually smaller, so the punches for the fleurs-de-lis decorations had to be reduced in proportion. Their place against the inner frame becomes increasingly irregular, and finally they are absent on the late issues of the double crowns.



For the third quarter of the shield drawings of all the major varieties of the Irish Harp are illustrated. There is not quite the same profusion of different harp designs as we have seen in the unite series, but the harp punches of the double crowns present other difficulties. After an impressive number of varieties during the Group A period the harp design settled down to basically three models from privy mark Cross Calvary right down to privy mark Heart. There are several punches for each harp variety of course and some of them were broken and occur in various stages of damage. Below are drawings of my Harp b as a typical example:



and they will define about the extreme limits of punch varieties within the same Harp letter. The punches are of basically the same design, but they have a different griffin's head and there are other minor differences of execution. I have grouped them together because they all belong to the same model of harp design and I have listed them under the same Harp Letter b for the reason already explained in dealing with the harp varieties of the unites.¹ Actually, a more detailed record of the minor varieties would necessitate the

¹ *B.N.J.* xxviii, 1957, 360.

inclusion of practically every single harp punch, and this would involve even greater difficulties and margins of error than was the case for the unites. The punch is very small and so often badly struck up that it was frequently necessary to consult up to half a dozen coins in order to obtain the correct shape of a harp. In this connexion I should like to express to Mrs. Inès Schneider-Fuhrmann my thanks for the painstaking care she has taken over the drawings of the Irish harp varieties. They have been checked, corrected, and improved again and again from innumerable coins and casts over a period of six years and are, I think, as accurate as they can possibly be.

The illustrations of the five Harp b punches above demonstrate to what extent comparatively slight damage can change the aspect of a harp design and how this effect is accentuated by very minor technical differences in the execution of the punches. Of course, what applies to Harp b is also true for other harp varieties, but Harp b is a particularly typical case.

The letters I have assigned to the various harp models which occur on the double crowns have been co-ordinated with the harp letters of the unites so far as this was at all possible. Several harp designs which occur on the unites were not used for the double crowns and vice versa, and this explains the great gaps in the sequence of the harp letters of the double crowns.

Harp A of the unites has thus the same basic design as Harp a of the double crowns, but considering the great difference in size between the harp punches of the unites and those of the double crowns it is obvious that the design is often not absolutely identical, mainly because there is simply no scope for some of the more elaborate decorations on the substantially smaller harps of the double crowns. Below is an illustration of unite Harp M against the corresponding double crown Harp m. This is a typical example of the more simplified execution of the same design which we find in quite a few cases on the double crowns.



M



m

The references used in the General Lists were given in Vol. xxviii but are repeated here, as far as is necessary, for convenience.

AHB	A. H. Baldwin & Son Ltd.	JCSR	Dr. J. C. S. Rashleigh's sale, 1953
Ash.	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford	LR	(Lockett record) Recorded from notes made by the late Mr. R. C. Lockett
BM	British Museum	Mont.	Montagu sale, 1896/7
BRB	Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels	OECT	O. E. C. Theobald, Esq.
ECC	The late Dr. Ernest C. Carter's collection	PC-B	The late Major P. W. Carlyon-Britton's collection
Fitz.	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	Ray.	Raynes sale, 1950
FW	Frederick Willis, Esq.	RCL	The late Mr. R. C. Lockett's collection
Glen.	The Rooms of Glendining & Co. Ltd.	Sp.	Spink & Son Ltd.
HLF	The late Miss Helen L. Farquhar's collection	Sy.	B. A. Seaby Ltd.
HSF	The author's collection	VJER	Ryan sale, 1950

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS ON PLATES VII AND VIII

1. (ECC) Obverse of Group A with Bust 1 and King's Crown 1. Privy mark Lis. Occurs: Class I.
2. (HLF) Obverse of Group A with Bust 1a and King's Crown 2. Privy mark Lis. Occurs: Class II.
3. (Sy.) Obverse of Group B with Bust 2 and King's Crown 3. Privy mark Cross Calvary. Occurs: Class I.
4. (ECC) Obverse of Group B with Bust 2a and King's Crown 3a. No inner circle. Privy mark Tower (small model). Occurs: Class II.
5. (ECC) Obverse of Group B with Bust 2a and King's Crown 3a. Beaded inner circle. Privy mark Tower (large model). Occurs: Class II.
6. (Sy.) Obverse of Group B with Bust 3 and King's Crown 4. Privy mark Anchor (upright). Occurs: Class III.
7. (AHB) Obverse of Group B with Bust 3a and King's Crown 4. Privy mark Heart. Occurs: Class IV (*a+b*).
8. (ECC) Obverse of Group B with Bust 4 and King's Crown 5. Privy mark Heart. Occurs: Class V (*a+b*).
9. (HSF) Obverse of Group C with Bust 5 and King's Crown 6. Privy mark Feathers. Occurs: Class Ia of Class I (*a+b*).
10. (Sp.) Obverse of Group C with Bust 5 and King's Crown 6a. Privy mark Rose. Occurs: Class Ib of Class I (*a+b*).
11. (BM) Obverse of Group D with Bust 6 and King's Crown 7. Privy mark Harp. Occurs: Class I.
12. (Fitz.) Obverse of Group D with Bust 7 and King's Crown 8. Privy mark Harp. Occurs: Class II.
13. (ECC) Obverse of Group D with Bust 7a and King's Crown 9. Privy mark Crown. Occurs: Class IIa.
14. (ECC) Obverse of Group D with Bust 6a and King's Crown 7a. Privy mark Crown. Occurs: Class IIb.
15. (BM) Obverse of Group Da with Bust 7b and King's Crown 9. Privy mark Eye.
16. (ECC) Obverse of Group E with Bust 8 and King's Crown 10. Privy mark Anchor (upright). Occurs: Class I.
17. (Sp.) Obverse of Group E with Bust 9 and King's Crown 10a. Privy mark Anchor (prostrate). Occurs: Class II.
18. (BM) Obverse of Group Ea with Bust 9a and King's Crown 10a. Privy mark Sun. Occurs: Class I and Class II.
19. (VJER) Obverse of Group F with Bust 10 and King's Crown 11, from Briot's own die. Privy mark Anchor (prostrate). Occurs: Class I and served as model for Class II.
20. (Ray.) Obverse of Group F with Bust 10 and King's Crown 11. Believed to be from a personal die by Briot. Privy mark Triangle. Occurs: Class II with the Triangle mark only.
21. (Sp.) Obverse of Group F with Bust 10 and King's Crown 11. Privy mark Star. Occurs: Class II.
22. (ECC) Obverse of Group H with Bust 11 and King's Crown 12. Privy mark Sun.
23. (HLF) Reverse of Group A with Shield 1 and Reverse Crown 2. Harp a. Privy mark Lis (small model) at end of legend with group of four pellets at each side. Occurs: Class I and Class II.
24. (BM) Reverse of Group A with Shield 1 and Reverse Crown 1. Harp b. Privy mark Cross Calvary at beginning of legend. Occurs: Class I and Class II.
25. (ECC) Reverse of Group B with Shield 2 and Reverse Crown 2. Harp b. Privy mark Tower (large model). No inner circle. Occurs: Class I, Class II, Class III, Class IVa, Class Va.
26. (AHB) Reverse of Group B with Shield 2a and Reverse Crown 2. Harp y. Privy mark Heart. Occurs: Class IVb and Class Vb.
27. (HSF) Reverse of Group C with Shield 3 and Reverse Crown 3. Harp i. Privy mark Feathers. Occurs with that reverse crown only on a mule of Group B/Group C.
28. (HSF) Reverse of Group C with Shield 3 and Reverse Crown 4. Harp i. Privy mark Feathers. Occurs (with that reverse crown): Class Ia of Class I (*a+b*).
29. (Sp.) Reverse of Group C with Shield 3 and Reverse Crown 5. Harp i. Privy mark Rose. Occurs: Class Ib of Class I (*a+b*).
30. (BM) Reverse of Group D with Shield 4 and Reverse Crown 6. Harp m. Privy mark Harp. Crowned royal initials C-R placed high against 1st and 2nd quarter of shield. Occurs (with C-R so positioned): Class I.
31. (ECC) Reverse of Group D with Shield 4 and Reverse Crown 6. Harp n. Privy mark Crown. Normal position of crowned C-R initials against shield. Occurs (with Reverse Crown 6): Class II, Class IIa, Class IIb.
32. (JCSR) Reverse of Group D with Shield 4 and earlier variety of Reverse Crown 7. Privy

mark Tun, struck over Crown. Harp n. Occurs (with Reverse Crown 7): Class II, Class IIa. Also on Group E, Class I and Class II.

33. (Sp.) Reverse of Group D with Shield 4 and later variety of Reverse Crown 7. Privy mark Anchor (prostrate). Harp g. Occurs (with Reverse Crown 7): Class II and Class IIa. Also on Group E, Class I and Class II. Also on Group F, Class II.
34. (VJER) Reverse of Group F from Briot's own reverse die made with his personal punches. Briot's harp. Privy mark Anchor (prostrate) of Briot's design. Occurs: Class I.
35. (BM) Reverse of Group Da with Shield 4 and Reverse Crown 8. Privy mark Eye. Harp g. Occurs (with Reverse Crown 8): Group Da, Group E, Class II, and Group Ea, Class I. Also Group F, Class II. Also Group H.
36. (BM) Reverse of Group Ea with Shield 4a and Reverse Crown 9. Privy mark Sun. Harp q. Occurs: Class II.
37. (Ash.) Obverse of Briot's mill double crown of 1631/2. Obverse Die 1 with king's crown jewelled. Privy mark Anemone+B. Occurs with Reverse Die 1.
38. (HLF) Obverse of Briot's mill double crown of 1631/2. Obverse Die 2. King's Crown jewelled. Privy mark Daisy+B (1). Occurs with Reverse Die 1.
39. (VJER) Obverse of Briot's mill double crown of 1631/2. Obverse Die 3. Arches of king's crown unjewelled. Privy mark Daisy+B (2). Occurs with Reverse Die 1.
40. (BM) Obverse of Briot's mill double crown of 1631/2. Obverse Die 4. Arches of king's crown unjewelled. Privy mark Daisy+B (3). Occurs with Reverse Die 2.
41. (BM) Obverse of Briot's mill double crown of 1631/2. Obverse Die 5. Arches of king's crown unjewelled. Privy mark B. Occurs with Reverse Die 1.
42. (HLF) Reverse of Briot's mill double crown of 1631/2. Reverse Die 1. Privy mark B (1) above reverse crown. Occurs with Obverse Dies 1, 2, 3, and 5.
43. (BM) Reverse of Briot's mill double crown of 1631/2. Reverse Die 2. Privy mark B (2) beside reverse crown which has more elaborately drawn arches. Occurs with Obverse Die 4.

The Principal Combinations of Bust and Shield Varieties Within the Groups

[illegible]

DOUBLE CROWNS OF CHARLES I

Principal Bust and Shield Varieties Classified by Groups

	Busts:	1	1a	2	2a	3	3a	4	5	6	7	7a	6a	8	9	10	7b	11	9a	Shields:	1	2	2a	3	4	BRIOT	4a
Lis	.	.	A	A	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	A	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cross Calvary	A	B	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	A	B	..	..	..	..	..	..
Blackamoor's Head	B	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..
Castle	B	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..
Anchor	B	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..
Heart	B	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	B	..	..	..	..	..
Feathers	B	B, C	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	B	B, C	..	..	..	..
Rose	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Harp	D	D	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Portcullis	D	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	D	..	..
Bell	D	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	D	..	..
Crown	D	D	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	D	..	..
Tun	D	D	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	D	..	..
Anchor	D	..	E	E	F	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	D, E	F	..
Triangle	E	F	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	E, F	..	..
Star	F	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	F	..	..
Ⓐ	F	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	F	..	..
(P)	F	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	F	..	..
(R)
Eye	Da	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Da	..	..
Sun	H	Ea	..	..	..	..	..	H, Ea	..	Ea
Sceptre	Ea	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Ea

THE TOWER DOUBLE CROWNS

GROUP A

	Bust	King's crown	Headed in inner circle	Headed + wreathed in inner circle		Shield	Reverse crown	Beaded in inner circle	Beaded + wreathed in inner circle	Privy mark at the beginning of legend	Privy mark at the end of legend	Irish harp	
Lis	1	1	..	×	<p><i>Class I</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 1 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 23, 24) 1. MAG BRIT FRAN ET HIB 2. FRA</p>	1	2 1 (Sp.)	..	×	Sp.	×	a, v	Small, square lettering on obv. Size and shape of privy mark varies. A group of four pellets occurs to both sides of privy mark (RCL). One specimen (B.M.) has XX behind king's head but this appears to be an effect of double striking. Also known from a sixpenny obverse die reading: MAG BRI FR ET HI (Murdoch Sale, Lot 52).
Lis	1a	2	..	×	<p><i>Class II</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 2 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 23, 24) 1. MAG BRIT FRAN ET HIB (Mont.) 2. FRA (Fitz.) 3. BRI FRAN (AHB) 4. FR (Fitz.) 5. BIR HI (FW) 6. BR HIB 7. HI 8. HI</p>	1	1 2 (Sp.)	..	×	×	×	a b (Glen.) t, u v (Ash.) x (Sp.)	Occurs with a somewhat smaller variety of Reverse Crown 1. King's crown sometimes pierces the inner circle but does not displace or divide the legend. Group of four pellets occurs to both sides of privy mark on Rev. (HLF), from same reverse die as RCL's coin above.
Cross Calvary .	1a	2	×	×	<p>1. MAG BRIT FRA ET HIB 2. BR FR HI</p>	1	1, 2	×	×	×	..	b	Known with privy mark struck over Lis (PC-B). Execution of Harp b punches varies.

GROUP B

	Bust	King's crown	Legend divided	Legend undivided	Head inner circle	Wire-lined inner circle	Beaded+wire-lined inner circle	No inner circle		Shield	Reverse crown	Beaded inner circle	Wire-lined inner circle	Beaded+wire-lined inner circle	No inner circle	Privy mark beginning of legend	Privy mark end of legend	Privy mark	
<p><i>Class I</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 3 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 25) MAG BR FR ET HI</p>																			
Cross Calvary	2	3	..	×	×	..	..	..		2	2	×	..	..	..	..	×	b (AHB)	One specimen reads perhaps HIB. Known with small lettering on both sides.
Blackamoor's Head	2	3	..	×	..	..	..	×		2	2	..	×	..	RCL	..	×	b	Privy mark occurs struck over Cross Calvary on both sides. Known with small lettering on both sides.
<p><i>Class II</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 4, 5 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 25) 1. MAG BRIT FRAN ET HIB 2. HI (Sy.) 3. FRA 4. BRI/ 1. MAG BRI FR ET HIB 2. BR (Ash.) 3. HI 4. MA (Sp.) 1. MAG BRI FR ET HIB 2. BR (Ash.) 3. HI 4. MA 1. MAG BR FR ET HI 2. MAG BR FR ET HIB (Sp.) 3. HI 4. MAG BR FR ET HI (Ash.) 5. MA HIB</p>																			
Cross Calvary	2a	3a	×	×	×	..	..	..		2	2	×	..	..	..	×	×	b (AHB) x	Occurs with small letters on either side or both sides.
Blackamoor's Head	2a	3a	..	×	×	..	..	×		2	2	×	Ash.	..	×	×	×	b, u x (LR)	Known reading CLTORES (PC-B). Occurs with small letters.
Castle	2a	3a	..	×	×	×	Sp.	×		2	2 1 (FW)	Fitz.	×	..	×	×	×	b, x	Legend (1) known reading PROTEIT. Privy mark occurs struck over Blackamoor's Head (Ash.). Size and design of privy mark varies considerably.
⚓	2a	3a	..	×	..	×	..	×		2	2	×	×	..	×	..	×	d, x	Perhaps also as legend (2) but reading MA (Sp.). Murdoch 55 reads MAG BRI FR ET HI but position of Anchor marks is not indicated. Known with privy mark struck over Castle on either side or both sides. Bust often driven deeply into legend without, however, dividing it.
<p><i>Class III</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 6 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 25) MA/BR FR ET HI (Sy.)</p>																			
⚓	3 (Sy.)	4 (Sy.)	Sy.	..	Sy.	..	..	..		2 (Sy.)	2 (Sy.)	Sy.	..	..	..	..	Sy.	d (Sy.)	Believed to be Raynes 252 which was misdescribed in the Sale Catalogue.
<p><i>Class IVa+b</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 7 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 25 (IVa) Rev. Pl. VIII, 26 (IVb)) 1. MA/BR FR ET HI 2. / MA BR/FR ET HI</p>																			
Heart	3a	4	×	..	×	..	Mont.	..		2 2a (Mont.)	2	×	..	..	..	..	×	d y (Mont.)	Size and shape of privy mark varies. Cf. Montagu 257.
Feathers	3a	4	×	..	..	..	×	..		2a 2 (Sp.)	2	×	..	..	..	..	×	b d (Sp.)	Privy mark occurs struck over Heart on both sides.
<p><i>Class Va+b</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 8 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 25 (Va) Rev. Pl. VIII, 26 (Vb)) 1. MA BR ·· FR ET HI 2. / (ECC) 1. MA BR FR ET HIB 2. HI 3. /</p>																			
Heart	4	5	×	..	×	..	..	..		2 2a (ECC)	2	×	..	Sp.	..	..	×	b (Sp.) d y (ECC)	Legend (1) is spaced for division but bust hardly cuts inner circle and does not interrupt legend. Size of privy mark varies.
Feathers	4	5	×	×	×	..	..	..		2 2a (Fitz.)	2	×	..	Fitz.	..	..	×	b (Fitz.) w	Privy mark occurs struck over Heart on obverse (B.M.) and reverse (Fitz.).



MULES
GROUP B/GROUP C

Feathers	4	5	×	..	×	(Obv. Pl. VII, 8 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 27) MA BR/FR ET HI	3	6 3 (HSF)	×	×	i	
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GROUP C

														On the obverse, the legend is never divided. On the reverse, the privy mark is always at the end of the legend
	Bust	King's crown	Beaded inner circle	Beaded + wire-lined inner circle		Shield	Reverse crown	Beaded inner circle	Beaded + wire-lined inner circle	Pellets in the field	No pellets in the field	Irish harp		
Feathers Rose	5 5	6 6a 6a (FW)	x x	x AHB	(Obv. Pl. VII, 9 (Ga) ; Rev. Pl. VIII, 28 (G) Pl. VII, 10 (Gb) Pl. VIII, 29 (Db)) Class Ia + b 1. MAG BRI FR ET HIB 2. BR HI 1. MAG BRI FR ET HIB 2. HI 3. BR HIB 4. HI (BRB)	3 3	4 (HSF) 5 6 (FW)	. x	x x	x x	x x	i i	Known with privy mark struck over Feathers on either side or both sides.	

GROUP D





	Bust	King's crown	King's crown, divides legend	Legend undivided		Shield	Reverse: crown	Irish harp	The inner circle is always beaded on both sides. The privy mark is always at the end of the reverse legend
					<i>Class I</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 11 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 30) MAG BR FR ET HI	4	6	m	
Harp . . .	6	7	×	..					Privy mark Harp-with-Scroll on both sides. Crowned C-R initials placed high against first and second quarter of the shield.
					<i>Class II</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 12 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 31-33) 1. MAG BRI FR ET HIB 2. MA BR HI	4	6	m	Privy mark Harp has scroll on obverse and is plain on reverse.
Harp . . .	7	8	..	×					
Portcullis .	7	8	..	×	1. MAG BRI FR ET HIB 2. MA BR HI	4	6	i, m	Known with privy mark struck over Harp on both sides or on obverse only.
Tun over Portcullis	7	8	..	×	MA BR FR ET HI	4	7	m n (VJER)	Privy mark on the reverse is either Tun (VJER) or Tun over Crown (B.M.). Cf. Ryan Sale, Lot 480.
					<i>Class IIa</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 13 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 31-33) MA BR FR ET HI	4	6	n	Size and shape of Bell punch varies. On some specimens a new variety of the punch for the arms of Scotland appears and is adopted for all subsequent double crowns of Group D.
Bell . . .	7a	9	..	×					
					1. MA BR FR ET HIB (FW) 2. MA BR FR ET HI	4	6 7 (Sp.)	m, n	Privy mark frequently struck over Bell on either side or both sides.
Crown . . .	7a	9	..	×					
Tun . . .	7a	9	..	×	MA BR FR ET HI	4	5, 7	n	Size of privy mark Tun varies considerably.
	7a	9	..	×	MA BR FR ET HI (FW) 	4	7	g	Known with privy mark struck over Tun. There are small varieties in the execution of the bust punches.
					<i>Class IIb</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 14 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 31) MA BR FR ET HI (ECC)	4 (ECC)	6 (ECC)	n (ECC)	
Crown . . .	6a (ECC)	7a (ECC)	..	ECC					

GROUP Da

Bust punches of Group D, Class IIa recut and very slightly altered.

Eye . . .	7b	9	..	×	(Obv. Pl. VII, 15 : Rev. VIII, 35) MAG BRI FRA ET HIB	4	8	g q (VJER)	Occurs with privy mark struck over (R) (?). Montagu Sale, Lot 332. The last variety of the punch for the arms of Scotland (cf. Group F, privy mark (P), remarks column) appears.
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GROUP E

	<i>Bus</i>	<i>King's crown</i>		<i>Shield</i>	<i>Revers: coin</i>	<i>Irish harp</i>	<i>Inner circle always beaded on both sides. Obv. legend undivided. Privy mark invariably at end of reverse legend</i>
	8	10	<p><i>Class I</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 16 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 32, 33) MA BR FR ET HI (ECC)</p> 	4	7 7 5	g	
	9	10a	<p><i>Class II</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 17 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 32, 33, 35) MA BR FR ET HI (Ash.) (Sp.)</p> 	4	7 5 7	g	
Triangle	9	10a	<p>1. MAG BRI FRA ET HIB (Sy.) 2. BR 3. MA FR HI (VJER)</p>	4	5 8 (Sp.)	g, n	Known with privy mark struck over Anchor on either side or both sides. Ryan Sale Lot 485.



GROUP Ea

Bust punches of Group E. Class II, recut and armour added.

Lion punch for Scotland as Group F, Privy mark (P).

Sun	9a (RCL)	10a (RCL)	<p><i>Class I</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 18 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 35) MAG BRI FRA ET HIB (RCL)</p> <p><i>Class II</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 18 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 36) MAG BRI FRA ET HIB MAG BRI FRA ET HIB</p>	4 (RCL)	8 (RCL)	?	Irish harp distorted by double striking. It is Harp g or Harp z.
Sun	9a	10a		4a	9	q	
Sceptre	9a	10a		4a	9	g	Occurs with crowns sideways above C-R initials (OECT).

GROUP F

	<i>Bust</i>	<i>King's crown</i>		<i>Shield</i>	<i>Reverse crown</i>	<i>Irish harp</i>	<i>On the obverse the legend is always undivided and the inner circle beaded. On the reverse the privy mark is always at the end of the legend and the inner circle is beaded</i>
	10 (VJER)	11 (VJER)	<p><i>Class I</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 19 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 34) MAG BRIT FR ET HIB (VJER)</p> <p><i>Class II</i> (Obv. Pl. VII, 20, 21 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 33, 35) MAG BRIT FR ET HIB (Ray.)</p>	..	..	..	Briot's own reverse. From Briot's personal dies. Ryan Sale, Lot 512.
Triangle	10 (Ray.)	11 (Ray.)		4 (Ray.)	5 (Ray.) 7 (RCL)	g (Ray.)	Privy mark struck over  on reverse. Privy mark on obverse perhaps over Briot's Anchor punch (removed on die). Obverse probably from Briot's personal die. Raynes Sale, Lot 253 (misdescribed). This is presumably a Briot/Tower mule.
Star	10	11	1. MAG BRI FRA ET HIB (Sp.) 2. HI	4	8	n	Occurs with privy mark struck over Triangle on rev.
Ⓐ	10	11	1. MAG BRI FRA ET HIB 2. HI	4	8	n, q z	Known with privy mark struck over Star on both sides. Occurs with privy mark (▽) on reverse. Harp IX doubtful.
(P)	10	11	1. MAG BRI FRA ET HIB 2. HI	4	8	z	Known with privy mark struck over Ⓐ on obverse. The punch for the arms of Scotland changes.

GROUP H

	<i>Bust</i>	<i>King's crown</i>		<i>Shield</i>	<i>Reverse crown</i>	<i>Irish harp</i>	
Sun	11 (ECC)	12 (ECC)	(Obv. Pl. VIII, 22 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 35) MAG BRI FRA ET HIB (ECC)	4 (ECC)	8 (ECC)	z (ECC)	Beaded inner circle on both sides. Obverse legend undivided. Privy mark at end of reverse legend. Lion punch for Scotland as Group F, Privy mark (P).

BRIOT'S MILL DOUBLE CROWNS

<i>Privy marks</i>	<i>Obverse die number</i>	<i>Briot's double crown bust</i>	<i>King's crown</i>	<i>Anemone + B</i>	<i>Daisy + B</i>	<i>No flower mark</i>		<i>Reverse die number</i>	<i>Privy mark B</i>	<i>Reverse crown</i>	
Flower + B .	1	Ash	Ash	Ash	..	..	MAG BRITAN FRAN ET HIB	1	Ash	Ash	Pl. VIII, 37, 42.
Flower + B .	2	×	1	..	I	..	MAG BRITAN FRAN ET HIB	1	1	1	Pl. VIII, 38, 42.
Flower + B .	3	×	2	..	II	..	MAG BRITAN FRAN ET HIB	1	1	1	Pl. VIII, 39, 42.
Flower + B .	4	×	2	..	III	..	MAGN BRITAN FRAN ET HIB	2	2	2	Pl. VIII, 40, 43.
B . .	5	×	2	..	..	×	MAG BRITAN FRAN ET HIB	1	1	1	Pl. VIII, 41, 42.

*All reverse crowns have apex crosses. All coins have diamond stops below the C-R initials.
Only one Harp punch of Briot's design occurs (cf. drawings).*

THE 'STIRLING' TURNERS OF CHARLES I, 1632-9

By ROBERT B. K. STEVENSON

INTRODUCTION

CHARLES I's second issue of copper turners, twopence Scots equal to one-sixth of a penny English, deserves study for several reasons in addition to its own complexity. It was the first issue of coins in Scotland to have been milled not hammered, and marks the reintroduction of the process into a British official mint after an interval of seventy years. It was Nicolas Briot's first issue of coins in Britain and the beginning of his association with the Scottish mint. Lastly, that remarkable late-Renaissance figure, Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, first Earl of Stirling, had the profits assigned to him; and this, together with the excessive quantity of the coins, contributed in some degree to the unpopularity of Charles's government in Scotland that culminated in the Bishops' Wars, the prelude to the Civil War.

Burns in his *Coinage of Scotland* (1887) gave a rather brief account of the issue and distinguished no more than two dozen varieties of the turners; of those half are contemporary forgeries. As Briot's silver coins were discussed before the copper, mint history was slightly obscured. So a fuller summary of the numerous documents scattered through Cochran-Patrick's *Records of the Coinage of Scotland* (1876)¹ is a necessary preliminary to an examination of the coins themselves. Additional documents, not known to Burns, are to be found in C. Rogers's *The Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters 1615-1635* (1885).²

HISTORY

1631

Charles I had already issued 500 stone weight of turners and half-turners in 1629-30. There were then sixteen 2d. pieces per oz. Scots as in his father's last issue, giving about one-seventh of the nominal purchasing power per oz. enjoyed by the English farthings, and to that extent more an intrinsic than a

¹ Cited as C-P. The relevant volumes of the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* were officially published later (1904-5) with an introduction by P. Hume Brown, whose comments on the copper coinage are apt to be wide of the mark. Cited as *R.P.C.S.*

² Grampian Club. Cited as *Letters*. Rogers also published *Memorials of the Earl of Stirling* (1877); he gave quite inaccurate accounts of the coinage, but quoted interesting contemporary comments (some repeated below). Poet and politician, at first Gentleman of the Privy Chamber Extraordinary to Prince Henry, later a member of Prince Charles's household, Alexander became in 1626 Principal Secretary of Scotland, in London. He died in February 1640, insolvent says the *D.N.B.*

The relevant chapter in T. H. McGrail's biography, *Sir William Alexander, First Earl of Stirling* (1940), pp. 146-52, is not well-informed numismatically, but deals chiefly with the personal and political aspects of the issue. An early attempt to study the Copper Coinage of the Earl of Stirling was made by E. F. Slafter, in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, viii (Apr. 1874), no. 4, 73-80.

token currency. However, in June 1631 the king ordered the minting of Scottish farthing tokens to be of the same weight and 'quantities' (later 'price') as the English, i.e. seventy-two 3*d.* pieces Scots per oz. He instructed the Privy Council in Edinburgh to give 'order by proclamatioun as is vsuall in lyke caises, for receaving of thame, and for calling in of the copper money callit Turnours. They alwayes who bring thame receaving from the maister of oure mynt the value of suche quantitie as they delyver payed backe in the said new coyne'.¹

On 30 June the king entrusted the execution of the issue to Briot whom he addressed as Chief Graver of his mint in England.² 'All kinds of instruments, presses, engynes, yrones, stampes, coynes, with all others provisions necessarie for the fabrication of the saids farthings' were to be made in London or elsewhere in England, and transported to Edinburgh, and Briot was to go and set them up.³ A royal letter to the Treasurer early in July shows, however, that Charles was hesitant: 'considering . . . that some suche kynde of coyne wer the more necessarie at this tyme . . . yitt becaus we desire to proceed heer-in as circumspectlie as can be . . . Our pleasur is, that having conferred with thame who have the charge of our mynt as lykewayes with the propounders of this course that yow make the fayrest and best bargane yow can for our advantage . . .'.⁴ An accompanying note speaks of 'the farthing tokens, or of any such Copper coyne as yow shall think fitt to be coyned be vertew of our warrant'.⁵

The 'propounders' are nowhere named, but there can be little doubt that the initiative came from Sir William Alexander. His attempts to found a colony of Nova Scotia had been expensive and the contribution of the new Baronets insufficient. The position of the few Scottish settlers had been the subject of French protest for some time and the payment of the balance of Henrietta Maria's dowry was being made to turn on their withdrawal. When Alexander was considering how he could get compensation there was the English precedent of 'Haringtons' and 'Richmonds'.⁶ At any rate on the same day, 10 July 1631, as Charles ordered the surrender of Port Royal to the French, he instructed the Treasurer to pay to Alexander all the king's profits from the intended copper coinage.⁷ The appointment, again the same day, as an Extraordinary Lord of the College of Justice may also have provided Alexander with some financial advantage.

A silver pattern, of the new design specified by the king in July and repeated in more detail in August in an Act of the Privy Council at Edinburgh,⁸ was illustrated by Cochran-Patrick from a specimen in the British Museum;⁹ a

¹ C-P ii. 27-28, 4 July; *Letters*, ii. 538, draft ?, 14 June.

² After 5½ years in England Briot had really not quite achieved this; Helen Farquhar's account of his career is in *B.N.J.* v, 1908, 171-207 and *Num. Chron.* 1914, pp. 169-235: see also H. Schneider, *B.N.J.* xxviii, 1956, 339 ff., and H. G. Stride in *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, Mar. and Apr. 1957.

³ *Letters*, ii. 541.

⁴ C-P ii. 28, 4 July.

⁵ *Letters*, ii. 543.

⁶ *B.N.J.* iii, 1906, 181 ff.; *ibid.* 1952-4, pp. 313 ff. There seems to have been an entrepreneur anxious already in 1613 (when the English tokens began) to strike an enormous quantity of copper tokens for Scotland, but the Council rejected the idea: C-P i. clxvii and 229.

⁷ *Letters*, ii. 543 and i. xii; see also below p. 131.

⁸ C-P ii. 26, 26 Aug. They were to be legal tender only up to 6*d.* per pound.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. xii; Burns, ii. 485.

better specimen from the same dies, accidentally omitted from Richardson's *Catalogue of Scottish Coins in the National Museum of Antiquities* (1901), is shown in **Pl. IX, 0*** (see also Table I). The obverse has two Cs linked back to back like one of Briot's English half-groat patterns of perhaps 1628–30. It seems evident that he originated the design.

The Council indeed simply followed London and was an official rubber-stamp in the whole affair. The Act just mentioned gave the purpose of the tokens as 'for the releefe of the poore and for the better intercourse and exchange of small soumes . . . and that there be ane correspondence with England in the copper coyne as is alreadie in gold and siluer'. The first purpose, however, could have been achieved by increasing the existing issue of turners, and the second was only a matter of administrative tidiness, since coppers would not be used in trade between England and Scotland.

A document, printed by Cochran-Patrick and dated 3 September 1631, professes to calculate the profit to be gained by recoinng as farthing tokens the 1,000 stone of turners then in circulation.¹ The existing second issue (1629) of 3-thistle turners was passing for 2s. 8d. per oz., but the farthings are shown as 12s. per oz. instead of 18s. Even so the sum was nearly £10,000 sterling. Copper and workmanship were, for 3,000 stone, estimated at equivalent to £5,000 sterling. It was officially envisaged that 1,500 stone would be minted by January 1633.²

But the king's hesitation was justified. There was opposition by the Burghs to the proposed complete debasement of the Scottish copper coinage.³ The first hint of the abandonment of the idea was the banning by the Privy Council in November of English farthing tokens from circulation in Scotland.⁴ This might have been to prevent a rival source of supply, but it was specifically explained that they were having 'ane vncontrolled course at the appetite of the receaver and delyverer, at farre higher pryces [*sc.* per oz.] nor his majesteis owne coyne'—were of the standard, in fact, to which it had been intended to bring the Scottish coins. It was said that people did not understand their true worth.

Then on 13 December Charles wrote a letter to the Council containing a compromise solution.⁵ It ordered that, instead of seventy-two 3d. pieces, thirty-six 2d. pieces were to be minted per oz., and explained the change as due to the popular wish to retain, for convenience of exchange and reckoning, the existing division of the penny sterling and because '(for avoyding the danger of counterfitting, and for the more exactness of the impression) it is thoght fitt to mak the copper money of a greater proportion of weght'. While the fundamental objection to inflation is omitted, the third stated reason may reflect some protest by Briot's pride of craft. The letter specified that the 1,500 stone of copper previously authorized should by January 1635 'be coyned in several spaces of penny, tuo penny, and four penny pieces, and that a fyftene part therof be coyned into penneyis weying eight granes the piece . . . and the remanent quantitie be equall division into tuo and four penny pieces of proportionable weght to the penny'. The figure or number of value was to appear under an imperial crown.

¹ C-P ii. 77.

² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 78 and 116.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁵ *Letters*, ii. 564–5.

1632-3

Fourpenny pieces Scots were a novel idea (pennies had already accompanied previous issues of turners), but it was one of very short duration. Indeed this letter proposing them seems not to have been dispatched, for Lord Stirling's letter book contains an undated trace of a second version,¹ which appears in full dated 30 December in the Privy Council's records, as the authority for their Act of 10 January 1632.² The significant change was the omission of the words now italicized. It may also be noticed that neither version, nor the Act, provides any more for calling in earlier turners. The revised design for the turner is specified in the Act: on the obverse SCOT.ANG. instead of MAG.BRIT., and C.R. at the sides of the crown with beneath it •I•I to show the value. The penny was to bear •I• but Burns noted that it did not seem to have been coined and no specimen is known. A warrant of the Privy Council in March 1634 referred, however, to the 'pennie and twa pennie peeces formerly wrought be vertew' of this Act.³ An unpublished manuscript, described on p. 133, shows that some were indeed minted, but only 12 lb. 4 oz. (14,112 pieces) out of the 1,500 stone.

In an administrative instruction accompanying the Act the mint officials were commanded 'in all humilitie [to] acknowledge his Maiesties pleasour' and let Briot set up his instruments 'speciallie within that pairt off the said coyne house quhilk is newlie buildit for that effect'.⁴ The appointment of a stranger as overseer had led already in August to a protest by the Edinburgh mint officials.⁵ On 8 December the king had sent an instruction, perhaps straight to the Master of the Mint, to permit Briot (whom he had 'directed' to Scotland) to set up his engines in the mint and to give him or his deputies all concurrence and assistance.⁶ The officials were now authorized to supervise the minting, keep the 'stamping yrounes', see to the issue of the daily output, and pay over the profits, after deducting their own fees and those due to Briot. The 1,500 stone of copper was to be minted before 17 January 1635, and he was to get 5s. 6d. sterling, for copper and workmanship, for every pound weight of pennies and 3s. 6d. for every pound weight of twopennies.

In addition there were the initial expenses to be met. These are dealt with in the official grant, or patent, of the profits in favour of the Viscount of Stirling, as Alexander had by then become, drawn up under the Great Seal on 20 February 1632⁷ in confirmation of the 'semi-official' grant of the previous July.⁸ The grant was to run for nine years, or longer if necessary, and was stated to be in payment of £10,000 sterling compensation for losses sustained when Port Royal in his colony of Nova Scotia was surrendered to the French.⁹ Expenses to be paid by Lord Stirling were to include the cost of the

¹ *Letters*, ii. 565.² C-P ii. 30-31.³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76. This is dated 1631 by Cochran-Patrick and placed before the document of 3 Sept., but is evidently later than the letter of 30 Dec.⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.⁶ *Letters*, ii. 563.⁷ *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland* (1894), p. 657.⁸ Above p. 129.⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 655. Not knowing these documents, Cochran-Patrick seems to have assumed that the royal grant only covered the turners authorized in 1634: C-P i. clxxvii. A modification of the grant was made in June 1632, when the king, with Lord Stirling's consent, made a grant of one-quarter of the 'frie benefite of these Copper moneyis' to Sir Robert Gordon until he had been paid £2,000 sterling. Although the next day the king ordered immediate payment of the sum, in terms, however, already used on 7 June (*Letters*, ii. 602-3 and 595), and though no reference appears in the documents of 1634-5, the coin royalties were in fact shared at least in 1633 (below p. 133).

additional mint workshop, and the travel to Scotland of Briot *et ejus servorum* and their subsistence *in erectionem dicti operis*. The *servi* were presumably part of Briot's London staff, workmen able to set up and trained in the use of the machinery by which the coins were to be 'printed'. They presumably included someone able to duplicate the numerous dies necessary.

The king had added to his letter of 30 December that there should be no further delay as he wanted a speedy return of Briot, who must have been waiting in Edinburgh part of the autumn for the controversies to be settled. The royal wishes seem to have been met in January, and it can be assumed that once minting in Edinburgh was started on 15 February (see below p. 133) and going satisfactorily Briot himself returned to London, leaving his workshop to carry on in semi-independence of the Scottish mint.¹ His first English coins were then later in the year issued from the Tower mint, under a similar arrangement of independence.²

On 3 October 1632 Charles wrote to the Privy Council that he had now sent Briot to Scotland, and directed them to consider Briot's advice [on changes in the silver currency] to rectify 'the abuses of forayne coyne current in that our kingdome'.³ A week after Briot had presented to the Council on 4 December a long memorandum on the subject⁴—which roused strong opposition from the Burghs and from the General and the Master of the mint⁵—the permanent mint officials seized 30 stone of his copper coins 'as being abone and beneath the remeids of weight allowed'⁶ [about $\frac{1}{2}$ gr.].⁷ Though this was no doubt true, as we shall see, it is hard not to think that the motive was political. The Master suggested in evidence on the wider matters that to 'cutt the [silver] money be cutters and try them be the work wecht' would cause discrepancies such as pieces that should weigh 16 gr. [turners] being sometimes 24 gr. and sometimes 10, with the result that the heavy pieces would be exported.⁸ The General tried to prejudice discussion by saying more briefly that Briot had 'shamefullie failyieit in the copper money'.⁹ When, however, the coins were finally restored to Briot on or after 31 May 1633, any blame was imputed to the workmen and not to him.¹⁰ It would be more true to say that the fault lay

¹ He was probably still in Edinburgh on 23 Feb., when Samsoun de Grange, goldsmith at London, was bound over with bail not to molest Nicholas Briot in Scotland or England: *R.P.C.S.* 1630-2 (1904), p. 433.

² H. G. Stride, *op. cit.*, p. 141, notes that, for the year to 30 Nov., Briot only produced 247 lb. of milled coin compared with the Tower's hammered output of over 31,000 lb. But Briot was not in London for much more than half the year, and may have spent part of that time in getting machinery together; for preparatory work after 13 June 1631 (*ibid.*, p. 140) will have soon been interrupted by the preparations for the turners and the subsequent departure to Scotland of Briot and his servants.

³ C-P ii. 82, with a memo. by Briot dated June and Oct., *ibid.*, pp. 80-81. A much earlier disquisition 'in consequence of certane propositions made to his Maiestie for the weakening and abating of his Coynes alsweill of Gold as of Siluer', presented to the king and the Lords of his Council by Briot in Aug. 1626, is evidently an English document, though recorded in Scotland (C-P ii. 71-73): Brooke refers to these proposals and their rejection by the king (*English Coins*, p. 202), but Briot's role as an economic adviser seems to have escaped study, so far, apart from consideration of his advice in 1642. (H. Farquhar. *Num. Chron.* 1914, pp. 178-82 and H. Schneider *B.N.J.* 1956, p. 334. Such manuscripts as are undated may well be earlier than Miss Farquhar supposed, or even than the Record Office's guess, 1628.) ⁴ C-P ii. 32-34. ⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-100. ⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35 and 83.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75, and Burns, ii. 488.

⁸ C-P ii. 89.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37: there was an inquiry late in February; and a letter from the king dated 5 Apr., when Briot was temporarily back in London, as appears from the king's instruction to him on the 6th (*Letters*, ii. 261) to make medals for the Scottish coronation and to prepare for this tools and presses 'to be in tyme by yow transported' to Edinburgh.

in the rolling of the copper strips, whose thickness was ill regulated: but machine rolling of blanks was normal in Scotland long before Briot's arrival.¹ The coins returned were to be 'mingled and reduced to the merk weight' (proper weight).

Though the Privy Council's authorization to strike 100 coronation medals in gold and 2,000 in silver was as late as 31 May,² Briot will have acted on the royal instruction given early in April.³ Yet even so he will have had little time to devote to the copper money, particularly as in May he had an additional instruction from Charles to strike a 'certane number' of gold Angels 'for those whome we ar to touch who have the King's evill, with the lyk Impression and fyness as they ar which we vse for that purpois in our kingdome of England'.⁴ He was to prepare irons and engines for this. These Scottish Angels, distinguishable from the English ones only in being engraved by Briot and milled, are probably represented by the unique unpierced 'pattern', Brooke's pl. xlv. 6. This is marked B on the reverse, but has no other privy mark, which Dr. Kent considers confirmation of its Scottish origin.

After the coronation on 18 June Briot returned south, to judge by his medal celebrating the king's return to London.⁵

Even though the issue of turners was continued while some were impounded, there were, it seems, doubts in the minds of Lord Stirling's creditors how much the king really intended to pay him. [The Treasurer ?] was instructed by Charles on 18 October to ascertain what had been paid to the Earl, as he had become, and what he was likely to get, and to suggest or take steps to satisfy the creditors.⁶

Details of the payments made to Lord Stirling, to Briot, and to the mint officials are recorded in an unpublished account.⁷ It shows that the 1,500 stone of copper was all minted more than fourteen months ahead of the time limit. For convenience the Scots figures may be translated here into sterling: value of the whole 1,500 stone £9,600; paid to Briot £4,201. 4s. 6d.; paid for the new building £289. 17s. 8½d.; paid for tools and instruments £100; paid to the officers of the mint at £6. 5s. monthly 'during the heall tyme the said wark wes in working' from 15 February 1632 to 1 November 1633, 21 months £131. 5s.; paid to Sir Robert Gordon's assignee £1,219. 11s. 10½d.; unpaid but claimed by the Master of the Mint £300; paid, in copper coin as it was coined, to Mr. James Gordon in the name of the Earl of Stirling £3,358. 0s. 11d.; total £9,600. In addition costs of issuing, distributing proclamations, interest on copper while not paid for, amounted to £256. 13s. 4d.

¹ 13 May 1597: 'copper . . . be the said miln maid reddy to the prenting . . . with pyle and cursell (? tursell)', C-P i. 129.

² *R.P.C.S.* 1632-5, p. 108. The value of the pieces was to be respectively 20s. and 12d. sterling.

³ *Supra* p. 132, note 10.

⁴ *Letters*, ii. 668; 10 May, strangely given as from Holyroodhouse. Not known to Miss Farquhar (*B.N.J.* 1915, pp. 113-14) when considering Sir James Balfour's record that the 100 coins used in a Touching ceremony at Holyrood on 24 June were coined for the purpose. They were each 'hung at a whyte silk riband' (Balfour, *Historical Works* ii (1824), 201).

⁵ Briot's many months in Scotland in 1631-3 are overlooked by Brooke, *Eng. Coins*, p. 204, and subsequent writers.

⁶ *Letters*, ii. 692-3.

⁷ Nat. Library of Scotland; Antiquaries' MSS., 2106. i, a two-page document which will be published in full in the *Scottish Historical Review*.

1634-6

On 26 February 1634 the king authorized the minting of another 1,500 stone and the Council's warrant was issued in March.¹ On 3 April the king entrusted the minting again to Briot at his own request 'by reasones of the charges and paynes susteined by himselff at first in establisching the work and fabrik of the coynage'. The rates and conditions were to be the same, and he was to hasten to Scotland to put a beginning to the work.² He was there in June when payment of accounts submitted was authorized by the king.³

No time limit was set for the minting, but the earl was anxious for larger and better assured payments. This can be deduced from the summary 'Articles to be condiscended betuixt the Kingis Maiestie and my Lord Stirling' dated 26 August.⁴ These resulted in a royal letter (18 September) embodied in an Act of the Privy Council (4 December) 'for the further securitie and satisfioun of the erle of Stirlie or such as he sall bargane with . . . anent the said benefite for his releiffe'.⁵ In these the earlier grants are confirmed, with mention of a previous royal debt of £6,000 sterling incurred by James VI,⁶ now also to be met from the turners. In addition authority is given for a further 6,000 stone of copper money, and even 'for continewing of the coynage (after the full perfytyng of the said sax thousand stone) from yeere to yeere for the accustomed quantitie as wes coyned these twa yeeres past, and that during the whole tyme yitt to runne of his patent'. For further security, curiously thought necessary, a long formal contract between the king and Lord Stirling was prepared going over all the ground again.⁷

Reference was made in the Articles to preventing 'of vnecessair charges and of lettis and hindrances quhilkis in tymes bygaine hes beine maid be the present officiars of the cunyiehou'. There had been quite recent trouble too, for on 1 July the Treasurers were instructed 'to convene the officers of his maiestie's cunyiehou before them and to command them in the Counsell's name to suffer and permit Mr. Briot and his servants to work the copper coyne in maner as the same wes formerlie wrought'.⁸ So by the Contract all but one of the officers were to be 'dischaired of all melling with the coynage of the said copper coyne'. A further difficulty met, and presumably overcome, was that the Scottish 'Customeris' stopped 'for further custome and impost . . . copper plate for the fabrication of copper money', bought by Briot in England as arranged in the Articles and in the royal letter of April 1634, and on which duty had been paid there.⁹

The king and his Council were from autumn 1634 greatly concerned about counterfeit tokens that might be made in Scotland or imported. It was first ordered that one-half the benefit from fines should go to the warrant holders, but this was quickly altered to 'our owin [use] as we shal be pleased to dispose of it'.¹⁰ The country was said to be in a manner filled with the false coins and

¹ C-P ii. 37-38.² *Letters* ii. 729.³ *Ibid.*, p. 769.⁴ C-P ii. 103.⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.⁶ To repay losses on the first attempt to colonize Nova Scotia: incurred but apparently not paid in 1623. *Letters*, i. p. xviii.⁷ Draft 'Information to Mr. James Gordoun' [Keeper of the Signet], Jan. and Mar. 1635: C-P ii. 103-5.⁸ *R.P.C.S.* 1635-5, p. 292.⁹ *Letters*, ii. 841, Mar. 1635.¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 781-2, 7 and 13 Oct. 1634.

with English farthings and Holland doits and doubles, against which diligent inquiry was to be made.¹

By August 1635 the consideration that had been given for years to the current gold and silver authorized in 1625—still being issued occasionally, though probably in small amounts—and to the problems raised by the import and export of coin aggravated by the scarcity of Scottish specie, resulted in a decision by the Privy Council to make Briot Master of the Edinburgh Mint, in addition to being chief engraver in London.² He was sworn in on 7 August but it took exactly two years, though he was in Edinburgh at various times in 1636 and 1637, for the appointment to become effective.³ There resulted, however, first the silver issue of 1636, which had to be hammered owing to difficulties raised by the native mint staff,⁴ several milled patterns that year, and then the gold and silver milled coins of 1637 onwards. The actual production of turners was now probably rather beneath Briot's notice, but the king's commendation when sending him to the Privy Council in summer 1635 instructed the Council not only to hear evidence on the reformation of gold and silver, but on 'diverse complaints made anent the copper coyne', the issue of which was to be continued meantime.⁵ The blame for 'the hurt and prejudice following' upon the 'great quantitie of copper moneyes now current within this kingdome' was officially placed on importers, in an Act dated 12 September 1636.⁶ But opposition to the official issue must be taken as a factor that, in conjunction with the mint's new activity, slowed considerably the production of turners; for the second 1,500 stone (nominally 9,216,000 coins per thousand)⁷ took over a year longer than the first.

One source of counterfeits, with a vivid picture of how the official turners were put into circulation in their heyday, is given by a contemporary.⁸

Ther wer abundance more carryd in unto Scotland from Machlyne⁹ and other places. . . . For some tyme no money was to be seen almost but Turnors, which for ease of the receipt, were putt in many little baggs and this way compted in dollars. The merchants did hurt the countrey much by this meanes, for some of the wealthier sort did buy them from Sir William Alexanders factors by weight in barrells and entysed the ruder sorte of people to chaunge them for silver coyne, giving to the

¹ C-P ii. 40–43, Dec. 1634–Mar. 1635, including a proclamation dated 17 Feb.

² Ibid., pp. 45–46.

³ C-P i. clxxviii–clxxxii.

⁴ Burns's suspicion, on p. 447, that Charles Dickesone maliciously spoilt the King's head on these coins, for which Briot had provided the portrait puncheons, rests on the fact that the heads are 'totally blurred as if the dies had been sunk from old worn-out puncheons' or as I. H. Stewart puts it (in *The Scottish Coinage* (1955), p. 106) 'the portrait is usually of a blurred appearance even when the rest of the coin is sharp'. The charge is, however, probably unjust, although no love can have been lost between the two men. Specimens on which the head is rather better than usual, e.g. Burns, fig. 1001, are indeed blurred by slight double-striking. But the larger coins, at any rate, of the previous issue show that this was normal. The total blurring of the head alone can also be seen on that and other earlier issues, as Burns, figs. 998–9, 983, &c., and is due to the marked convexity of the coins' obverse being greater than is normal to hammered coins, with the result that the head projects and has got worn while the legend has been protected. This was evidently an inherent weakness in the Scottish mint's technique. Similarly the uneven lettering on the silver 6s. pieces dated 1632 and 1633 compares very unfavourably with that on the turners.

⁵ C-P ii. 44.

⁶ Ibid., p. 54.

⁷ There were 16 oz. to the Scots lb., and 16 lb. to the stone; C-P i. lxxxii.

⁸ J. Gordon of Rothiemay, *History of Scots Affairs* (Spalding Club, 1841), iii. 88.

⁹ Malines in Belgium.

poorer sort some few Turners of gaine, according to the worth of the silver piece that they exchaunged with them.

1637-9

Particularly in view of the new issue of silver, there could be by 1637 'a just feare . . . of suche ane infinite and endlesse quantitie of copper coyne as might proue afterward vselesse to havers of it when the countrie sould come to be furnished with siluer coynes'.¹ With this no doubt in mind a committee of the Privy Council met Lord Stirling's son in February to discuss 'the coyning of some copper money being in the coynehous'.² In consequence the warrant for the 6,000 stone, intended to follow the second 1,500, was in May altered by Charles to one for 1,800 stone only, a quantity which had been 'readie and prepared for the printing' before the matter was queried.³ That even this was thought in some influential quarter to be an insufficient reduction may be assumed from a sentence in a royal letter to the Council dated 2 August: 'as tuiching the copper moneyes, we having at late by our letters signified our pleasure at length, we will you to see the same settled accordingly'.⁴

But it is unlikely that all, or even nearly all, this final 1,800 stone was issued. An even slower rate of issue will have resulted from the start of the milled silver that summer, to which some of Briot's staff were no doubt transferred. In addition opposition to the turners probably grew: work on them was indeed suspended for a few days at least by order of the Privy Council in December 1637, when the Keeper of the Signet was to 'exhibite the warrants concerning that bussines'.⁵ With the First Bishops' War in spring 1639 and the coming to power of the Covenanters, Lord Stirling's profits presumably ceased entirely and further minting is improbable, for as one of them wrote he was 'extremely hated of all the countrey' for several reasons including 'overwhelming us with his Black money'.⁶

The committee of Parliament called the Articles gave considerable thought to 'remedeing the evill of the present abundance of' copper money. On 16 September 1639 it decided that strikers of counterfeits should be punished with death, and that this or lesser penalties according to circumstances should be applied to importers; it also 'ordains each estate to speik apart vpon the vawle quhairunto turnouris ar to be decryed'.⁷ On 19 September it 'appointis all mylned turnors . . . to pass only for ane pennie'.⁸ On the 30th it considered an Act 'discharging' [forbidding] the coining of copper money or changing the value of money without advice of Parliament.⁹ Then on 22 October the Barons presented an Act 'anent the turnouris and thair crying downe to ane halfe pennie'. This was discussed at length next day, 'and refused, and the act formerlie made [16 Sept.] . . . to stand with this additioune that all coyning of turnouris heirefter be dischargit except at the intrinsik vawle with deductione of the coynage [costs]'.¹⁰ Thus the Stirling issue was formally terminated.

¹ C-P ii. 58.

² Ibid., p. 57.

³ Ibid., pp. 57-58. One of the reasons given for continuing the turners was that Lord Stirling had bargained 'with merchants or others for his more speedie injoying of the benefite intended by ws to him in the said copper coyne, which would turne now heavilie to his prejudice . . .'.

⁴ R.P.C.S. 1635-7, p. 505.

⁵ C-P ii. 63.

⁶ Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals* (1841 ed.), i. 77.

⁷ C-P ii. 4.

⁸ *Acts of Parliaments of Scotland*, v (1870), 599.

⁹ C-P. ii. 5.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 5.

The Privy Council then turned its attention to the subject, and on 2 November published an Act making death the only penalty for the import of any of the 'great quantitie of counterfoote turnours quihilks promiscuouslie hes had course with the others'.¹ In the same Act it tried in its turn to reduce, by decree, the official turners to one penny Scots—but they were restored to twopence five days later, after a protest from the burgh of Edinburgh that 'the losse will ly heavie vpon the poore who both to burgh and land [country-side] have the most part of thir turnours in thair hands'.² It may be noted that the proposed devaluation applied specifically to the 'turnours of late printed and strickin'. The force of this is made clear by Spalding 'Vpon the second day of November King Charles turnouris, stricken be the Erll of Striviling, by virtue of the Kingis gift wes, be proclamatioun at the cross of Edinbrugh, cryit down fra tua penneis to ane penny; King James turnouris to pass for tua penneis, becauss they war no less worth; and the kaird [tinker] turnouris simpliciter dischairgit as false cungzie. Bot this proclamatioun wes schortlie recallit becaus there wes no other money passing to mak change, and so wes sufferit to pas for tuo penneis for a tyme'.³

It was, however, all a warning to those that could to unload their turners. By April 1640 Spalding, referring to a meeting of Covenanters (to whom he was opposed) remarks, 'bot now they wold give nothing, penny nor half penny, for King Charles turnouris, bot King James turnouris onlie should pass. Quairby all chenge and tred [trade] was takin away throw want of current money, becaus thir slicht turnouris wes the onlie money almost passing throw all Scotland'.⁴ In October 1641 there was an experiment at the mint in melting down old copper 'viz the Stirling turners'.⁵ Finally in February 1642, when a new issue of turners at 10 $\frac{2}{3}$ pieces per oz. was ordered, the Stirling turners were officially demonetized, with effect from 20 March 1642: and to anyone that brought to the mint 'the said copper coyne thus discharged, that the maister sall be oblidged to give thame threttene shillings 4*d.* money of this realme for the pund weight thair of',⁶ which had formerly had a face value of 96*s.*

THE COINS

Their insignificant appearance, low relief, and corrodibility sufficiently explain why the 1632–9 copper turners are not numerous in collections and often represented by poor specimens, although approaching 40 million of them must have been officially minted. Their low intrinsic and even nominal value during the short period of currency cannot have encouraged hoarding. The small hoards known to have been found in 1942 and before 1900 were insufficiently recorded, and have since been dispersed or lost.⁷ In 1955, however, 128 found in the wall of an old farm at Pow, Stromness, Orkney, were

¹ C-P ii. 66.

² Ibid., p. 66.

³ J. Spalding, *Troubles in Scotland* (Spalding Club, 1850), i. 235. The first issue Charles I turners were probably in practice not distinguishable from his father's last issue.

⁴ Ibid., p. 263.

⁵ C-P i. lxi.

⁶ Ibid. ii. 67 and 68.

⁷ *P.S.A.S.* 1942–3, pp. 191–2: Brimmond, Aberdeen, 46 turners with 31 other coins all probably earlier; *ibid.*, 1905–6, p. 367: Loch Dochart Castle, Perthshire, 87 turners by themselves—7 that survive span varieties 3 to 38/39.

in a notably good state of preservation. As they happen to include a majority of the varieties either published or subsequently examined, they have provided a basis for a study aimed at discovering by typology the sequence of the varieties.¹ This began by working back from the group that was the freshest, but the starting-point and development was not clear till attention was turned from the mint-marks and the various shapes of crown to more or less accidental features of the thistle leaves on the reverse. In the middle of the series order was achieved by noting the deterioration and replacement of the punches for a few of the letters; but such minuteness of arrangement has not been attempted in other parts.

Table I, together with pls. ix-x, shows the distinctions and arrangement achieved, which will be explained as briefly as possible with some attention drawn to uncertainties that remain. The crowns provide the four major groupings, within which varieties are mainly distinguished by mint-marks. Through the kindness of a number of museums, collectors, and firms, the inquiry went beyond the turners in the National Museum of Antiquities, yet the total sample readily available is too small to allow more than very limited deductions about the frequency of the varieties. The only documentary evidence is that placing the silver pattern farthing **Pl. IX, 0*** before the C || R turners.

Crown I has the 'English' arrangement—a central cross patée flanked by fleurs-de-lis²—while the others have a central lis. This, along with the otherwise quite different 'English' crown on the pattern, suggests that Briot started with the crown which was familiar to him in England and turned later to what he discovered was accepted in Scotland as its distinctive version: it goes back there to 1558, but was also used occasionally in England on the coins of Elizabeth Tudor. Where the 'English' crown occurs on the later silver and gold coins of Briot and Falconer, and on the rare variety of Coronation medal, it is on the king's head, and possibly from English portrait puncheons or copies of them.

There was fortunately in the Pow hoard one coin, **Pl. IX, 1**, which had the obverse normal to Group I and on the reverse the same thistle as the pattern, to which small lozenge stops and some of its letters are further links. The thistle leaves of the other coins are far less neat and more deeply serrated; on these, long sharp tips, **Pl. IX, 3, C** and **D**,¹ proved impracticable, broke off sooner or later, and were not repeated by the punch-makers, although a curved left tip was long repeated, **Pl. IX, 3, D** and **E**. The only marked variation from the normal size of flan, a coin 1 mm. larger, has leaves type C, but most other features are unfortunately destroyed by double striking.

Most Group I coins have as mint-mark on the reverse a rosette of dots, similar to the earlier variety of the anemone on Briot's Tower coins,³ **Pl. IX, 1** and **3**; this is the commonest variety of turner, though only a close second in the Pow hoard. A lozenge as reverse mint-mark on Group I is usually accompanied by a coarsely serrated thistle leaf, **Pl. IX, 5 B**, while the shapes of the M and N and the spelling INPVNE point back to the silver pattern,

¹ A preliminary account appeared in *P.S.A.S.* 1955-6, pp. 113-17. Two additional turners and one forged turner came to light in 1958.

² Poor specimens misled Burns into calling this a crown of 5 lis, his No. 7.

³ *B.N.J.* 1955-6, p. 374.

and the stops flanking C || R are lozenges, so that this might be thought an early variety. However, one specimen, complete with little obverse lozenges, is known with Crown II, **Pl. IX, 8***, and the variety must go at the end of the Group to link with the first reverse lozenge mint-marks of Group II.

On the other hand two coins with Crown I obverse and other reverse mint-marks are doubtless mules making use of old obverse dies, **Pl. IX, 6**: in one case the obverse mint-mark has almost certainly had stamped over it an anemone of Group III.

Crown II is of the same design as I, but with the Scottish arrangement of crosses and lis, and with the jewels increased from 5 to 7. Nearly simultaneously with the change the thistle leaves revert to the main type, and the dots or lozenges flanking C || R are dropped once and for all. Evidently some redesigning of this central feature was soon felt necessary, and alternatives were tried out. One has a very small C R, and with this went smaller letters in the legends, another has a tall central ||, and a third has the C R larger than either but still medium-sized (if we look forward to Group III). The first two forms are found with reverse mint-mark lozenge, **Pl. IX, 10, 11**, and also small star, **Pl. IX, 12, 13**; only small letters have been noted on small star reverses. One example of tall || obverse has a reverse with what appears to be a large star, which may well be later, **Pl. IX, 25**. All three forms occur with a five-petalled rose which on worn coins is most easily distinguished from a rosette by the absence of a central dot, **Pl. IX, 15-17**. The order of the varieties is quite uncertain and more than one may have been current at once. At least with the rose mint-mark there is sometimes found a further minor variation of left thistle leaf, **Pl. IX, 16 F**, which from then on ran simultaneously with E.

The weights of varieties 1-17, as shown in Table II, range very widely and provide no defence on the charge made against the 1632 turners by the mint officials.

Crown III. The most perplexing and interesting part of the study was to discover and account for the position of a third group, which intruded itself into Group II. Its crown is distinctive and clearly intended to be so. Like that of the pattern farthing it is wide and has plain arches, but it is a 'Scottish' crown. With it goes an exceptional and deliberate change from the constant obverse lozenge mint-mark, which is replaced (except on variety 20) by an anemone, such as is sometimes called a daisy or just 'flower', **Pl. IX, 19-24**. The anemone also appears on the reverse, unless dies of other groups are used. Muling in fact is a feature of this group; relatively numerous specimens comprise four reverse mint-marks. Unusual additional privy-marks occur in this group. The presence or absence of a dot under the anemone is straightforward, though often hard to verify. More curious is the presence of a lozenge within, on, or almost obscured by the lower curve of the central C, and sometimes of another on the rear leg of the R, **Pl. IX, 24***; this does not seem to be an early feature in the group. Occasionally the distinctive obverse die has been omitted, and an anemone reverse used with a Crown I or Crown II obverse; in the former case, variety 7 as already noted, the lozenge mint-mark has, it seems, been overstruck with an anemone.

This muling allows Group III to be placed after the rose mint-mark, but

before other Group II varieties yet to be described, which are not so muled. Some confirmation of this conclusion is obtained from a small hoard, in poor condition, found in 1954 in a bog at Cappanagh, Co. Antrim, for as shown in Table I its thirty-four turners do not go beyond variety 21.

Though the whole issue of turners was under Briot's charge, the anemone mint-mark, even more than the lozenge, points directly to him, for it was his choice for most of his Tower coins of summer 1632,¹ also used for his Scottish 30s. pieces in 1637. New letter punches were used for Group III's own dies, which suggests that when it started not only was distinctiveness aimed at, but the existing punches were not available. Such a situation may well have occurred after the official seizure of the stock of turners in December 1632.² Lord Stirling certainly, and the king also, will not have wanted minting to cease. Yet for any continuation some personal guarantee by Briot of a satisfactory standard would have been required, and it would have been as well for coins so guaranteed to be easily distinguishable. The weights of Group III in the Pow hoard have a wide scatter, particularly below standard, but also include a good proportion close above the official weight—see Table II. As the root cause of the seizure was the hostility of the permanent mint officials, who had authority over the punches and dies,³ these may at first have been withheld along with the turners, though it would have been difficult to continue to do so legally; once 'the irons' were returning muling would have kept up output without time being wasted on more die-making when the workshop was busy with medals. Group III may thus be assigned to the first half of 1633. The accounts of autumn 1633⁴ do not indeed show any interruption of minting at all, but they openly count 20½ months as 21 and by the time they were drawn up by-gones were probably treated as by-gones.

Group II recommenced. One would imagine, if the above argument is sound, that the anemone series would cease on Briot's departure in June or July. Certainly Crown III was dropped before long, and with it the daisy and the form of the C R. The latter reverts to the medium size of variety 17, and a guide to the relative positions of varieties 26–30 compared with 31–32 is given by the punches for the C R becoming defective. The earlier reverse mint-marks may be perhaps called the cinquefoil series, though a defective cinquefoil is the commonest and there are several others to which it is hard to put names, **Pl. IX–X, 25–29**. A coin with a rough star, **Pl. IX, 25**, has already been mentioned: if it belongs to this series it is the only example of a re-used tall II obverse. Towards the end of the series a crack develops in the central C punch and that for the central R loses the front half of the rear-leg serif, **Pl. X, 31b**. These defects are found on many Crown II turners with a lozenge mint-mark on both sides, **Pl. X, 32 and 34**, which must therefore follow varieties 25–31 and be sharply differentiated from varieties 10–11. It seems possible that the 'cinquefoil series' concluded the first 1,500 stone in later summer and autumn 1633 and that the new lozenge reverse began with 1634.

The latter seems to have been minted in greater quantity than most varieties, for it is the commonest in the Pow hoard and well represented elsewhere. The frequent use of defective letter punches allows some subdivision, and it

¹ *B.N.J.* 1955–6 cit. where it is called 'daisy'.

³ *Supra*, p. 131.

² *Supra*, p. 132.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 133.

was carried to such lengths that in the legends not only was a P, or R lacking its foreleg, disguised by a stroke added on the die, but an old and itself defective R punch used with Crown I (**Pl. IX, 3**) was resuscitated for a short time, **Pl. X, 32e** and **34b**. Small letters, E and S, probably from varieties 12 and 15, also reappear.

During this time, as is shown by the form of R just mentioned and by the defective letters of the central C R, there was produced a variety that replaced by trefoils the three lozenges otherwise invariably under the C || R, and that had the same trefoil as obverse mint-mark, **Pl. X, 33***. It has hitherto been supposed, from the rarity of the obverse trefoils, that this was an initial variety of 1632-9 turner. While this can now be shown not to be so, no explanation can be offered for the change, which was shortlived: perhaps it should go immediately before variety **32e**, since its old R maintains the rear leg intact (as on **34b** which may be a die re-used slightly later) while on **32e** half of it appears to have been lost. Variety 33 was not present in the Pow hoard.

Another change soon followed, in which the lozenges were kept but a beaded inner ring replaced the continuous ring on the reverse, **Pl. X, 34a**. Before the obverse followed suit (**Pl. X, 36**) a new set of letter punches were put into use, both for the legends and the central C R, **Pl. X, 35**. It may be that the change of rings was influenced by those introduced in England to distinguish the Maltravers farthings of mid-1634, in which case a *terminus post quem* is given, but one would not have thought that any recognized assimilation to farthings prohibited in Scotland would have been encouraged, and in any case beaded inner rings were normal on the Scottish coinage before 1637.

The turners reverted to the continuous inner ring, first on the reverse, **Pl. X, 37**, and then on both sides, **Pl. X, 38**, and with the first of these alterations a saltire with dot over it became the reverse mint-mark. Even more noticeable is the introduction, for the first time since the issue began, of a really different form of thistle, 'G', which has symmetrically placed leaves and a straight stem. Such marked changes may denote something more than, say, a temporary turning of Briot's personal attention to turners again, so it is tempting to suppose that the 1,800 stone begun in 1637 commenced at this point. On the other hand varieties 32-36 (or perhaps 30-36) may not seem quite sufficient for the whole of the second 1,500 stone compared with 1-31 for the first 1,500. There are, however, not many more varieties left to take up the reasonably substantial fraction of the 1,800 stone needed to cover 1637-9.

It may be noticed that from the last stages of the reverse mint-mark lozenge series, variations and errors in spelling and punctuation become common in the legends and that these include AN• for ANG•. The average weight of the coins seems also to have been deteriorating. These variations continue, and AN• becomes standard with the next change, in which the obverse lozenge is replaced by the same saltire-and-dot as that on the reverse, a relatively common variety, **Pl. X, 39**.

Crown IV. As frequent in the Pow hoard as the saltire-and-dot series are turners with a new, more rigidly schematized, Scottish crown, a different set of letter punches, and the thistle shown in **Pl. X, 40 H**, the leaves of which are set more like those of the earlier varieties than 'thistle G'. On some the mint-marks are like variety 39 but with no dot above the saltires, **Pl. X, 40**; on

others there are echoes from early Groups—lozenge and anemone, but with all petals of equal thickness, **Pl. X, 41**, and lozenge and rosette, **Pl. X, 42**. With the last variety the spelling **ANG** reasserts itself.

Group IV turners are badly below standard weight and all contain more or less gross variations in spelling and punctuation; there is no longer a central compass dot from a setting-out circle (seen also on token farthings¹) and the inner circle may be oval; with one possible exception no die or punch links to previous varieties have been noted, such as have confirmed the main sequence so far. They might therefore be regarded as forgeries. Yet the sample available is very small, and the degeneration noticed in varieties 36–39 is only accentuated. Even the spelling **IACESS** of variety 42 is led up to by an example of 39 which seems to have **IACESSET**, and the rectangular beads of the outer circles commence already in variety 37. If counterfeit they ought not to be earlier than that variety. The crown is no more a caricature of the earlier ones than is the certainly official thistle 'H', on which thistle 'G' is an improvement. The careful triangular ends of the saltire mint-marks are just like those of the saltire-and-dot mint-marks, and indeed they seem to be from the same punch. Lastly, the lettering remains good, and all other turners that can be considered forgeries are much inferior. For these reasons Group IV turners may be considered, until there is definite evidence to the contrary, part of the last 1,800 stone of the official issue. Those in the Pow hoard are in mint condition.

Minting technique. The English Richmond farthing tokens were milled in a rotating machine that impressed nine separate pairs of dies on to a strip,² but the form of machine for the Scottish turners is uncertain. Sir James Hope described the machinery for *silver* coins, which he saw in the mint in 1639.³ The smaller silver blanks would seem to have been cut out one at a time in the screw cutting press that he sketched,⁴ worked by a relatively short horizontal bar. They were impressed in a similar machine, with a flat round die. The blanks for the large silver were cut oval and then 'did receive thair impressione successivelie, by the quhilk they wer forced to the bread and so wer maid round; . . . The forme of thair stamp is the portione or sectione of a cylinder on both syds'. The curvature of some Scottish, and York, pieces resulting from such a process was remarked on by Miss Farquhar.⁵ The nipping of the edges as coins went in and came out from between the cylinders can also be observed; and it sometimes seems that the blank was not fed in the right way, so that the oval shape was accentuated instead of being made round. In a note of the cost of machinery for Briot (March 1638)⁶ a little hand press cost £18 (sterling?), two great hand presses £140, and three Svey presses also £140; the latter may probably have had a screw with a long horizontal handle, for svey is the normal Scots word for a fire-place crane; it is known, however, also to have been used for a lever, and the rather rough Spanish rocking mechanism described by Sir George Hill⁷ was actuated by a lever. To remedy the cylinders' tendency to produce curved pieces Briot is known to have used

¹ *B.N.J.* vii, 1906, 188.

² *C-P* i, lix-lx and marginal illustrations.

³ Surely not with a *seu* cylinder as supposed by Stride, *Seaby's Bulletin*, 1957, p. 141.

⁴ *Num. Chron.* 1914, p. 173 n.

⁵ *C-P* i, li-lli.

⁶ *B.N.J.* iii, 198 and 203, pl. ii.

⁷ *Num. Chron.* cit. 90-92.

a horse-driven flattening mill in France, but the soft pieces would have flattened in use and there is no evidence for its use in Edinburgh.¹ Neither is there evidence for the use of power in the Scottish mint (water, wind, animal, or treadmill), though admittedly there are gaps in the information, such as the absence of the description of the rotary press promised by Sir James Hope.²

By analogy with the small silver, one might suppose that the turners were cut out and then stamped in a flat screw press one by one, as in the French illustration of 1692 reproduced by Cochran-Patrick.³ Yet it can be seen that some of the Pow hoard were cut *after* stamping, because the edge is turned slightly by a blunt cutter; this is noticeable particularly, but not only, in Group IV, which is too fresh to have been flattened by wear. Further, a coin of variety 40 has on it part of the ring of another coin. More interesting perhaps, **Pl. X, 32c**, which like many others of Groups I–III is not well centred, shows outside the outer ring a single dot, just like that between coins on the strip of Richmond farthings already cited, but at '4 o'clock' on the obverse. It has a truncation due to being too close to the edge of the blank, again not uncommon. Further, striations visible on it and many of the Pow coins interfere with the design in a way that shows either, or both, the stamping and cutting to have involved passing the blank through rollers. They are, as normally, at right angles to the truncation; but this shows that the dots, if there was a row of them, were not on the axis of movement of a strip passing lengthwise through a machine.⁴ The die-axes are various, most constantly 0° in Group IV; that of **Pl. X, 32c** is 270°.

Some striations on other examples are partly interrupted by the relief, and so must be the result of the rolling of the metal blanks:⁵ the pressure of the stamping was insufficient to remove the marks. Other marks on the Pow coins are evidently due to the frequent use of rusty and sometimes cracked dies, which has occasionally helped to establish the order of varieties.

It is possible that the change from thistle leaves type C–F to G (and H) marks the introduction of a single punch for leaves (with stem) instead of a pair.

There is a note dated 1641 on the relative efficiency of hammering and milling:⁶

Item that this way of coinage by the mylne press and swey is a great deall more dispatcheing, bot more expensive then the vther by forgeing and striking with the hamer, for heir the yrons are more subject to brakeing and defacing then the vther way and the milne varie chargeable to menteane, bot that this was ane extraordinarie brave way for coining of the Stirling coper monie quhich requyred great dispatch and could not have been done the ordinaire way for triple more charges, for of before there was ever three yeirs allotted to the coinage of 500 stane of copper and by the mylne and this way [? should read 'the swey'] they would putt 1,000 stane throw the yrons in the yeire.

This rate of say 3,000 turners a day is unlikely to have been maintained after the first 1,500 stone—see above, p. 135—but is not high compared with the possible rate of milling guineas singly, recorded by a visitor to the Tower in 1676, namely twenty-six in one minute.⁷

¹ A mint 12s. piece from the Fisherrow hoard is very curved.

² C-P i. ix.

³ Ibid. i. lii.

⁴ See p. 145. n. 2.

⁵ A sketch of 'the rollors of yrne for drawing of metallis to lenth and thinnes' is included in Sir James Hope's papers, C-P i. fix.

⁶ Ibid. i. xxxi.

⁷ *Seaby's Bulletin*, 1958, p. 56.

THE COUNTERFEITS

The collector of the Pow hoard had also got four farthing tokens of which two at least were false, but he managed to avoid all but four certainly forged turners. In this he differed from modern collectors, nearly one third of whose specimens are from the counterfeiters. Three types are common.

The first has a crown that is small and neat but indifferent to the shape of lis and so on, **Pl. X, S1a-c***. Its thistle has a clumsy flower and weak leaves, and the lettering is coarse, irregularly placed, the N's almost always reversed. This type bears a considerable number of 'mint-marks' and combinations of them: in an incomplete survey the following have been noted. *Obv.* Three fleurs-de-lis (3 variations), lion (2 variations), lozenge, two trefoils opposed, large trefoil. *Rev.* Hollow square (commonest), three fleurs-de-lis, lion.

A second type has a large crown readily distinguished by the series of horizontal lines in its lower part, **Pl. X, S2***. The lettering and spelling is worse, with S reversed though N correct. Its mint-marks are small crosses. The third frequent type has a large and elaborate, fanciful, crown, small and rather more careful lettering and spelling, and lozenge mint-marks, **Pl. X, S3***.

Several other types of forgeries may also be illustrated, **Pl. X, S4*-7**. The first is particularly well made and imitates the lozenge-and-rosette mint-marks, but has a poor crown and thistle. Another has prominent crosses in the crown. The next is a specimen stamped before cutting out with badly opposed dies. (This might occur more readily if hammered in strips or milled; certainly forgers a generation later in Moldavia were making milled strips of false Swedish coins.)¹ The last is one of two similar very careless counterfeits only noted in the Pow hoard. The one shown has been cut out of a narrow strip causing two opposed truncations.















In general it may be noted that the impression gained from the records that counterfeits became a menace mainly in the later years of the official issue is borne out by the absence of imitations with a dot on either side of C || R (Group I) or of the broad shape of Crown III. **Pl. X, S4*** looks like an imitation of Group IV's last variety. The occasional use in the most frequent type of forgery of a colon at the end of the reverse, **ACCESS:**, and the frequency of that spelling in general, can be interpreted in the same way.


ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The recovery of the Pow hoard for the National Museum is due to Dr. Hugh Marwick. For sending coins for comparison I am much indebted to Mr. W. A. Seaby of Belfast Museum (Cappanagh hoard), Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Place (coins from Loch Dochart), Mr. I. H. Stewart (illustration of variety 33), Messrs. A. H. Baldwin, and Messrs. B. A. Seaby, while six other museums gave facilities for examining their turners. Dr. E. F. D. Roberts kindly transcribed the 1633 account. Mr. D. D. Murison advised on the word 'suey'. Dr. J. P. C. Kent has been very helpful in various ways, particularly on the problems of minting technique.

¹ Dots occur on these strips in a ring round the outside of the coins, except between them: *K. Vitterhets Hist. o. Antik. Akad. Årsbok*, 1956, pp. 98-99.

Varieties of 'Stirling' Turners, based on the Pow Hoard

Crown	Variety No.	Mint-marks	Obverse features	Rev. thistle and leaf-types on Pl. IX-X	Lettering or spelling peculiarities, and notes	No. in Pow H. L = die link D = die identity	Weight range in grs.	No. in Cap-panagh Hoard	Other exx. seen B = Burns No.	Plate (* = not from Pow H.)
	0	+ 		A	Silver pattern 3d., 1631. CAR·D·G·MAG·BRIT·FR·ET·HIB·R NEMO·ME·INPVNE·LACESSIT				BM NMA	IX. 0*
					Copper 2d., 1632-9. CAR·D·G·SCOT·ANG·FR·ET·HIB·R NEMO·ME·IMPVNE·LACESSET					
 I	1		|| R 	A	HIB·R· Some letters, but not M, like silver pattern. Small loz. stops? Inner ring not continuous over wide-top flower.	1	11·5	Nil	—	IX. 1 A
	2		 or  · or ·	A' (fl) C (lvs)	Inner ring as 1. Wide-top flower from different punch.	Nil	1	15	43 (B. 7)	IX. 3 3 C 3 D 3 E
	3			C straight tips D curved 1. tip E top of r. tip lost	R in legend with convex foreleg which becomes defective; or other Rs mostly with rather long foreleg. 1 HIBR	17 +1?	15·4 —9·1			
	4	 	 	C?	Ends of central C 'barbed', long foreleg R.	1	11·5	Nil	1		IX. 5* B
	5		B deep serration	As 4. M like silver pattern. 1 IPVNE·LACESSET· 1 INPVNE	1 +1?	13·3 —10·2	3? (2 IN)			

<i>Crown</i>	<i>Variety No.</i>	<i>Mint-marks</i>	<i>Obverse features</i>	<i>Rev. thistle and leaf-types on Pl. IX-X</i>	<i>Lettering or spelling peculiarities, and notes</i>	<i>No. in Pow H. L = die link D = die identity</i>	<i>Weight range in grs.</i>	<i>No. in Cap- panagh Hoard</i>	<i>Other exx. seen B = Burns No.</i>	<i>Plate (* = not from Pow H.)</i>
 II	6	◆ ◆		F	Obv. as 5; rev. punches as 16. Mule; both dies defective.	1	16.6	1	—	IX. 6
	7	◆ ◆		E	Obv. as 4 but mint-mark overstruck. Mule; see 19 and 21.	Nil		1	—	
	8	◆ ◆		B	As 5.	Nil		Nil	4 (B. 8a)	IX. 8*
	9	(◆ ?)	No more points in future	B	Crown not certain; CIIR as 8 but no side points.	Nil		2	—	
	10		Small CR		Small letters on obv.	1	14.2	Nil	1	IX. 10
	11		Large II	E	Two kinds of M.	3	11.5 —8.2	1	4	IX. 11
	12	◆ ✕	Small CR	E	Small letters both sides. (Star mint-marks are known plain, pierced, and with raised centre).	2 +1? (or 15)	8.6 —13.0 (14.6)	Nil	3 (1 ••• SIT)	IX. 12 (2 coins, obv. *)
	13		Large II	E & F	Small letters on rev.	Nil		Nil	2	IX. 13*
	14		Med. CR			Nil		Nil	1?	
	15	◆ ◆	Small CR	E	Small letters on both sides.	1 (+1?)	10.5	Nil	5	IX. 15
	16		Large II	E F double tip l. leaf	Two kinds of M, diff. from 11. 1 loz. in field to l. of thistle head.	4	21.7 [sic] —10.7	1	5 (B. 6)	IX. 16



III

17		Med. CR	E, F	Ms as 11. 1 loz. in rev. field.	3	15·1 —11·5	Nil	2	IX. 17 F
18	◆ ◆	Large II		Obv. as 16, rev. as 19 and 20. Mule.	1	13·4	1	—	IX. 18
19	◆ ◆	Large CR	E	New letter punches throughout? Foreleg of central R may cross ring. 1 obv. (die rusty) loz. within central C.	5 (2 D)	13·5 —7·6	1 +1?	5	IX. 19 (2 coins)
20	◆ ◆			Loz. projecting from curve of central C. 1 rusty and worn dies.	2 D	15·2 —13·2	1? } ¹	—	IX. 20
21a	◆ ◆			2 with rev. M as 16. Mule.	3	13·7 —13·4	} 3 +1?	4	IX. 21a
21b	◆ ◆			In centre, loz. on C and on rear leg of R. Mule.	3 D L	15·5 —12·7		3 (1 D)	
22	◆ ◆			Obv. same die as 21b, but rusty; rev. letters as 10. Mule. (Specimen in private coll. obv. without dot below anemone, L with spec. of 21a).	1 L	11·9	Nil	7 (1 D 1 L B. 10a-b)	IX. 22
23	◆ ◆		F?	Obv. like 21b; rev. small lettering as 12; both dies rusty. Mule.	1	13·3	Nil	1	IX. 23
24	◆ ◆		D	Obv. loz. on central C and R; rev. as 3. Mule.	Nil		Nil	1	IX. 24*
25	◆ ◆	Large II	E	Mule?	Nil			1 (B. 5)	IX. 25*
26	◆ ◆	As 17	E	•HIBR Obv. N with no serifs; rev. M as 11 and 17.	2 D	16·2 —13·2		1	IX. 26
27	◆ ◆			Rev. mint-mark incomplete, M as 26.	1 L +1?	14·4 (11·5)		—	IX. 27
28	◆ ◆		E?	Obv. die same as 27, but cracking.	1 L	13·5		3 (2 rev. mint- mark double)	IX. 28 (2 coins, rev.*)

<i>Crown</i>	<i>Variety No.</i>	<i>Mint-marks</i>	<i>Obverse features</i>	<i>Rev. thistle and leaf-types on Pl. IX-X</i>	<i>Lettering or spelling peculiarities, and notes</i>	<i>No. in Pow H. L = die link D = die identity</i>	<i>Weight range in grs.</i>	<i>No. in Cap-panagh Hoard</i>	<i>Other exx. seen B = Burns No.</i>	<i>Plate (* = not from Pow H.)</i>
	29	◆ ◆			Obv. mint-mark, &c., double punched. M as 30.	1	12.6		—	X. 29
	30	◆ ◆		E? F?		2 } 1 } +1	16.9 —10.9		1	X. 30
	31a	◆ ◆							—	X. 31a
	31 b-c	◆ ◆	See notes	E & F	Crack develops in central C punch, and central R loses front half rear-leg serif. Sometimes N has lost top 1. stroke. 2 D NEMO • ME • ME • (31c).	6 +3? (2 D)	18.0 —10.5		12+1? (B. 4)	X. 31b (2 coins) X. 31c* (rev. only)
	32a	◆ ◆		F	Defective N on both sides. 1 obv. mint-mark double punched.	4			20 (B. 8 b-c)	X. 32a (obv. only)
	32b			F	Defective N on one side; scroll-ended N or its defective forms on other 1 SCOTANG •	5				X. 32b
	32c			E & F	Scroll N, or defective forms, on both sides. 1 obv. mint-mark triple punched, C under N of NEMO and dot outside outer ring. 2 HIBR of which one LACESET	9	18.5 —9.4			X. 32c
	32d			F	Defective R - P with added foreleg: cf. 34a. 1 dot to right of thistle.	3 (2 D)				
	32e			E	Another defective R in legend: as 3, 33, 34b, but worse.	1				X. 32e
	33	◆ ◆		F	Central CR as 31-32, N as 32c-e, R in legend as 32e but rear-leg complete as on 34b and 3.	Nil			4 (B. 3)	X. 33*



34a	◆ ◆	As 31-32	(E)	Rev. inner circle beaded. Defective R as 32d, N as before. 1 small Es on rev., LACEsSEt. 1 HIR • R 1 obv. inner circle, P for R; rev. ME at end.	4 (2 L)	12·6 —7·8	1	X. 34a
34b				Obv. defective R as 33; rev. new N. NEMOME • INPVNE • LACESSIT	1	12·3	—	
35		C II R		New letters throughout. AN • FR • ET • HI • R, LACESSE	1	12·0	2 D	X. 35
36		○	and (F)	Beaded both sides, letters as 35. 1 some old letters, ? retouched N on obv. and central lozenges sideways, rev. NEMOME • and LACEsSEt. 1 same obv. die. 1 NEMOME • and LACESET 1 AN • and HIBE • RE •	4 (2 L)		3 (B. 9) HIB • RE • HIBE • RE • HIBE • RE •	X. 36
37			(G)	Rectangular beads in outer circles henceforward. Obv. central C like 38. Rev. continuous inner ring recommences. 1 SCT • and R •	2	14·0 —11·2	4 (1 HI • R)	X. 37 (2 coins)
38		○		Obv. continuous inner ring recommences. 1 HI • R 1 AN •	2	11·4 —11·1	4 (1 HIBR •)	X. 38
39	✕ ✕	C II R		AN • regularly henceforward to 42. 1 HIB • R • 1 LACEsSET • 1 outer ring omitted on both sides.	6 +1?	12·7 —6·9	24+1? (1 IAC?) B. 11a, c)	X. 39 g
40	✕ ✕		H	All letters new, inner rings tend to oval, no central compass-dot. 1 has part of outer ring of next coin. 2 (D) CAR • DGSCOT • ANFRETHIBR no rev. stops 1 CAR • DGSCOTANFR • ETHIBR • no rev. stops 1 CAR • D • GSCOANFRET • HI • R NEMO • MEIMPVLACEsSET: 1 CAR • DGSCCANFR • ETHIBR NEMOMEIMPVN • LACEsSE 1 CAR • DGSCO • AN[]ETHIB • R (3 tiny dots below crown) NEMO[]IMPVN • LACEsSE	6 (2 D)	10·3 —6·9	5 (B. 11b and B. 12)	X. 40 H

Crown	Variety No.	Mint-marks	Obverse features	Rev. thistle and leaf-types: on Pl. IX-X	Lettering or spelling peculiarities and notes	No. in Pow H. L = die link D = die identity	Weight range in grs.	No. in Cap-panagh Hoard	Other exx. seen B = Burns No.	Plate (* = not from Pow H.)
					(CAR·D·G·SCO·AN·FRET·HI·R NEMO·ME·IMPV·LACESSET: CAR·D·G·SCOT·AN·FR·ET·HIB·R NEMO·ME·IMPVNE·LACESSET)				← var. spell.	
	41	◆ ❁			2 (L) CAR·DG·SCO·AN·FRET·HI·R NEMO·ME·IMPVNLACESS· (? L) [JO·ME·IMPVN·LACESS[] 1 CAR·DG·SCO·AN·FR·ET·HIR· (? L) NEMO·ME·IMPVN[]ACESSE:	3 L	10·0 —7·8			X. 41
	—	◆ ?			2 (L) CAR·DG·SCO·AN·FR·ET·HIR NEMO·ME·IMPVN·LACE[] NEMO·ME·IMPVN·LACESS[]	2 L				
	42	◆ ❁			2 (L) CAR·D·G·SC[]ANGFR·ETH·R NEMOMEIMPVN·IACESS NEMO·MEIM[]N·IACESS: (CAR·DG·SCOANGFRETIH·R NEMO·ME·IMPVNIACESS CAR·DG·SCO·ANGFR·ETH·R NEMO·ME·IMPVN·IACESS []ANG·FRE·THR CAR·D·G·SCO·ANGFR·ETH·R NEMO·ME·IMPVN·IACESS: CAR·DG·SCO·ANGFR·ETHI·R NEMO·ME·IMPVNIACESS:)	2 L	11·8 —10·6		9 ← var. spell.	X. 42
	S 1-7				Various counterfeits.	4	8·3 —11·0		(B. 13-26)	X. S 1a-S 7

THE PATTERN HALFPENNIES AND FARTHINGS OF ANNE

By C. WILSON PECK

INTRODUCTION

THE Anne pattern halfpennies and especially the farthings have always been highly esteemed by collectors, the former, no doubt, because of their unusual reverse designs, and the farthings more probably on account of their simple but very pleasing obverse portrait. All these patterns, except the **BELLO • ET • PACE** farthing, were struck from dies by John Croker, who had succeeded to the post of Chief Engraver at the Mint in 1705. Some of them bear quite novel reverse types reputedly designed at the suggestion of Dean Swift to commemorate important events in the queen's reign, e.g. most of the halfpennies allude to the Union with Scotland, and the 'Peace in biga' farthing refers to the Peace of Utrecht.

The story, cunningly propagated by various unscrupulous or misguided persons during the first decade of the nineteenth century, that an Anne farthing was worth virtually a small fortune, was readily believed by a considerable section of the population, especially in the country districts, despite its denial by the British Museum and other well-informed persons, among them, William Till. Even as late as 1877, James Henry was constrained to publish a short notice proving the utter falsity of this belief, and it is therefore not improbable that the faint halo which even today still hovers over the Anne farthing can be partly attributed to a lingering link with this idle story.

Considering the popularity of the Anne patterns it is hard to understand why they have never been thoroughly studied and classified: any contention or excuse that their comparative rarity precluded a really comprehensive investigation is quite indefensible, for the writer, without undue trouble, was able in a very short time to discover and record close on 90 Anne halfpennies and more than 250 assorted varieties of the farthing. This latter figure, incidentally, should at least serve to dispel any surviving belief in the old myth that only three farthings were struck!

The first step towards the classification of these pieces is to set them in proper perspective against the background of the Mint's copper coining activities during the previous forty years, i.e. between 1672 and 1712. It is common knowledge that the first English regal copper coinage was issued by Charles II in 1672, but it is not always realized that this coinage involved the Mint in a process which it was actually incapable of carrying out in its entirety from the raw ingot. This was partly because of their inadequate knowledge of the metal at that time: *pure* copper was insisted upon, yet they knew of no method of assaying it. They also met with serious trouble with the rolling: thinly cast ingots proved unsuitable for coining, and their horse-operated

mills were too weak to roll down thicker ones.¹ Both these major obstacles were surmounted, or rather side-tracked, in this instance by purchasing ready-made blanks from Sweden. All the Mint had to do, therefore, was to strike them.

Passing over the base-metal issues of James II and the first issues of William and Mary, all of which were in tin and have no direct bearing on our problem, we come to the 1694 copper coinage. On 17 April 1694, despite protests from the Cornish mines, the House of Commons passed a resolution against the further issue of tin coins on the grounds that they were wanting in intrinsic value, and were too easily counterfeited. They decided, therefore, on a coinage of *English copper*—‘of the intrinsic value’, but instead of their giving this work to the Mint, a contract was made with Sir Joseph Herne, Sir Francis Parry, George Clark, Abel Slaney, and Daniel Barton for the coining of halfpennies and farthings to a total of 700 tons spread over seven years, from midsummer 1694. The main conditions of this contract were:

1. The coins should be of ‘best English copper, rolled and milled’.
2. They should be struck at the rate of 21*d.* to the lb. of metal.
3. The blanks should be ‘struck at the Mint’.
4. The contractors were to accept up to £200 worth of tin farthings a week in exchange for their new coins, and melt down the tin ones within 14 days.²

Almost exactly six months after the start of this coinage the queen died. The next issue, bearing William III’s head only, continued to be produced under the same contract. In January 1695/6 complaints were made that the coins were being made of base copper and that they were light in weight. It was also alleged that the contractors were using cast instead of rolled and cut blanks, and further that they were refusing or tediously delaying the exchange of the tin coins. Early in 1698 a petition from various tradesmen in the Borough of Southwark was read before the House, complaining that the patentees had issued extravagant quantities of copper coin, and requesting that their coining should be stopped. A committee set up to investigate this and other charges, reported that although only 460 tons of the original contract for 700 tons had been coined, there was undoubtedly a glut of copper coin, especially in and around London, and in consequence a stop was put to the striking of any more copper for one year, commencing 24 June 1698.

The coins produced under this contract, especially the William III pieces, are noticeably inferior to those of Charles II, but this was not because of any falling off in the quality of the master dies—the proof pieces confirm this: it was undoubtedly the contractors, using slipshod methods of production, and with maximum profits as their main object, who were really to blame. As Craig points out, they even got their working dies made (very badly) at low rates by the out-of-work moneyers at the Mint, who then struck the blanks as their agents instead of as principals,³ and, despite the stipulation that the blanks should be *rolled and cut*, many of the coins were struck on *cast* blanks, which explains the frequently pitted surfaces of so many of the surviving specimens.

At the commencement of Anne’s reign it was found that the excessive issues

¹ Craig, *The Mint*, p. 175.

² Snelling (iii), p. 39.

³ Craig, *The Mint*, p. 182.

of copper coin between 1695 and 1701 (the year of expiry of the original contract) had amounted to the very considerable sum of £137,200. It was therefore judged that there would be ample copper in circulation for several years: it was not in fact until late in 1712 that a further issue was found necessary.

Most of what happened in connexion with the proposed copper coinage of Queen Anne was due to Isaac Newton who had been promoted to the post of Master of the Mint in December 1699. Knowing all and doubtless very much more than has been outlined above about the difficulties of coining in copper, Newton set his inquiring mind to improve matters. That, in the end, he completely failed was certainly not through lack of perseverance; the truth is he and the Mint still knew little about assaying copper or testing it for impurities. During Anne's reign the suitability of copper for coinage purposes was decided solely by the 'hammer test', i.e. that the metal when heated red hot and hammered thin should not split. It is but fair to Newton to add that the metallurgy of copper advanced so slowly that this test was still in use at the Mint as late as 1860.¹

Briefly, Newton's plans were, (1) that the new coins should contain their intrinsic value of *pure* copper less only the cost of making and issuing them, (2) that the *entire* process of coining should be undertaken by the Mint from ingots of the raw metal, instead of purchasing ready-made blanks as previously, and (3) that in future the quantity of coin issued should be directly related to estimated requirements. By so doing, Newton hoped to provide better quality coins at a lower cost, and also prevent any recurrence of the glut that had been complained of during the previous reign.

Unfortunately these plans came to nothing, for, as Craig explains in considerable detail,² Newton's decision that the copper should be as pure as possible and therefore free from the desirable addition of a trace of tin to facilitate rolling, coupled with the inability of the Mint mills to reduce the castings to the required thickness, defeated all attempts to produce coins which would withstand the hammer test. It may well be asked why these Anne pieces, which are generally acknowledged to be among the most attractive in the copper series, should have been turned down merely because they failed to pass this test. The answer is, of course, that the hammer test was and continued for many years to be the only criterion of purity known to the Mint and to the trade generally. The whole question of purity was inextricably bound up with the false, over-riding insistence on intrinsic value; hence, however fine their appearance, the slightest suspicion that the coins were of impure metal would have been quickly exposed by interested parties in the copper trade, as in fact they were in this instance, for the Treasury invited an outside authority, James Bertie, to inspect some of Newton's latest trial pieces. He at once pronounced them to be of 'coarse copper', and declared that he could make them from pure copper more cheaply. When put to the test Newton's coins did, in fact, crack and all plans for issuing copper for circulation were abandoned.

Many collectors believe that the more-commonly-met-with farthing dated 1714 (Pl. XII, 17) was actually issued for circulation, but Sir John Craig, who

¹ Craig, *The Mint*, p. 220.

² *Id. Newton*, pp. 95-98.

had access to the latest relevant records,¹ states emphatically that—‘Queen Anne’s farthings, at one time priced above rubies by common report, and her double-headed halfpence, were but strays from these experiments. No copper coin was issued in England under Anne.’²

By April 1717, i.e. nearly three years after Anne’s death, the public demand for more copper coin had become too insistent to permit any further delay in experimenting with raw copper, and Newton, no doubt very reluctantly, had to admit defeat and place a contract outside the Mint for a supply of copper fillets, rolled to the required thickness, ready for cutting into blanks on which to strike the first issues of George I.

To sum up: it has been shown that from the very commencement of copper coining in 1672 the Mint was quite unable to cope with all the processes involved in coining from the raw ingot, and that during the period 1694–1701 little or no progress can have been made in this matter, as copper coining was taken away from the Mint and given to second-rate contractors whose main purpose seems to have been profit rather than quality of output. A further span of twelve years following Anne’s accession again saw no advance in technique, for although Newton was in office all this time, the excessive issues during the previous reign had left ample copper in circulation, hence the opportunity and incentive for further research were largely lacking until the fresh demand for copper coin arose in 1712.

With this short account of the various factors and events which retarded our first essays in coining copper, we are in a better position to consider two important statements concerning the Anne patterns and also several pertinent facts that have emerged from an examination of a large number of specimens, all of which must be reconciled before any worth-while classification can be drawn up.

1. *Craig’s authoritative statement that these patterns were merely strays from Newton’s experiments to produce satisfactory coins from pure copper.*
2. *The existence of these patterns—especially the farthings—in metals other than copper, in quantities which seem hardly consistent with the Mint’s preoccupation with these experiments.*
3. *The fact that all the farthings on the medium and small-size flans occur only in copper, and always have the edge plain, whereas all those in gold, silver, and tin occur only on the large-diameter flans, and have the edge either striated or clumsily filed.*
4. *The occurrence of certain die-pairings of both denominations in copper and silver, and a few (farthings) in gold, all struck from rusted dies.³*
5. *Snelling’s statement that the halfpenny dies ‘afterwards came into the hands*

¹ In particular, *The Newton Papers*, presented to the Royal Mint by Lord Wakefield in 1936; see *Mint Report*, 1935/6, p. 21.

² Craig, *Newton*, p. 98.

³ Dies when not in use were usually preserved from rust by smearing or immersing them in fat, but if accidentally exposed to a humid atmosphere without this protection they could easily suffer serious damage from rust in a very short time, and no doubt all such spoiled dies which could not be reasonably adequately restored by repolishing were rejected. It follows, therefore, that rust marks on any coin should always arouse suspicion and must never be ignored, for they may have important implications, as, for example, restriking from old dies at a later date, probably by some unauthorized person.

of Mr. Bush of the ordnance office in the Tower, who had several of them struck off, until Mr. Arundel by warrant, ordered the dyes to be destroyed'.¹ Snelling gives no authority for this, but as he is usually very reliable on historical matters relating to the coinage, there seems no reason to question it. It is extraordinary, however, that the Anne halfpennies appear never to have been examined in the light of this information. Montagu, it is true, borrowed the story from Snelling, and elaborated a little upon it, but without suggesting how the restrikes might be recognized. As the Hon. Richard Arundell's tenure of office as Master of the Mint was 1737 to 1745 (not 1733 to 1740, as stated by Montagu, p. 81), the latest possible date for these restrikes is 1745.

ANNE PATTERN HALFPENNIES

(a) *Trial halfpennies with small bust on both sides (Pl. XI, 1 to 4)*

Although usually listed as patterns, these were obviously experimental pieces and are perhaps better described as trial strikings of a pattern halfpenny obverse for which no reverse die was made. Four different working dies are distinguishable but the same portrait punch was used for all. Their flans often show small fissures in their surfaces and a tendency to split at the edge, which is quite consistent with Craig's account of the difficulties experienced with the copper at this time.

It is pertinent to wonder why, when the Mint was apparently somewhat harassed by their continual failure to produce pieces which would pass the hammer test, they should have gone out of their way to edge some of these pieces with the **DECVS · ET · TVTAMEN** inscription, so badly put on that the lettering usually overlaps at two points. This overlapping was doubtless due to their having used the half-crown Castaing edging machine which would be too long for the smaller diameter of the copper coin by about seven or eight letter spaces. This slipshod method of edging and the fact that the **DECVS** inscription was never intended for the copper issues seem rather suspicious and suggest the possibility that this edge might have been put on later during the restriking period, say in 1739, the 12th regnal year of George II. As, however, no George II **DVODECIMO** half-crowns appear to occur with crosses in their edge reading as they do for Anne, it is practically certain that these halfpennies were officially edged during Anne's reign with the 1713 half-crown inscription, **DECVS · ET · TVTAMEN · ANNO · REGNI · DVODECIMO · ✱ · ✱ ·**, but it is odd that no specimen showing even a trace of the final **O** of **DVODECIMO** has yet been found. It would appear from the specimens examined that the flan was sometimes rolled one complete revolution in the machine and then removed, with the result that the last few letters and the crosses were omitted. In other cases, the rolling must have been interrupted once or twice, the flan being loosened and turned back a little each time, thus causing an overlap of some of the letters, but enabling the tail end of the legend and crosses to appear. It is extremely unlikely, therefore, that any two of these edge-readings will be identical, and obviously no specimen bearing the complete inscription can possibly exist.

¹ Snelling, (iii), p. 42.

The following double obverse halfpenny trial pieces occur:

1	<p><i>Obv.</i> ANNA • DEI • GRATIA • Bust to left, in rather high relief, the hair bound on top of the head with a string of pearls, the two ends of which hang from the bun behind. Toothed border (often defective). <i>'Rev.'</i> As the <i>obv.</i>, but the legend is differently spaced, e.g. ANNA and DEI are farther apart.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Dia.</i>: about 28·5 mm.</p> <p><i>Edge.</i> DECVS • ET • TVTAMEN • ANNO • REGNI • DVODECI-MO • ✱ • ✱ • (Inscription never complete, and always bungled; some words overlap adjacent ones, and one or both crosses are often missing).</p>
a	<i>Copper</i>
b	<p><i>Edge</i>, plain (sometimes filed)</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Copper</i> (Pl. XI, 1)</p>
2	<p><i>Obv.</i> ANNA • DEI • GRATIA • (stops weak). Similar to <i>obv.</i> and <i>'rev.'</i> of 1 but from a different die from either, the I of DEI being much closer to the head.</p> <p><i>'Rev.'</i> Similar to the <i>obv.</i>, and to the <i>obv.</i> and <i>'rev.'</i> of 1, but differing from all three in that the legend starts <i>below</i> the tip of the drapery.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Dia.</i>: 29 to 29·5 mm.</p> <p><i>Edge.</i> DECVS • ET • TVTAMEN, &c. as before, and the same remarks apply.</p>
a	<i>Copper</i> (Pl. XI, 2)
b	<i>Copper</i> Pa
3	<p><i>Obv.</i> and <i>'rev.'</i> Bust as before on both sides; no legends.</p> <p><i>Edge</i>, plain. <i>'Rev.'</i> ↓</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Lead</i> BM (Pl. XI, 3)</p>
4	<p><i>Obv.</i> ANNA • AVGVSTA • Bust as before.</p> <p><i>'Rev.'</i> As the <i>obv.</i>, but the lettering differently spaced.</p> <p><i>Edge</i>, plain. <i>'Rev.'</i> ↑</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Lead</i> BM (Pl. XI, 4)</p>

(b) *Pattern halfpennies with large bust* (Pl. XI, 5 to 12)

Three *obvs.* are distinguishable, each with the bust from the same master punch. The portrait, although much larger than the previous one, is in much lower relief, resembling that on the silver coins. It faces to left, with the hair in wavy curls, but is unornamented except for two short ends of riband projecting high up behind the head.

Obv. 1. **ANNA D G MAG BR FR ET HIB REG** (very faint traces of punctuation marks are sometimes discernible). Details as follows:

1. The **N**'s each have a serif at the base of the right limb.
2. The tail of the **R** in **BR** is partly covered by the hair.
3. The letters **FR ET** are usually weakly struck up and most of the other letters are rather ragged. (Pl. XI, 5)

Obv. 1*. From the die of *Obv.* 1 after it had become rusted. Numerous rust spots occur in the field in front of the face, and especially on and in front of the breast. Another patch occurs below **T HI**. (Pl. XI, 12)

Obv. 2. **ANNA · D : G · MAG : BR · FR : ET · HIB : REG :** From a new die:

1. The **N**'s have no serif at the base of the right limb.
2. The tail of the **R** in **BR** is almost clear of the hair.
3. The legend is differently spaced, the ends being slightly closer to the drapery. All the letters are perfect and well struck up, as also are the stops, except the last two colons which are often weak.
4. There is no trace of rust-marks. (Pl. XI, 8)

The following halfpenny *revs.* occur, all without legend or date:

Rev. A. Britannia seated to left on a globe; a crown above. The figure is draped in long, flowing robes, but the right leg is bare. In her extended right hand she holds a *rose and thistle* united on a single stem. In her left hand which rests on an ornamented oval shield bearing the combined crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, she clasps a spear. Quadruple exergue line; toothed border. (Pl. XI, 5)

Rev. B. A rose with 4 leaves and a thistle with 2 leaves, united on a single stem. *A crown above*. Toothed border. (Pl. XI, 6)

Rev. C. Britannia seated; a crown above, exactly as *Rev.* A except that she now holds a *spray of olive leaves*. (Pl. XI, 7)

Rev. D. A rose with 8 leaves and a thistle with 2 leaves, united on a single stem. *No crown above*. Toothed border. (Pl. XI, 7)

These four *revs.* also occur struck from the same dies after they had become slightly rusted, as follows:

Rev. A*. From a rusted die of *Rev.* A. Rust patches are visible:

1. In the left half of the field, especially around the rose and thistle.
2. To right of the spear head.
3. In the right hand corner of the exergue. (Pl. XI, 8)

Rev. B*. From a rusted die of *Rev.* B. Rust patches are visible in the field, mainly:

1. Below the larger thistle leaf.
2. Near the tip of the upper thistle leaf.
3. Between the rose and the middle leaf below it. (Pl. XI, 9)

*Rev. C**. From a rusted die of *Rev. C*. Faint rust marks are visible in the field, especially:

1. Between the spear and the crown.
2. To left of the crown.
3. To right of the shield.
4. To the extreme left of the olive spray. (Pl. XI, 10)

*Rev. C***. From the die of *Rev. C** after most of the rust had been polished away. The little that remains can be faintly discerned:

1. Close to the three lowest olive leaves on the right of the spray.
2. Just above the outstretched arm and in front of the face. (Pl. XI, 12)

*Rev. D**. From a rusted die of *Rev. D*. Rust spots are visible chiefly:

1. Between the lower rose leaves and the main stem of the rose.
2. Near the border, below the point of the stem.
3. Above both the rose and the thistle, near the border. (Pl. XI, 11)

In arranging the various die-pairings it is first necessary to decide which of the pieces were the early, original striking, i.e. products of Newton's experiments. By analogy with the farthings of group 1 it is fairly certain that these comprise only the rustless, plain-edge copper pieces combining *Obv.* 1 with *Revs.* A and B (i.e. 5 and 6).

Obviously no classification can be accepted which fails to account for the pieces struck from rusted dies and for the restrikes mentioned by Snelling. At first it seemed not unreasonable to explain both these by linking them together and concluding that all the halfpennies struck from rusted dies were restrikes, on the grounds that any Anne dies re-used in the middle of George II's reign would, by that time, almost certainly have become rusted. But this explanation does not fit all the facts, for despite their slightly rusted *revs.*, the pieces in question (8 to 11) are the finest in appearance of all the Anne halfpennies, with *obvs.* from the same rustless and obviously little-used die which, it is very important to note, never occurs paired with any other than the four *revs.* A*, B*, C*, and D*.

It follows that if these pieces are to be accepted as restrikes, this *obv.* die must either (1) have been made during Anne's reign and remained in the Mint practically unused and in almost pristine condition until Bush got hold of it some twenty-five to thirty years later or (2) it must have been specially made for Bush from the master portrait punch, with new lettering added in extremely close imitation of the original. The first alternative is highly improbable; the second is quite unthinkable, for this restriking by Bush was an illicit undertaking, doubtless carried out in great secrecy with the help of inexperienced Mint underlings, quite incapable of making such a splendid die even had the master punch been accessible to them.

It is much more probable that these pieces were struck during the last year of Anne's reign or possibly very early in George I's reign, and that they constitute an official set of *pièces de plaisir* analogous to the group of farthings, 19 to 21. The correspondence between the two sets is certainly remarkable: both occur in silver and copper only; both sets were struck from specially prepared *obv.* dies for which a slightly different style of lettering was used—

note the N's without serif at the base of the right limb. Lastly, all have the finely striated edges characteristic of Mint proofs. All this is far too convincing to be disregarded on the grounds that the use of rusted dies would not have been allowed for striking specimen pieces, for actually most of the rust marks are so slight that they detract very little from the fine overall appearance of these *revs.*

The fact that of the four original *rev.* dies only *Revs. A* and *B* were used for Newton's tests suggests that they proved unsuitable and were soon discarded—hence the early rusting. It looks very much as if most of Newton's trials were made with the small bust dies. Whether dies *C* and *D* were made at the same time as *A* and *B*, or a little later, it is impossible to say, but they certainly have not yet been found paired with *Obv. 1*, hence neither was used for the copper-striking experiments. The occurrence, however, of *revs. C* and *D* paired together in silver and copper (group 2) is understandable, for they were no doubt made as specimen striking of these two hitherto unused, alternative *revs.* before the dies were set aside, also as unsuitable, and left to rust.

There now remains only one piece to account for, viz. 12, with the *obv.* from a rusted die of *Obv. 1* (i.e. *Obv. 1**) paired with the rusted and repolished *Rev. C***. Considering the rusted state of the *obv.* and the poor quality of these pieces, it is practically certain that these were the restrikes made by Bush, but in view of Snelling's remarks it is strange that no other restruck halfpennies appear to exist. However, his statement is not very explicit; it does not necessarily follow that because the halfpenny dies 'afterwards came into the hands of Mr. Bush', they were all in usable condition, and the expression that 'several of them' were struck off might well mean that several halfpennies from only one pair of dies were actually made. As there are at present no other pieces known which seem likely to be restrikes, it is futile to speculate further as to the precise meaning of Snelling's words.

The following 'large head' Anne pattern halfpennies occur. All are on 28.5 mm. flans and have the *rev.* ↓, except 7.

Group 1. Comprising the original striking, presumably products of Newton's experiments. These, as would be expected, are from rust-free dies, rather poorly struck, and have plain edges.			
5	<i>Obv. 1 + Rev. A. Edge, plain.</i>		
	<i>Copper</i>		(Pl. XI, 5)
6	<i>Obv. 1 + Rev. B. Edge, plain.</i>		
a	<i>Silver</i> ¹	HM	
b	<i>Copper</i>		(Pl. XI, 6)
Group 2. Comprising the only known contemporary striking of <i>Revs. C</i> and <i>D</i> from rustless dies.			
7	<i>Rev. C + Rev. D. Edge, striated. Dia.: 28 mm. Rev. ↑</i>		
a	<i>Silver</i>		
b	<i>Copper</i>		(Pl. XI, 7)

¹ Hunterian Collection; probably unique. Obviously a proof, used perhaps as a control during the trials.

This is Montagu 8 = Christmas 17. No trace or even a record of any of the halfpenny reverse mules listed by Montagu (7, 9, and 10) has been found, and it now seems that if they ever existed they have long since been lost or destroyed. Montagu listed them without having seen any specimens, and, doubting their existence, he quoted Christmas, who in turn appears to have copied Snelling. None appeared in the Christmas sale and it is significant that none occurs in the Hunterian collection.

Group 3. Halfpennies combining *Obv.* 2 with the four rusted *revs.* A* to D*. These are specimen pieces, analogous to the farthings of Group 2, struck from a new *obv.* die with the lettering and stops much more sharply rendered, and with the N's without any serif at the base of the right limb.

- 8 *Obv.* 2+*Rev.* A*. *Edge*, striated.
 a Silver BM
 b Copper (Pl. XI, 8)
 The last two colons are usually weak.

- 9 *Obv.* 2+*Rev.* B*. *Edge*, striated.
 a Silver BM
 b Copper (Pl. XI, 9)
 The last two colons are usually well struck up. Copper specimens bronzed over at a later date have been seen.

- 10 *Obv.* 2+*Rev.* C*. *Edge*, striated.
 a Silver J, P
 b Copper (Pl. XI, 10)
 The last two colons are usually weak.

- 11 *Obv.* 2+*Rev.* D*. *Edge*, striated.
 a Silver P
 b Copper (Pl. XI, 11)
 The last two colons are usually weak.

Group 4. Comprising a single die-pairing, with rusted *obv.* This is probably a restrike made by Bush sometime between 1737 and 1745.

- 12 *Obv.* 1*+*Rev.* C**. *Edge*, plain.
 Copper (Pl. XI, 12)

Anne pattern farthings

The queen's portrait on the farthings very closely resembles, on a smaller scale, that on the double-headed halfpennies, with the hair bound on top with a string of pearls, the two ends of which hang from the bun behind. The bust, with the legend around, is enclosed within a broad outer toothed border,¹

¹ This is only complete on the large-size flans.

immediately within which there is usually a raised linear circle. Two slightly different busts occur, but both were obviously derived from the same master portrait punch.¹ The two varieties of bust are distinguishable by a slight difference in the shape of the pointed end of drapery farthest from the first **A** of **ANNA**. Bust A (Pl. XII, 13, and 18 to 24) occurs only on *Obvs.* 1, 3, and 4; Bust B (Pl. XII, 14 to 17, and 25) occurs only on *Obvs.* 2 and 5.

The following farthing *obverses* occur:²

Obv. 1 (Bust A). **ANNA • DEI • GRATIA •**

1. No linear circle between toothed border and legend.
2. The **G** is disproportionately large and has a slight backward tilt.
3. The **N**'s each have a curved serif at the base of the right limb.³

(Pl. XII, 13)

Obv. 2 (Bust B). **ANNA • DEI • GRATIA •** As *Obv.* 1, but:

1. With linear circle between toothed border and legend.
2. The **G** is normal in size and position.
3. The letters **AT** are quite separate (cf. *Obv.* 4). (Pl. XII, 14)

Obv. 3 (Bust A). **ANNA • REGINA •**

1. With linear circle between toothed border and legend.
2. The **N**'s have serif, as before.
3. The **G** is usually weak or broken at the top. (Pl. XII, 18)

Obv. 4 (Bust A). **ANNA • DEI • GRATIA •** As *Obv.* 2, except that:

1. The **N**'s have no serif at the base of the right limb.
2. The letters **AT** are joined by their base serifs.
3. The tiny wisp of hair immediately above the brow is almost worn away. (Pl. XII, 19)

Obv. 4*. From the die of *Obv.* 4, after it had become *rusted across the throat and chin*. These rust marks appear as a faint, irregular, raised pattern. (Pl. XII, 22)

Obv. 5 (Bust B). **ANNA AVGVSTA** (no stops)

No linear circle between toothed border and legend. (Pl. XII, 25)

The following *reverses* occur:

Rev. A. **BRITANNIA • 1713 •**

Britannia in flowing robes, seated to left on a globe, her right leg bare. By her left side is an ornamented oval shield bearing the combined crosses of St. George and St. Andrew. In her *raised* right hand she holds a spray of olive leaves. Her left arm, resting on the shield, supports a long spear, the blade of

¹ When these differences were first noticed, it seemed likely that they might provide some important clue to the elucidation of these pieces, but this has not proved to be the case. They are mentioned here merely as observed facts.

² Excluding the **BELLO • ET • PACE •** piece, which is described separately later.

³ This serif could perhaps be more accurately described as a curved extension to the cross-bar of the **N**, which is of rather unusual style.

which intrudes slightly between **I** and **A**. Exergue line, double. Legend, followed by the date, around. All within a *plain*, raised, linear circle and an outer toothed border. (Pl. XII, 13)

Rev. B. BRITANNIA • 1713 •

Identical with *Rev. A*, except that the linear circle is slightly thicker, so that it now touches the tops of several of the letters. When paired with *Obv. 4**, this *rev.* sometimes has a flaw on the toothed border, opposite **AN**. (Pl. XII, 14, 19)

Rev. C. BRITANNIA • 1713 • Similar to *Rev. A*, but:

1. The linear circle is ornamented on the inside with square teeth.
2. There are two tassels attached to the spear, just below the blade.
3. The exergue line is triple.
4. The legend is in smaller letters. (Pl. XII, 15)

Rev. D. BRITANNIA.

Britannia as on *Rev. A*, but seated within a portico or niche, the whole resting on a single exergue line. The date, 1713, below. Legend around, interrupted between the **N**'s by the top of the portico. All within a plain, raised, linear circle and an outer toothed border.

All the thirty specimens examined with this *rev.* had a large raised flaw fouling the stop, and a smaller flaw near the base of the right pillar. When paired with *Obv. 4**, this *rev.* usually has another flaw on the toothed border, above the portico. (Pl. XII, 16, 20)

Rev. E. BRITANNIA.

Britannia in clinging drapery, seated to left on a globe. The date, 1714, in the exergue. All within a plain, raised, linear circle, and an outer toothed border. This *rev.* differs considerably in the treatment of the figure, as compared with *Rev. A*, e.g.:

1. The figure is more slender and more gracefully draped: the right leg is now covered.
2. The scroll ornamentation on the shield is less elaborate.
3. The right forearm is held out almost horizontally, and the spray contains more leaves.
4. The left hand is now raised, and grasps the spear close to the blade, the tip of which touches the linear circle.
5. The date is now in the exergue.
6. The legend is widely separated between the **N**'s by the head and the spear arm. (Pl. XII, 17)

Rev. F. BRITANNIA.

Similar to *Rev. E*, but differing from it as follows:

1. The lettering is more slender, and the **N**'s have no serif at the base of the right limb.

2. The fold of drapery to right of the upper scroll on the shield extends farther into the field, its upper edge lying roughly parallel to the exergue line.
3. The first figure of the date—**1714**—slopes slightly forward, and there is more space between it and the 7.

This *rev.* seems to have been made specially for striking the specimen pieces of group 2, as it only occurs with *Obvs.* 4 and 4*. When paired with the latter it shows a flaw on the border opposite **BRI**, and traces of rust marks are discernible on the shield and globe. (**Pl. XII, 21**)

Rev. G. PAX · MISSA · PER · ORBEM

Peace standing in a two-horsed chariot or biga, driving at a gallop to right. In her right hand she holds an olive branch, and in her left the reins and a spear. The date, 1713, below a double exergue line. All within a broad toothed border. The three stops are usually rather weak, especially the middle one. (**Pl. XII, 25**)

It has already been explained that the Mint, in their efforts to produce satisfactory coins, used copper blanks of varying thickness and diameter. This is especially evident in the case of the farthings, which show a variation in diameter from 21.5 to 24.5 mm., and in edge thickness from about 1 to 2 mm. It was soon realized that the classification of the farthings was to a considerable degree dependent on the recognition of three main ranges of flan diameter. Rather surprisingly, their weights also show much variation, ranging from about 63 to 95 gr., or even more. Bearing in mind that the object of the trials was to produce coins suitable for circulation, presumably at about 21*d.* to the lb. (i.e. 83.3 gr.), it is strange that the weight was allowed to deviate so widely from the standard.

The majority of the farthings fall quite easily into an arrangement comparable with the halfpennies. Thus all those which occur only in copper with plain edge and nearly always on the medium and small size flans (group 1) are almost certainly the experimental pieces corresponding to the group 1 halfpennies.

Next come three *pièces de plaisir* (group 2), struck only on the large-size flans with striated edges, in silver and copper from a new *obv.* die on which the **N**'s have no serif at the base of the right limb, exactly comparable with the halfpennies of group 3. The next three die-pairings (group 3) each occur in gold, silver, and copper, all on the large-size flans, and have their edges or rims usually coarsely filed. These three constitute a set which duplicates the specimen set (group 2), except for two important differences: (1) they are all struck from a rusted *Obv.* 4 die (i.e. *Obv.* 4*), and (2) their *revs.* are usually flawed and/or slightly rusted. This is strong presumptive evidence for believing they are restrikes, and—despite Snelling's implication that only the halfpennies were restruck—were very probably made by Bush. There now remain only the **PAX MISSA** farthings: these constitute group 4 and are fully discussed under that heading.

The following Anne pattern farthings occur, many of them on two and sometimes three different sizes of flan:

Small (21.5 to 22.5 mm.); *medium* (23 mm.); *large* (23.5 to 24.5 mm.). Flan thickness is recorded as:

Thin, if under 1.25 mm., or *thick*, if over 1.75 mm.

Group 1. Farthings combining *Obvs.* 1, 2, and 3 with *Revs.* A to E.

These occur only in copper with plain, unfiled edges, and are almost invariably on the small- or medium-size flans.¹ The small wisp of hair immediately above the brow is well struck up, but the stops in the *obv.* legends are usually weak or virtually missing, apparently because they were too small and not sunk sufficiently deep in the dies to yield good impressions.² These relatively unspectacular plain-edge copper pieces are almost certainly the genuine experimental strikings, but the following arrangement does not pretend to list them in the exact order in which they were produced. To do this would be difficult, if not impossible, for little can be deduced from the dates, and still less from the *obvs.*, as dies bearing busts A and B were both used for both years, hence all three *obvs.* were probably used and re-used indiscriminately.

13 *Obv.* 1+*Rev.* A (1713)

<i>a</i>	Copper—small flan	BM, P	
<i>b</i>	Copper—medium flan		(Pl. XII, 13)
<i>c</i>	Copper—large flan	P	
<i>d</i>	Copper	„	(2.25 mm. thick)

Forgeries cast in silver, brass, and copper occur on small and medium flans. No genuine silver or brass pieces are believed to exist.

14 *Obv.* 2+*Rev.* B (1713)

Copper—small flan	A, P	(Pl. XII, 14)
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15 *Obv.* 2+*Rev.* C (1713)

<i>a</i>	Copper—small flan		(Pl. XII, 15)
<i>b</i>	Copper—medium flan		
<i>c</i>	Brass—	„	P

16 *Obv.* 2+*Rev.* D (1713)

Copper—small flan	(Pl. XII, 16)
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Four specimens examined; all were rather poorly struck

17 *Obv.* 2+*Rev.* E (1714)

<i>a</i>	Copper—small flan	(Pl. XII, 17)
<i>b</i>	Copper—large flan	

Cast copper forgeries on both sizes of flan are very common. Rather deceptive small flan silver casts also occur.

¹ Patterns 13 *c*, 13 *d*, and 17 *b* provide the inevitable exceptions, which in no way invalidate the main conclusions. As already stated, 17 was most probably the die pairing intended for circulation, hence specimens were also struck on the large flans for comparison (17 *b*). No. 13 *d* (author's specimen, 121.7 gr.) is obviously abnormal. The two strikings in brass, 15 *c* and 18 *b*, were doubtless connected in some way with the experiments.

² From the writer's experience of over 140 specimens of this group, it is practically certain that no genuine varieties occur struck from dies bearing no stops.

18 *Obv. 3+Rev. E (1714)*

a	<i>Copper</i> —small flan	(Pl. XII, 18)
b	<i>Brass</i> — „ P	
c	<i>Copper</i> —medium flan	

Group 2. Farthings combining *Obv. 4* with *Revs. B, D, and F*.

These occur only in silver and copper and always on the large-size flans with striated edge. The wisp of hair above the brow is almost worn away, hence these pieces must have been struck after group 1.¹ They are all flawless and rustless and usually well struck from a new *obv.* die, for which a slightly different style of lettering was used; note the **N**'s without serif at the base of the right limb, and the well marked, larger stops. These are *pièces de plaisir* corresponding to the halfpennies of group 3. The large blanks were doubtless used to give full effect to the broad toothed borders on the dies.

19 *Obv. 4+Rev. B (1713)*

Silver—large, thin flan (Pl. XII, 19)

No copper specimens have yet been found, but their existence can be fairly safely predicted.

20 *Obv. 4+Rev. D (1713)*

a	<i>Silver</i> —large, thin flan	(Pl. XII, 20)
b	<i>Copper</i> —large flan	

21 *Obv. 4+Rev. F (1714)*

a	<i>Silver</i> —large, thin flan	(Pl. XII, 21)
b	<i>Copper</i> —large flan	

Group 3. Farthings combining *Obv. 4** with *Revs. B, D, and F*, usually in a flawed or slightly rusted condition. They occur in gold, silver, and copper, but only on the large-size flans, with their edges or rims usually coarsely filed. It is practically certain that these are restrikes made by Bush.

22 *Obv. 4*+Rev. B (1713)*

a	<i>Gold</i> —large, thin flan	BM (Pl. XII, 22)
b	<i>Silver</i> — „	
c	<i>Copper</i> — „	

A flaw, which in its later stages is very conspicuous, sometimes occurs across the toothed border of the *rev.*, opposite **AN**. Other specimens show no trace of this flaw, probably because it only developed on the die after a number of these restrikes had been made. However, flaw or no flaw, the rusted *obv.* is fairly conclusive proof of restriking.

¹ That is to say, the portrait punch had become weakened at this point by the time it came to be used for making the *Obv. 4* working die.

23 *Obv.* 4* + *Rev.* D (1713)

a	Gold—large, thin flan	BM (two specimens)	(Pl. XII, 23)
b	Silver—	„	
c	Copper—	„ P	

The *revs.* almost invariably have a flaw on the toothed border above the portico. This first becomes noticeable as a thin raised line, which ultimately develops into a long and very conspicuous raised lump across the border. The heavier of the two gold specimens in the British Museum and the recorded copper piece both have this flaw in its later stage. Only one specimen (in silver, Hunter coll.) has yet been found without this flaw, which probably developed quite rapidly, causing the die to break after only a few restrikes had been made—hence the rarity of these pieces in all metals.

24 *Obv.* 4* + *Rev.* F (1714)

a	Gold—large, thin flan	BM, HM	(Pl. XII, 24)
b	Silver—	„	
c	Silver—large flan	BM	
d	Copper—	„	

These *revs.* show minute rust patterns on the globe and in the sunken border round the left side of the shield. Also, on the outer edge of the toothed border, opposite **BRI**, there is a long flaw which on some specimens has been filed down, giving the rim a flattened appearance at this point.

Group 4. Farthings combining *Obv.* 5 (**AVGVSTA**) with *Rev.* G (**PAX MISSA**). These exist in gold, silver, copper, and tin, and, like those of group 3, are restricted to the large-size flans, with the edge and/or rims often coarsely filed. The wisp of hair is well struck up, possibly because of retouching, as it is not quite identical with that on the portraits of group 1.

According to Montagu,¹ this farthing 'was indisputably struck in several metals from Croker's dies in the reign of George II', and although he quotes no authority for this statement, it may well be correct, or at any rate partly so, for there are several puzzling facts which tend to isolate these pieces from all the others, e.g.

1. No specimens have yet been found on the medium or small size, plain-edge copper flans which characterize the experimental strikings of group 1.
2. Neither dies appear to have been muled with any of the other farthing dies.

¹ See 'Queen Anne's so-called "Bello et Pace" Farthing', *Num. Chron.* 1887, p. 154.

3. Although both dies are rust-free and of excellent workmanship, many of the thirty-seven specimens examined were very carelessly struck¹ and sometimes double-struck, probably with heavily burred edges, judging by the rough filing marks which disfigure some of their rims. Specimens on thick and thin flans, as recorded below, are readily distinguishable as such, but others occur which are difficult to classify, as their thickness varies appreciably along different sections of the circumference.
4. The use of the title *Augusta* and the omission of **DEI GRATIA** must not escape notice, especially the latter, as this occurs on all the other farthings, and in view of the decidedly unorthodox *rev.* design, which is generally associated with the Peace of Utrecht, the possibility cannot be ruled out that these pieces are just medalets commemorating that event, in which case the date (1713) does not necessarily indicate the year in which they were struck.

These facts and uncertainties are alone sufficient to show that the **PAX MISSA** pieces are somewhat suspect, both as regards their purpose and their time of origin, but it is doubtful if a strong enough case can be made out for completely dissociating them from the other farthings, especially as they have one definite link with those of group 1: it will be found that those letters on the *obv.* of group 1, which also occur in the *obv.* and *rev.* legends of the **PAX MISSA** pieces, viz. **A, N, G, T, I, E, R**, are all from the same punches, the curiously shaped **G** in particular being unmistakable.

It seems impossible, at present, to make any definite statement as to the true status of these pieces, but in view of the poor quality of many of the specimens it is highly probable—whatever they are—that the dies were used for restriking along with the others, with which they are obviously linked. Judging by the pieces examined, the thick-flan silver and tin pieces are probably originals, whereas the BM gold specimen and many of the badly struck examples on the thin silver and copper flans may well be restrikes.

25 *Obv.* 5+*Rev.* G (1713)

a	Gold—large, thin	flan	BM	(Pl. XII, 25)
b	Silver—	thick	„	
c	Silver—	thin	„	
d	Copper—	thick	„	
e	Copper—	thin	„	
f	Tin—	thick	„	

26 The *Bello et Pace* farthing, 1713.

Obv. **ANNA : DEI • GRATIA •** (*incuse*)

Draped bust to left within an oval marked by double lines, and surrounded by a broad, slightly raised rim, bearing the legend and an ornamental scroll below. Toothed border.

¹ Including the gold piece in the British Museum.

Rev. **BELLO • ET • PACE •** (*incuse*)

Britannia, helmeted, standing facing, within an oval marked by double lines. In her right hand she holds an olive branch, and in her left, a spear with the butt resting on the exergue line. The date, 1713· below. The whole surrounded by a raised rim bearing the legend. Toothed border.

Edge—plain. *Dia.*: 24 mm.

Copper

(Pl. XII, 26)

This piece, only four specimens of which are known,¹ has long been a subject of controversy for it is considered by some authorities to be a pattern for a farthing, and by others to be merely a medalet or jetton.

Montagu listed it in the first (1885) edition of his book as a pattern (M. 16), but in 1887, doubting the correctness of this, he investigated the matter more thoroughly and published his reasons for believing it was nothing more than a privately issued medalet commemorating the Peace of Utrecht.² His revised opinion was based mainly on the following arguments:

1. That these pieces were struck from such carelessly engraved and somewhat worn dies that it was quite impossible to associate them with the work of Croker.
2. That the issue of a piece 'of so worthless a design and of such base metal' by the Mint was highly improbable in view of the relative perfection of the rest of Anne's coins in all metals.
3. That the submission of such 'a wretched production', even as a private pattern, could only have invited its instant rejection.
4. That neither Martin-Leake (1745) nor Snelling (1766) mentioned these pieces, and William Till, noting their inferior execution, expressed his doubts that they could have emanated from the Mint.
5. That no question of their being anything other than medalets or jettons would ever have arisen but for the fact that they happen to be of about the size and weight of a farthing, and that the *obv.* bears the inscription **ANNA DEI GRATIA**, as on most of the official patterns.
6. Montagu then pointed out that certain medals of artistic value, particularly coronation medals, are not uncommon, but badly executed medalets or jettons, evidently cheap copies of these and contemporaneously issued for sale in the streets, are more or less rare. He considered this *Bello et Pace* piece to be one of these and that its rarity 'was caused entirely by its common and worthless character, which had the effect of its not being thought worthy of preservation and of being handed down to posterity, as was the case with the more artistic medals'. He then pressed this argument still further by drawing attention to several medals issued in 1713, commemorating the Peace of Utrecht. One of these is as follows:

Obv. Bust of the queen (by Croker)

Rev. Britannia, helmeted, standing facing and holding an olive branch

¹ BM., HM., F. Brooks, and P. ² Op. cit., *Num. Chron.*, 1887, pp. 139–59.

and spear. On one side of her are ships; on the other, men ploughing and sowing. Legend: **BELLO · ET · PACE ·** and in the exergue **ANNO · MDCCXIII · PAX · RESTITVTA ·** (by Samuel Bull).

The similarity of this *rev.* to that of the farthing is admittedly too evident to be ignored, for as Montagu observed—‘Here we have the very device and the very inscription of our own piece; and what is more natural than that a third variety of still smaller size should have been struck, particularly having regard to the tendency of the times before referred to in connection with the issue of inferior copies of interesting medals for sale in the streets?’ He then concludes—‘On the whole, therefore, it appears to me to be certain that our piece, considered to be our rarest Queen Anne’s farthing, must yield its place under that head and must be relegated to the more ordinary class of medalets or jettons’.

His conclusion that it was not an official pattern is, in the writer’s opinion, correct, but it is hard to believe that it is only a medalet. It is practically certain that the standing figure of Britannia was copied from the medal, but it does not necessarily follow, because of this, that the small pieces are also medals. It is conceivable that a private die-sinker may have considered that a change from the customary seated figure might prove more acceptable as the design for the farthing; after all, Pingo tried the same idea in 1788, and a similar design was actually used for the florins of Edward VII.

There are reasonable grounds, therefore, for believing that the *Bello et Pace* piece may have been a privately produced pattern; in fact, one of Montagu’s own arguments (3) brought him nearer to this same conclusion than he seems to have realized. The mere fact that its poor workmanship would probably ‘have invited its instant rejection’ is irrelevant, for numerous private patterns had proved unacceptable in the past, and many more were to be refused in later years, but we do not in consequence dub them medalets.

Locations have only been given for the rarest pieces: one location = the only specimen known to the writer; two locations = the only two known. No reference indicates that at least three (usually more) specimens have been examined. Pedigree records of five more farthings in gold have been found, but as the actual pieces have not been traced it is obviously impossible to include them in this paper, although the writer feels confident in predicting that when these pieces eventually turn up, they will be found to duplicate the gold die-pairings already recorded.

I am indebted to the British Museum, the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, J. M. Ashby, Esq., and Dr. E. A. Johnstone for allowing me to examine and quote coins in their collections. The following code has been used: BM = British Museum; HM = Hunterian Museum; A = J. M. Ashby; J = Dr. E. A. Johnstone; P = C. W. Peck; Pa = H. A. Parsons.

The two plates illustrate every known die-pairing of both denominations. All the pieces reproduced on Pl. XI are in copper, except nos. 3 and 4, and all are BM specimens, except nos. 1, 2, and the *rev.* of 5, which are in the

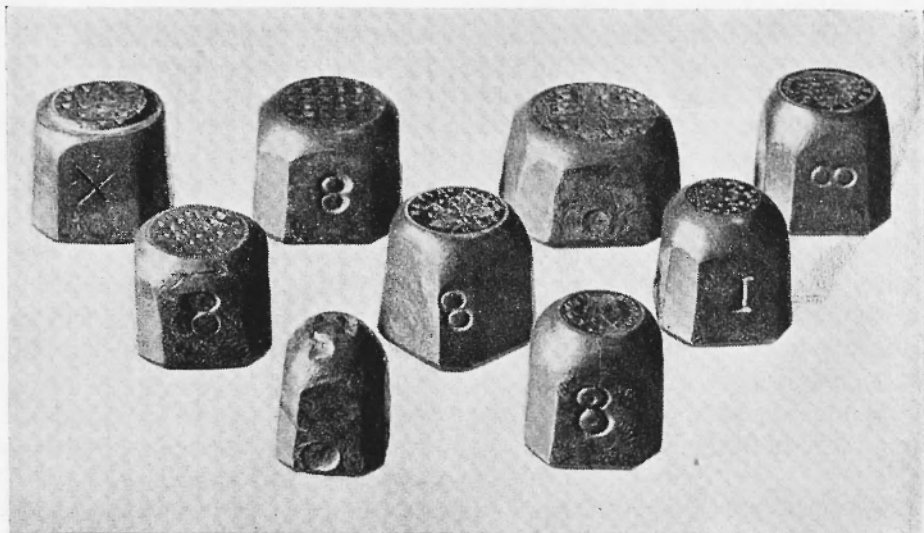
writer's collection. Of the farthings on Pl. XII no. 13 (in copper) and nos. 22 to 25 (in gold) are from specimens in the BM; the remainder, nos. 14 to 21, and 26 are in the writer's collection, 19 to 21 being in silver and the rest in copper.

Works referred to:

- Snelling (iii) = T. Snelling, *On Coins of Great Britain, etc.*, part iii, *Copper Coinage*, 1766.
 Craig, *Newton* = Sir John Craig, *Newton at the Mint*, Cambridge, 1946.
 Craig, *The Mint* = Sir John Craig, *The Mint*, Cambridge, 1953.

A NOTE ON SOME 18TH CENTURY DIES IN THE GLOUCESTER CITY MUSEUM

By OWEN F. PARSONS



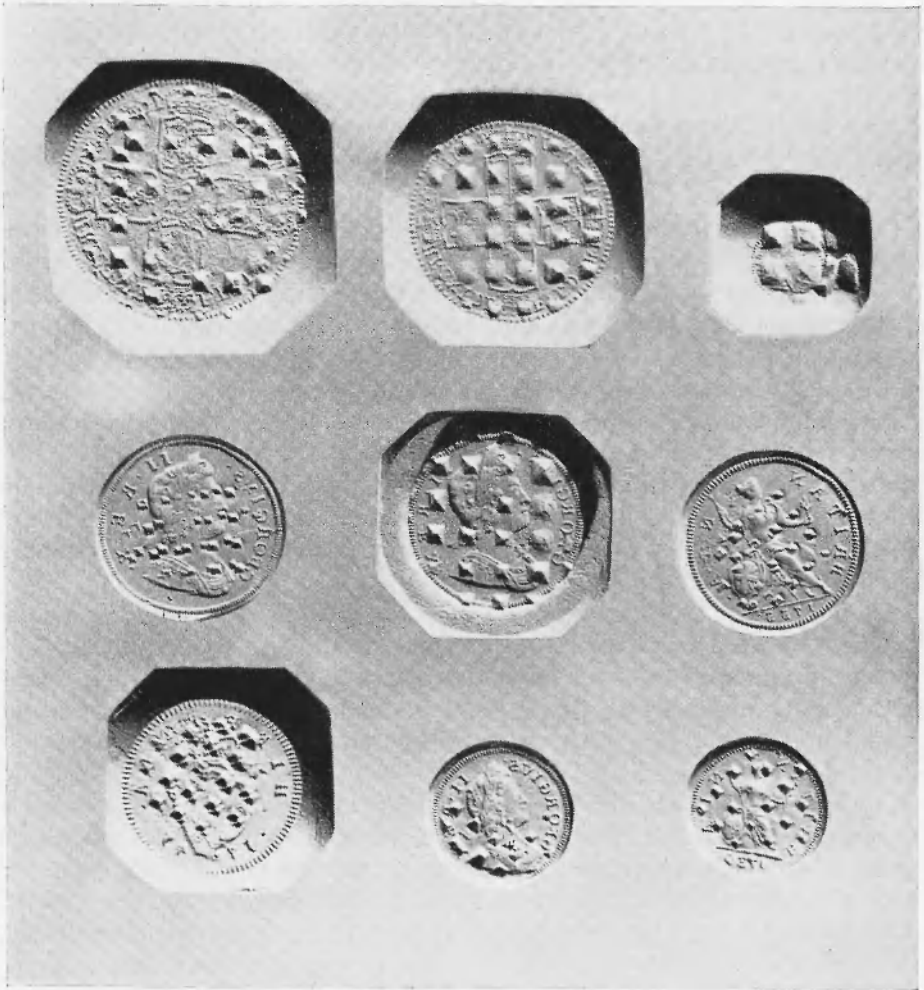
THE nine dies shown in the illustration above are of interest as being official dies for regal coins of George II, which have been defaced, probably before leaving the mint. All these dies show signs of use and are probably worn examples, defaced by being struck with a punch which has left a number of pyramidal depressions on the dies. This may be seen from the second illustration which is photographed from casts of the die faces kindly taken by the British Museum.

Three of the dies are for silver coins, the other six being for the copper series.

1. Reverse die for a crown dated 1746.
2. Reverse die for a half crown, dated 1745.
3. Obverse die for a Maundy penny of George II.
4. Obverse die for a young head halfpenny of George II.
5. Similar to No. 4, but the die has been shouldered as if to take a collar.
6. Reverse die for a halfpenny dated 1733, with a marked flaw adjacent to the T.
7. Reverse die for an Irish halfpenny, dated 1741.
8. Obverse die for a young head farthing of George II.
9. Reverse die for a farthing dated 1739.

Of these Nos. 2, 4, 6, 7, and 8 all carry a large '8' impressed into the side of the die, that on No. 4 being sideways. No. 9 is impressed with a large '1', No. 5 has two incised cuts at right angles to form a cross, whilst Nos. 1 and 3 have no distinguishing marks. All the dies show traces of the four screws which centred and secured them in the press.

It is obviously unusual to come across official dies outside the Royal Mint even if discarded as worn out, because the risk of re-use by unauthorized persons is always present, but the fact that these have been defaced may indicate that they left the mint quite openly, perhaps not long after being taken



out of use. The dies were found, a little over twenty years ago, in the offices of an old-established firm of solicitors, who had acted for many years for the family now owning Archbishop Sharp's collection. It is tempting to assume that they might at some time have formed part of that collection, as some of the later owners would have been in a good position to acquire these dies quite openly and add them to the collection: they did add certain coins and medals down to about 1800.

I am indebted to the Gloucester City Museum for permission to publish these dies, and also to the British Museum who very kindly cleaned the dies before taking the casts.

THE SUCCESSFUL BRITISH COUNTERFEITING OF AMERICAN PAPER MONEY DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By ERIC P. NEWMAN

A NEW USE FOR COUNTERFEITING

COUNTERFEITING of paper money as a new form of economic warfare was undertaken and encouraged by the British during the American Revolution of 1775–83. Historically this appears to be the first use of such tactics. While counterfeiting for personal gain has a record as old as currency itself, counterfeiting as a means of winning a war by undermining the economic stability of the enemy and accelerating the rejection of its currency by its own people was then a novelty. The success of British counterfeiting in America resulted in the subsequent adoption of similar tactics by the British in the French Revolution, by the French in the Napoleonic conquest of Austria, by Union printers in the American Civil War, by the Germans in World War I and World War II, and by others. Counterfeiting is now planned and guarded against as an important element in the strategy of modern warfare.

In World War II the preparation of counterfeit English £5 notes by the Germans enabled them to secure information and the cooperation of key persons in anticipation of the parachute attack to capture Mussolini. Eliaza Bazna, valet to the British Ambassador to Turkey, who microfilmed secret documents for the Germans, was paid liberally in these same counterfeit £5 notes.¹

During the American Revolution the method devised by the British was a powerful three-pronged attack. It consisted of (1) the preparation and distribution of actual counterfeits of the American paper money; (2) the encouragement of 'tories' and cheats to counterfeit and pass counterfeits independently; and (3) the issuance of propaganda as to the excellent quality and enormous quantity of counterfeits in circulation. The degree of effectiveness of these activities cannot be measured other than by recognizing that American paper money depreciated most when British counterfeiting activity was at its height. Following a \$40 for \$1 exchange ordered by the Continental Congress in 1779, the entire \$200,000,000 issued by the United States of America became worthless in 1781 and has never been redeemed in whole or in part. Admittedly the quantities of authorized paper money depreciated by virtue of its own abundance, but the speed with which prices rose and paper money became unacceptable was materially stimulated by British counterfeiting activity.

There were eleven issues of American paper money authorized by the Continental Congress, the first dated May 10, 1775 and the last dated January 14,

¹ Murray Teigh Bloom, *Money of Their Own* (New York, 1957), p. 236.

1779. All denominations of the May 20, 1777 Philadelphia issue and the Yorktown April 11, 1778 issue were called in for exchange solely because of the devastating effect of British counterfeits.

The British counterfeiting sponsorship during the American Revolution was somewhat contrary to the earlier thoughts of Patrick Gordon, a British Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Pennsylvania, who in a speech before the Pennsylvania Assembly on March 30, 1727 warned of the perils of counterfeiting and described it as 'the blackest, and the most detestable Practice that is known, and which the Law of Nations, and those of War condemn even in declared Enemies, for as that destroys the Lives of the innocent in taking their Natural Food, this would effectually overthrow all Credit, Commerce and Traffick . . .'.¹

Benjamin Franklin in his eightieth year wrote an ironical essay concerning American debts to British merchants in which he clearly analysed the effect of British counterfeiting of Continental Currency as follows:

Paper money was in those times our universal currency. But, it being the instrument with which we combated our enemies, they resolved to deprive us of its use by depreciating it; and the most effectual means they could contrive was to counterfeit it. The artists they employed performed so well, that immense quantities of these counterfeits, which issued from the British government in New York, were circulated among the inhabitants of all the States, before the fraud was detected. This operated considerably in depreciating the whole mass, first, by the vast additional quantity, and next by the uncertainty in distinguishing the true from the false; and the depreciation was a loss to all and the ruin of many. It is true our enemies gained a vast deal of our property by the operation; but it did not go into the hands of our particular creditors; so their demands still subsisted, and we were still abused for not paying our debts!²

THE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

The British forces, while occupying New York City, arranged to have published in the *New York Gazette* of January 20, 1777 an announcement emphasizing the deceptive character of counterfeit Continental Money as follows:

There has lately been, as we understand by a Gentleman just arrived from New-England, a large Distribution in the Country of counterfeited Continental Bills, so amicably executed, as not easily to be discerned from those issued by Order of Congress. This has contributed not a little to lower their Value, and will be one effectual Bar to the Repayment or Liquidation.

The natural effect of this propaganda on the innocent reader would naturally induce him to discuss this matter with others within and beyond British occupied areas and thereby spread seeds of distrust as to the buying power of Continental Currency.

¹ *Minutes of the Provincial Congress of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1852), vol. iii, p. 268.

² 'The Retort Courteous', published in 1786, *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, edited by Albert Henry Smyth, New York, MacMillan Co., 1907, vol. x, p. 111. Also, *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, edited by John Bigelow, New York, Putnam's, 1888, vol. x, p. 129.

Then sarcasm was added as further propaganda when the same newspaper on March 31, 1777 stated:

In order, as 'tis supposed, to increase the Credit of the Continental Currency, a vast Number of Paper Dollars, counterfeited in a very masterly manner, have been thrown into Circulation in the several Colonies, within the Course of last Fall and Winter. Many Reams have been brought over by merchants and others, and distributed for that Purpose.

A notice most irritating to the Americans was placed in New York newspapers on April 14, 1777 and read as follows:

Persons going into other Colonies may be supplied with any Number of counterfeit Congress-Notes, for the Price of the Paper per Ream. They are so neatly and exactly executed that there is no Risque in getting them off, it being almost impossible to discover, that they are not genuine. This has been proved by Bills to a very large Amount, which have already been successfully circulated.

Enquire for Q.E.D. at the Coffee-House, from 11 P.M. to 4 A.M. during the present month.¹

Washington recognized the danger of this advertisement and in sending a copy to the President of Congress from staff headquarters at Morristown, New Jersey, on April 18, 1777 stated:

I have inclosed a Copy of an Advertisement published in Gaine's Paper on the 14th, which shews that no Artifices are left untried by the Enemy to injure us. Before the appearance of this unparalleled piece, I had heard, that a person was gone from York to Rhode Island with a Quantity of Counterfeit Money.²

The April 14, 1777 notice was obviously intended more for propaganda purposes than for distribution of counterfeits. It had its humour in pretending the money was being distributed at the Coffee-House in the late hours of the night and by the fictitious reference to Q.E.D. as a person.

While Americans were put on their guard by these announcements, such tactics were influential in undermining confidence in Continental Currency. One American, commenting on the notices, did not readily realize their subtlety when, in complaining about British counterfeiting, he said: 'Their folly in this manœuvre exceeded their villainy; for they weekly advertised their money for distribution, in a New York paper.'³

Thomas Paine, one of the most outspoken supporters of American independence, could not miss an opportunity to stir up anti-British feeling when on March 21, 1778, at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, he wrote to General Sir William Howe an open letter over the signature 'Common Sense', stating:

You, sir, have abetted and patronized the forging and uttering counterfeit continental bills. In the same New York newspapers in which your own proclamation

¹ *New York Gazette*, Apr. 14, 1777; *Weekly Mercury*, Apr. 14, 1777; *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, May 13, 1777; mentioned in *Connecticut Currant*, May 12, 1777. See Kenneth Scott, 'New Hampshire Tory Counterfeiters Operating from New York City', *The New York Historical Society Quarterly*, Jan. 1950, vol. xxxiv, No. 1, p. 38; Frank Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution*, New York, 1860, vol. i, p. 440.

² *The Writings of George Washington*, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, Washington, D.C., 1931 et seq., vol. vii, p. 434.

³ *New Jersey Gazette*, Jan. 7, 1778.

under your master's authority was published, offering, or pretending to offer, pardon and protection of these states there were repeated advertisements of counterfeit money for sale, and persons who have come officially from you, and under the sanction of your flag, have been taken up in attempting to put them off.

. . . You, sir, have the honor of adding a new vice to the military catalogue; and the reason, perhaps, why the invention was reserved for you, is, because no general before was mean enough even to think of it.¹

Every effort was made by the British to deny and ridicule any accusation of participating in counterfeiting. When General John Burgoyne surrendered on October 16, 1777 at Saratoga to the Americans under General Horatio Gates, the British troops, pursuant to the terms of the Treaty of Convention, were to be permitted to return to Europe. A delay in so doing arose because of disagreements about paying for provisions for American prisoners in British hands and because the British had purchased supplies with counterfeit Continental currency.

General Sir William Howe, commander of the British forces in America, wrote to General Washington from Philadelphia on February 5, 1778 that the detention of Burgoyne's troops was in part grounded 'not only upon a requisition of mine for provisions to be sent in for the subsistence of the prisoners in my possession, and for the purchase of other necessities, but upon a forgery by my agents, emissaries, and abettors, of what are called continental bills of credit. This last allegation is too illiberal to deserve a serious answer'.² Howe used this opportunity to belittle Continental currency as well as to be evasive in answering the accusation of counterfeiting made by General Heath of the American forces.

THE TROJAN HORSE OF COUNTERFEITS

The improper use of a British wagon train proceeding under a flag of truce gave rise to 'the idea of a Trojan Horse travelling thro' our land, not filled with men but most probably with the more dangerous Enemy, Counterfeited Continental money . . .'.³ General Howe had requested permission to bring clothing and medical supplies to the British, German, and Tory prisoners held by the Americans. General Washington in an effort to secure exchanges of prisoners and better treatment for American prisoners in British hands granted passports for a wagon train with the requested supplies to go from British-occupied Philadelphia to Lancaster escorted by two American officers. During the journey the wagon train was halted by the Americans at the Spread Eagle public house on the ground that the British had blocked shipments to American prisoners. It was then determined that the British had sent two more officers than their passports called for and Captain McLeod and Lt. Sterling were asked to leave the wagons and return to Philadelphia. During the delay

¹ Thomas Paine, *The Crisis*, assembled and republished, (Middletown; New Jersey, 1839), no. v, p. 135.

² *The Writings of George Washington*, edited by Jared Sparks, Boston, 1834, vol. v, p. 535 (Appendix).

³ Letter dated Jan. 26, 1778 from Gen. Daniel Roberdeau at Yorktown to Pres. Thomas Wharton of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Archives (1st Series), vol. vi, p. 206.

caused by this controversy a heavy rain soaked some of the shipment including two bags full of Continental bills of credit. Captain James Christy, one of the American escort, reported that the bags were opened and after the contents were dried they were sent back to Philadelphia with McLeod and Sterling. Christy also indicated that he previously had slept on one of the bags and realized he 'had had a very costly pillow'. Sterling expressed surprise at the discovery of the currency and said he was ignorant of its inclusion in the shipment. It was not ascertained whether these bills of credit were counterfeit, but from subsequent events such a conclusion may be drawn.

Captain Christy stayed with the wagon train for four days and by the time it arrived at Lancaster the probability that the wagon train was among other things being used to distribute counterfeit Continental money was recognized by the Americans. Proof was obtained in Lancaster when one of the wagon drivers passed a Counterfeit \$6 Continental bill (May 20, 1777 emission). This driver had five more of these same counterfeits on his person. Three other wagon drivers were arrested and searched and more of the same counterfeits were found on each, but the officers were not searched because of their immunity under the flag of truce. The entire contents of the wagons were detained and all of the party were confined. To add to the confusion the British claimed that Mr. Herbert, a Lancaster innkeeper, overcharged the convoy for necessities and that they had to pay specie at the same rate as paper money.¹

The situation was reported by Pennsylvania authorities to General Washington on January 22, 1778 and it was brought to the attention of the assembled Continental Congress on January 26. For a venture which was to create goodwill in the British and American relationship as to prisoners it could not have caused more difficulty. On January 26 Washington ordered the wagons and their contents released and the two officers, the doctor and his two attendants freed because he had authorized his aides to issue passports to them.² Neither the contents of the wagons nor the officers were searched for counterfeit money, but two of the wagon drivers were held for trial. Two sergeants (apparently wagon drivers) who were permitted to leave with the British party left the group on the return journey and were arrested for molesting women on farms far off the route back to Philadelphia.

Congress on January 30 ordered an investigation of the entire matter to be made by the Board of War. The Pennsylvania authorities who had uncovered this plot were angered by Washington's action because they felt that the flag of truce was violated by the British use of counterfeits. Washington's position was excused by the Board of War in a letter to President Wharton of Pennsylvania dated January 31, 1778 on the ground that Washington did not have information of the improper behaviour of the group, an allegation which was not accurate. Washington did not wish minor violations of a flag of truce to interfere with his prisoner exchange negotiations. Washington excused the British for sending two more officers than stipulated because he felt the size of wagon train made it reasonable to have them. The Army justified the innkeeper's prices on the ground that the same prices would have been asked for

¹ See Pennsylvania Archives, vol. vi, pp. 200, 201, 206, 214, 216, 217, 233, and 268.

² *The Writings of George Washington*, vol. x, pp. 351, 355, and 356.

payment in Continental Currency and no premium for specie payment was permitted by law.

Pennsylvania claimed that 'Congress has no right to interfere in our civil policy' as the Pennsylvania statute passed March 20, 1777 authorized the punishment of persons knowingly passing counterfeit Continental money. The whole affair was embarrassing to the Americans and all of its goodwill value was destroyed. It left the members of Congress from Pennsylvania at odds with other members of Congress. Congress on April 14, 1778 received the report of the evidence collected by the Board of War with respect to the wagon train and promptly referred it to a new committee in order to avoid further discussion and controversy and the matter was buried in that committee.

Two of the wagon drivers were tried on April 10, 1778 and were released because of a loophole in the Pennsylvania counterfeiting law. As Thomas Paine humorously said of the incident, quoting from a comment once made by a member of the British House of Commons, 'There never was but one Act which a man might not creep out of it, i.e. the Act which obliges a man to be buried in woollen'.¹

THE AMERICAN REALIZATION

The idea of counterfeiting Continental currency probably came to the attention of the British through a prominent doctor and politician, Dr. Benjamin Church, Director General of Hospitals of the Continental Army, who was embarrassed financially by living beyond his means. His brother-in-law John Fleming, was a printer. When in September of 1775 a letter in code giving military information to the British at Newport, Rhode Island, was intercepted, Washington reported the matter to Congress² and Church was jailed. Church's interest in counterfeiting was reported in a letter dated February 14, 1776 from Arthur Lee, American representative in London, which read:

Great expectations, too are entertained from treachery in the provincials. Dr. Church was in league with others, particularly Fleming the printer. This I have from a ministerial authority which may be depended on. They will endeavour to depreciate the Congress paper by throwing in forged notes.³

The earliest indication that there was British participation in counterfeiting Continental Currency was evidence given in connection with the indictment of George and John Folliott. It was said that these men in January, 1776 engaged in counterfeiting Continental Currency (the \$30 bill of the May 10, 1775 emission) in New York Harbor on board the British warship, H.M.S. *Phoenix*.⁴

¹ Letter dated Apr. 11, 1778 written at Lancaster to Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress. See Moncure D. Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine*, New York, 1892, vol. i, p. 102.

² Letter dated Oct. 5, 1775, *The Writings of George Washington*, vol. iv, p. 9.

³ Letter addressed to Lt.-Gov. Colden of New York in the event of its capture, but apparently sent by messenger to Samuel Adams. *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, edited by Francis Wharton, Washington, 1889, vol. ii, p. 78; vol. i, pp. 521 and 657.

⁴ Kenneth Scott, 'A British Counterfeiting Press in New York Harbor, 1776', *The New York Historical Society Quarterly*, Apr.-July, 1955, vol. xxxix, No. 2-3, p. 117.

The Continental Congress on January 2, 1779¹ in calling for redemption of bills of credit approved May 20, 1777 at Philadelphia and April 11, 1778 at Yorktown stated that 'counterfeits of those emissions have lately been issued by our enemies at New York, and are found to be spreading and increasing fast in various parts of these United States . . . '.

A circular letter from the Board of Treasury to the States dated January 13, 1779 accused 'our enemies of the highest rank' of counterfeiting which was described in the preliminary draft of the letter as taking place 'from their Garrison at New York'.²

Counterfeiting (probably of part of the issue of September 26, 1778) was reported by the American General, Alexander McDougal in a letter written on March 25, 1779 from Headquarters at Peekskill, New York, to President Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania in which it is stated: 'He [the enemy] is now counterfeiting another emission, which will soon be out.'³

General Washington on September 8, 1779 forwarded from West Point to the President of Congress an intelligence report which advised of the British preparation 'of a new emission of bills of sixty dollars lately done in New York'. The intelligence agent had secured and enclosed such a note (the September 26, 1778 emission) and went on to say: 'The person from whom I received it informed me that a great quantity of this kind is put into the country by way of Kingsbridge and Bergen.'⁴

George Washington again affirmed the problems in a letter from Morristown, New Jersey dated December 7, 1779, written to the President of Congress, in which Washington stated: 'I have received a letter from a confidential correspondent in New York. . . . But the most important part of the letter relates to the indefatigable endeavours of the enemy to increase the depreciation of our currency, by increasing its quantity of counterfeits.'⁵

Under martial law capital punishment for espionage based primarily upon evidence of passing counterfeit Continental Currency was enforced. At a court martial held October 8, 1778 at Danbury, Connecticut, 'David Farnsworth and John Blair were tried for being found about the Encampment of the Armies of the United States as Spies and having a large sum of counterfeit Money about them which they brought from New York, found guilty of the charges against them and sentenced (two thirds of the Court agreeing), to suffer death.' General Washington in a letter to General Gates about the case stated 'The crime of passing counterfeit Bills of Credit, by which our currency has been extremely depreciated, added to the strong suspicion of their being both Spies, will render it necessary to have them executed according to their Sentences.'⁶

¹ On Dec. 16, 1778 after considerable debate Congress resolved that it was necessary to withdraw these issues but did not make the redemption call until Jan. 2, 1779.

² Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 136, iii, folio 7; see *Journals of the Continental Congress*, minutes of Jan. 13, 1779.

³ William B. Reed, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, (Philadelphia; 1847), vol. ii, p. 58. See Henry Phillips, Jr., *Continental Paper Money* (Roxbury, Mass., 1866), p. 114.

⁴ *The Writings of George Washington*, vol. xvi, p. 255.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. xvii, p. 230.

⁶ *The Writings of George Washington*, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, Washington, D.C., 1931 et seq., vol. xiii, p. 139; vol. xiii, p. 54.

David Gamble deserted the Continental Army and when counterfeits were found in his possession was ordered executed.¹

On March 18, 1778 a court martial sentenced Abel Jeans of Pennsylvania to 100 lashes and confinement at hard labour for the balance of the war for supplying the British with money, trading with them, and buying and passing counterfeit Continental money.²

The quantity of counterfeit Continental currency found on those who were deliberately circulating those notes was often large. Thomas Cockayne had been caught in Sussex County, Pennsylvania, with 199 counterfeit \$30 bills in his possession or a total of \$5970.³ Jonathan Jennings, as reported in the *Virginia Gazette* of May 15, 1778, was jailed in Alexandria, Virginia, for passing one \$5 and one \$8 Continental note and had in his possession twenty-five \$5 notes dated February 26, 1777, one \$6 note and eighty \$8 notes dated May 20, 1777, all counterfeit, making a total of \$771.

The American frigate *Deane*, on August 9, 1779, captured the *Glencairn*, a British ship *en route* from Glasgow to British-occupied New York. The report of Commodore Samuel Nicholson of the *Deane* to the Continental Congress, as published in the *Virginia Gazette* of October 2, 1779, stated:

On board the *Glencairn*, a person says he had in charge a box, which was to be delivered to some person in New York, but upon our coming up with them and the ship striking, threw it overboard; upon which we went immediately after it, and with difficulty got it before it sunk, when upon examination we found it contained materials for counterfeiting our currency, consisting of types, paper with silk and isinglass in it &c. We have however determined to secure the person, as we believe him to be the sole intender of the villainy: The box we have on board and shall bring it with us to Boston.

A conclusion can readily be drawn that, since New York was the destination of the *Glencairn*, the counterfeiting of Continental paper money was intended rather than the counterfeiting of any separate state issue. This is also corroborated by the paper containing mica and silk. The inclusion of type indicated a desire to improve the quality of counterfeits since most counterfeits of earlier Continental issues were made from engraved copper plates and were more readily distinguishable from the genuine notes than typeset counterfeits. As to whether the captured passenger was 'the sole intender of the villainy' is an opinion which, no doubt, was modified by the American authorities on further investigation.

Exaggeration of the *Glencairn* incident in numismatic literature began in 1851 when it was said that 'a vessel, coming from Scotland to New York, was captured by an American privateer, with many millions of dollars of forged paper money, on board, and with the requisite materials to falsify that which might be hereafter issued by the United States'.⁴ Subsequent writers enlarged this misstatement to a 'shipload' of counterfeit Continental

¹ General Orders of Oct. 13, 1780, *ibid.*, vol. xx, p. 179.

² General Orders issued Mar. 25, 1788 from Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge, *ibid.*, vol. xi, p. 142.

³ Pennsylvania Archives, vol. v, p. 525.

⁴ Adolphus M. Hart, *History of the Issues of Paper-Money in the American Colonies anterior to the Revolution*, (St. Louis, 1851), p. 16.

Currency.¹ From such an assumption it was erroneously stated that the counterfeits were prepared in England.²

The fact that there was no finished counterfeit money found was confirmed when the *Glencairn* sailed into Boston Harbour and the Massachusetts Council on October 11, 1779 ordered that there be delivered to the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts 'the printing types and Paper, taken by the Ship Dean, to be designed for counterfeiting the Currency of the United States'.³

The counterfeit Continental currency which was captured by the Americans from the British armed forces in the vicinity of New York was in very large quantities, further indicating New York as its source. In January, 1780, during a raid by Major Lee's Rangers on a British outpost within one-half mile of the lighthouse on Sandy Hook, about \$45,000 in counterfeit Continental money was obtained along with seven prisoners, some hard money, and some dry goods.⁴

When Capt. Marriner, in the early morning of April 20, 1780, seized the British ships *Blacksnake* and *Morning Star* at anchor off Sandy Hook and brought his prizes into Egg Harbour, New Jersey, much counterfeit Continental currency was reported to have been found on board.⁵ Allan McLane, a participant in the capture, stated in his diary that 'a Million of Counterfeit bills ameditedly [admittedly] from Great Britain well executed' were found,⁶ but the official naval report stated that no information on the source was available as the owner was mortally wounded in the action.⁷ The quantity also seems somewhat exaggerated. Yet on one ship which escaped capture in the Sandy Hook affair a numismatic writer increases the total to one hundred million dollars and places the source as Scotland.⁸ These assertions can be as readily accepted as the weight of the fish which got away.

AN OFFICIAL DESCRIPTION OF COUNTERFEITS

An official printed broadside describing counterfeit Continental currency is among the papers of the Continental Congress. It is entitled:

DESCRIPTION OF COUNTERFEIT BILLS which were done in Imitation of the True Ones ordered by the Honorable the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, bearing Date 20th May, 1777, and 11th April, 1778.⁹

At the bottom of the Broadside in the handwriting of John Gibson, Auditor General, there is a warning as to the importance of the document, 'Permit no Copy of these Descriptions to be taken unless at the Request of the Executive

¹ Henry Phillips, Jr., *Continental Paper Money* (Roxbury, Mass., 1866), p. 71.

² Laurence D. Smith, *Counterfeiting, Crime against the People* (New York, 1944), p. 71.

³ Joseph B. Felt, *Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency*, (Boston, 1839), p. 252.

⁴ New Jersey Archives, 2nd Series, vol. iv, p. 134.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

⁶ Manuscript in the New York Historical Society, vol. ii, p. 56.

⁷ *Writings of George Washington* (New York, 1932), vol. xxvii, p. 422 n.

⁸ Eben Mason, 'Continental Paper Money and Its Imitations', *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collector's Magazine*, (Philadelphia, 1871), vol. v, No. 6, p. 85.

⁹ This broadside is referred to in *Journals of the Continental Congress*, vol. xv, p. 1451, item 238 under date of Jan. 2, 1779.

Authority of the State to be placed in Confidential Hands.—John Gibson, A.G.’

This Broadside was distributed in January, 1779. It described only 5 counterfeits, the \$6 and \$8 of the May 20, 1777 Philadelphia emission and 3 varieties of the \$40 note of the April 11, 1778 Yorktown issue. It indicates no knowledge of the other counterfeits of these two issues, namely the \$30 of May 20, 1777 and the \$4, \$5, \$7, and \$20 of April 11, 1778. These omissions must have resulted in a large and unintentional redemption and destruction of unlisted counterfeits. The *Connecticut Courant* of November 10, 1778 had already published a description of the \$5 counterfeit of April 11, 1778. No counterfeits of issues other than the two issues called for redemption are mentioned in the Broadside. A most important fact pointed out in the Broadside is that the first four specimens and the back of the fifth were struck from engraved copper plates and not from set type and cuts as were the genuine.

Why all denominations of each of these two issues were called for redemption when only two denominations of one issue and one of another were known to have been counterfeited is difficult to fathom. It had been strongly argued in Congress in December, 1778 that all earlier issues be redeemed and replaced. The confusion resulting from the redemption notice was worse than the counterfeits. The notes with which the called issues were to be redeemed were not ready and delays in the exchange were as much as 60 days. Depreciation was taking place at a rapid rate at that time and many holders had to travel substantial distances to official exchange agencies and spend money and time so doing. The called issues immediately lost their acceptability in normal transactions and merchants advertised that they would take in the called money for goods at prices which obviously were much higher than current.¹ William A. Atlee (no relation to James F. Atlee, the die sinker for copper coins who was a partner in Machin’s Mills) wrote concerning the redemption notice to his brother, Samuel Atlee, a delegate in Congress from Pennsylvania:

Pray, my dear Brother, how comes it that Congress by their resolve relating to the two emissions of May, 1777 and April, 1778 have set the Country in such a ferment . . . it is rendered twenty-five p. cent worse than the other emissions, which God knows were sunk low enough before.²

Due to the exigencies of war the original date for the redemption of the May 20, 1777 and April 11, 1778 emissions was extended first from June 1, 1779 to January 1, 1780 and subsequently to January 1, 1781.³ In view of the prolonged period for redemption the great bulk of the genuine May 20, 1777 and April 11, 1778 issues were withdrawn from circulation. Those redeemed were at first ordered crossed, punch cancelled, and burned, but subsequently the requirement of crossing and punch cancelling before burning was waived.⁴ On occasion genuine bills of these issues are found crossed in ink and since crossing customarily denotes a counterfeit it must be assumed that someone

¹ Albert S. Bolles, *The Financial History of the United States from 1774 to 1789*, New York, 1879, p. 154.

² Pennsylvania Archives, vol. vi, p. 212 (undated but apparently early in 1779).

³ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, minutes of July 2, 1779 and Mar. 28, 1780.

⁴ *Ibid.*, minutes of Feb. 26, 1779.

made a mistake in identification rather than that redeemed bills were not destroyed.

The precaution as to releasing to the public official descriptions of counterfeits of the May 20, 1777 and April 11, 1778 issues was motivated by a fear that specific differences would result in a prompt correction of the counterfeit plates. The circular letter of the Board of Treasury of January 13, 1779 states:

The danger from counterfeits can only be avoided by calling in and exchanging the emissions, which have chiefly suffered by that species of fraud. To publish the marks of detection and still to leave the true bills current will not be prudent, as it must afford an opportunity for correcting defects and cheating more securely.¹

It should be noted that the word 'chiefly' as used above indicates that counterfeits of other emissions were known to be in circulation, but not in sufficient quantity to be dangerous.

The refusal to publish the marks of detection was a change in thinking, as John Gibson, Auditor General, had officially published in newspapers in 1777 descriptions of the \$30 counterfeit of May 10, 1777 and the \$8 counterfeit of May 9, 1776 pursuant to the authority of the Board of Treasury.²

Whether the decision of the Treasury Board and the Auditor General not to publish further descriptions of counterfeits was correct or not, it is clear that they did not realize that descriptions of the commonest Continental Currency counterfeits had already been published in the press. The *Connecticut Courant* of November 10, 1778 attempted to describe the \$40 and \$5 counterfeits of April 11, 1778 and the \$8 and \$6 counterfeits of May 20, 1777, as well as two varieties of the \$30 counterfeit of February 26, 1777. Shopkeepers must have posted the clipping from the newspaper, thus eliminating any possibility that passers of counterfeits would not become aware of the information.

COUNTERFEITING STATE AND CITY ISSUES

Each of the thirteen American colonies as English possessions and during the transition to independent states issued paper currency of its own. There had been plagues of counterfeiting before the Revolution and therefore the British and their sympathizers did not neglect state issues in their counterfeiting activities. The highest denomination of the May 10, 1775 Connecticut currency, being a 40 shilling type-set issue, was counterfeited with notes struck from engraved copper plates. Before the British occupation of New York City the *New York Gazette* and the *Weekly Mercury* of April 15, 1776 carried a notice to that effect and admitted that the notes were 'upon the whole, a good imitation of the true Bills' and described the distinctions. The excellence of the engraved counterfeit of the type-set genuine note is readily apparent in the accompanying illustration (Pl. XIII, 1). The notice concluded with a statement that counterfeit Connecticut 10 shilling notes of May 10, 1775 were said to be in circulation, but failed to give any confirmation or

¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, minutes of Jan. 13, 1779, *Virginia Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1779.

² *Virginia Gazette*, June 13, 1777 and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 16, 1777.

denial of the assertion. Such an admitted lack of facts as to the 10-shilling note could only have created further chaos.

Counterfeit issues were so effective that Jonathan Trumbull, a member of George Washington's military staff, wrote on September 16, 1776 from his Connecticut headquarters: 'So much counterfeit money being of late brought into this camp from the Eastern parts of the Continent, the General forbids any money passing or being received but Continental money.'¹

Apparently he was unaware that counterfeits of Continental money were actually more numerous.

One of the reasons why Massachusetts Bay endeavoured to call in all of its paper money and use only Continental Congress issues was British counterfeiting of Massachusetts issues. A leaflet distributed to each town by order of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay issued December 15, 1777 read:

It is also notorious that numbers of our enemies have counterfeited large quantities of the paper currency of this and the neighbouring States and that by means of all this, the quantity of circulating paper medium has long since increased vastly beyond all pretensions of usefulness, and manifestly to the enhancing the demand of all commodities to an extravagant price.

New York City had circulated currency issues dated from August 25, 1774 to March 5, 1776 in order to build a new steam-operated pump for the city's water supply. A drawing of the proposed pump adorned the notes. The only evidence of counterfeits of this issue indicates complete British sponsorship under the supervision of and with the cooperation of top officials.

The deposition of Israel Young, given on June 26, 1776, while the Americans still held New York, recites that Thomas Vernon told Young when they were in jail together that Vernon had on many occasions visited the British ship *Duchess of Gordon*, on which William Tryon, the British governor of New York, conducted official British activities in New York harbour during the early part of the Revolution; that Gov. Tryon was seen on board and often spoken to; that various types belonging to the New York printer, James Rivington, were on board as well as one of his printers; that Vernon saw them counterfeit Water Works notes there; that they had a chest full of such notes, which were of excellent quality except that the paper seemed too thick.

There appear to be many notes of this New York City issue in collectors' hands. A search through quantities of them and through major collections has not revealed any counterfeit note. The cuts for the notes had been originally made by Elisha Gallaudet² and the type was furnished by Hugh Gaine, the printer, both of whom were devoted to the cause of independence. James Rivington was a rival New York printer with 'tory' sympathies and could readily obtain the two colours of papers required for separate printing of the front and back. This leads to the conclusion that the genuine forms for printing this currency were obtained by British Colonial government from the City officials who had them in safe keeping.

Efforts to eliminate state and city paper money issues were constantly

¹ Peter Force, *American Archives* (5th Series), vol. ii, p. 476.

² Eric P. Newman, 'The Continental Dollar of 1776 Meets its Maker', *The Numismatist*, vol. lxxii, No. 8 (Aug. 1959), p. 915.

recommended by the Continental Congress primarily in order to secure state tax support to sink the Continental Currency and thereby sustain its value. It was also realized that there were too many state and local issues which could be counterfeited and that one national issue was the ideal. In an appeal made by Congress in May, 1778 to the people, urging them to continue to support the American cause, it was asked, 'What, then, are the reasons that your money hath depreciated?', and one of the answers given was 'because their [your enemy's] agents have villainously counterfeited your bills'. It then continued, 'How is this dangerous disease to be remedied?', and answered, 'Let the several legislatures sink their respective emissions, that so, there being but one kind of bills, there may be less danger of counterfeits'.¹

CONCLUSION

The excitement in America must have run high when an American privateer intercepted a British vessel carrying a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in North America, to Lord George Germain, British Secretary of State. The message written on January 30, 1780 from Savannah, Georgia, stated:

I should be wanting to my civil commission, in closing this letter, without a few reflections on the present state of the money of America. Every day teaches me the futility of calculations founded on its failure. No experiments suggested by your Lordship; no assistance that could be drawn from the power of gold, or the arts of counterfeiting, have been left unattempted. But the currency like the widow's cruize of oil, has not failed the Congress. . . . I shall, nevertheless, my Lord, continue while I have the honor to command in America, assiduous in the application of those means entrusted to my care; if they cannot work its (the Continental Currency's) destruction, yet they embarrass Government . . .

This letter was published at Philadelphia on April 8, 1780 in the *Pennsylvania Journal* and later that year in England.² It is an incontestable admission that the British Civil government as well as the military leaders approved and directed the counterfeiting of American paper money.

Counterfeits in quantity played a material part in the final worthlessness and repudiation of Continental Currency at the end of hostilities. It appeared to Captain Thomas Anburey, a British officer, that counterfeiting caused the depreciation when he wrote in a letter dated May 12, 1779:³

The depreciation of Congress money arises from the vast quantity of the counterfeit, which any person who hazards the risk, may have gratis, at New York, to circulate throughout the province, and to point out to you what confusion there must be at the conclusion of this unhappy contest, on whichever side it may terminate, when I inform you that there are many persons now in actual possession of

¹ 'An Address of the Congress to the Inhabitants of the United States of America', *Journals of the Continental Congress*, minutes of May 8, 1778.

² *The Remembrances of Impartial Depository of Public Events*, J. Almon, London, 1780, vol. x, p. 40. See Albert S. Bolles, *The Financial History of the United States from 1774 to 1789*, New York, 1879, p. 152.

³ *Travel through the Interior Parts of America in a Series of Letters* (London, 1789), vol. ii, p. 399.

plantations, which they purchased with the counterfeit money they brought from New York.

In American areas occupied by British forces no Continental Currency was permitted to circulate, genuine or counterfeit.¹ When the British occupied New York City they did not neglect other means for depreciating the currency in surrounding areas when they placed the following in the *New York Gazette* of October 28, 1776:

WANTED

By a gentleman fond of curiosities, who is shortly going to England, a parcel of Congress notes, with which he intends to paper some rooms. Those who wish to make something of their stock in that commodity, if they are clean and fit for the purpose, receive at the rate of one guinea per thousand for all they can bring before the expiration of the present month. Inquire of the printer.

N.B.—It is expected they will be much lower.

Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College, apparently engaged in wishful thinking when after commenting on British counterfeiting in his diary on June 2, 1777 he added: 'The plot is detected & checked.'²

A description of the known counterfeits of Continental Currency³ includes thirty-two different issues. Those of finer quality than the originals are British sponsored. A comparison of the genuine and counterfeit issues in the accompanying illustrations (Pls. XIII–XIV) shows the deceptiveness of the counterfeiting techniques and readily indicates the destructive effect the British counterfeits had on American currency during the American Revolution.

¹ Thomas L. Elder, 'Vicissitudes of Continental Paper Money', *The Numismatist*, vol. xxxviii, No. 4 (April, 1925), p. 216.

² *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College*, (New York, 1901), vol. ii, p. 164.

³ Eric P. Newman, 'Counterfeit Continental Currency Goes to War', *The Numismatist*, vol. lxx, No. 1 and 2 (Jan. and Feb. 1957), pp. 5 et seq.

MISCELLANEA

A NOTE ON ROMAN COINS FOUND AT THE DYER COURT EXCAVATIONS, CIRENCESTER, 1957

DURING the summer of 1957 the first large-scale scientific excavation of Roman Corinium took place under the direction of Mr. Graham Webster, F.S.A. Mr. Webster very kindly gave me permission to examine the 140 coins found, and I thought that a short summary might be of general interest. The full coin list will appear in due course with Mr. Webster's report.

Only seven coins of the period before A.D. 240 were found, none of which were in good condition. The coins from the Radiate period are somewhat unusual in that none of Gallienus or Postumus occur, and that the coins of Tetricus II are more numerous than those of his father. This period also covers the most interesting coin found, an antoninianus of Tacitus (M. and S. 29), in perfect condition.

Only one coin was found of each of the usurpers, Carausius and Allectus, both being corroded specimens of the London mint, while three folles (Maximianus, Leeds p. 49; Diocletian, Leeds pp. 42, 43) all occurred in a very good state of preservation.

The coins of the House of Constantine (A.D. 320-60) easily outnumbered those of any other period, and in fact formed 50 per cent. of all the coins found. They were divided equally between the issues of Constantine I and his sons as Caesars, and those of Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans, as Augusti. Of these latter, Constans claimed 20, Constantius II, 3, and Constantine II, 2.

Disappointing some expectations, the late fourth- and early fifth-century coins were not numerous. It is, however, worth mentioning that the usually very numerous issues of Valentinian and his family were only half as many in number as those definitely attributable to the house of Theodosius. Ten irregular coins were found, six being late minims and four barbarous radiates. These radiates all occurred in a third-century deposit.

A purely numerical analysis of the 140 coins gives the following results:

	per cent.
Coins of the first century	2
„ of the second century	3
„ of the Radiate period	11
„ of the Follis period	3
„ of the House of Constantine (320-40)	25
„ of the House of Constantine (340-60)	25
„ of the period 350-60 (miscellaneous)	1
„ of the House of Valentinian (364-85)	8
„ of the late fourth century	15
„ illegible (burnt, worn, corroded)	7

I am very grateful to Mr. Webster for permission to publish this note, and to the Corinium Museum for the facilities accorded me in the reading of the coins.

RICHARD REECE

FINDS OF ST. EDMUND MEMORIAL AND OTHER ANGLO-SAXON COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS AT THETFORD

[A more detailed description will be in the forthcoming M.o.W. Archaeological Report No. 3, on Thetford]

THE excavation of areas of the Old English borough of Thetford required for new housing, directed by Group Captain G. M. Knocker on behalf of the Ministry of Works, in 1948-52 produced seven Anglo-Saxon coins: three 'St. Edmund Memorial' pence, two of the rare halfpence of the same series, a cut farthing of Æthelred (crux), and a Thetford penny of Cnut (quatrefoil).

Although *a priori* St. Edmund Memorial pieces were surely struck and circulated in East Anglia, these are the first recorded finds from this area except those from Bardwell. Single finds and 'currency' hoards indicate that they also passed in the settled parts of the northern Danelaw on a par with the comparable St. Peter coins of York. Whether or not they equally penetrated the West Saxon area cannot be determined owing to lack of hoards of the relevant period there.

The whole issue should probably be confined to the years between the pacification of the Danelaw, c. 886, and the reconquest of c. 918. With the exception of one halfpenny, all the coins from Thetford belong to the later and less neat dies that Mr. C. E. Blunt has distinguished from the more legible sort in the Cuerdale hoard, c. 905. Indeed, all known hoards and single finds, apart from Cuerdale, come into the same later category, probably to be assigned to the second decade of the tenth century. I am grateful to Mrs. J. S. Martin of the British Museum and to Mr. Blunt for completing my list of find-spots, tabulated hereunder. All the *hoards*, again excepting Cuerdale, also contain St. Peter coins, the relatively higher proportion of which, in the one East Anglian hoard, suggests that the movement of bullion in trade, not booty, was predominantly southward.

- A. Loot hoards of miscellaneous composition. Early—Cuerdale;¹ Late—Dean (Cumb.);² Lugga (Co. Meath);³ less certainly, Harkirke (Lancs.).⁴
- B. Currency hoards, all late. From the northern Danelaw—St. John's, Chester⁵ (1 St. Edmund to 9 St. Peter); Walmgate, York⁶ (2 pence and a halfpenny of St. Edmund to 90 St. Peter). From East Anglia—Morley St. Peter⁷ (19 St. Edmund to 14 St. Peter).
- C. Single finds: Long Wittenham and Cholsey on the Berks. side of the Thames, and therefore in English territory;⁸ Northampton Castle, on the Danish side of the march (from the insufficient examination that preceded the construction of the railway there);⁹ Norwich (from a Ministry of Works excavation. In a later medieval pit. Pierced and illegible); East Kirby (Lincs.);¹⁰ Bowbeck

¹ Thompson, *Inventory*, No. 112, p. 39.

² *B.N.J.* xxviii, p. 177.

³ Thompson, *op. cit.*, No. 263, p. 101.

⁴ Thompson, *op. cit.*, No. 184, p. 67, *Num. Chron.* 6th ser. xv. 189.

⁵ Thompson, *op. cit.*, No. 83, p. 28.

⁶ Thompson, *op. cit.*, No. 392, p. 152.

⁷ Spink's *Num. Circ.*, May 1958, *Antiquity* xxxii. p. 100 ff.

⁸ Rusher Davis sale, 1893, Lots 55, 57.

⁹ *V.C.H. Northants*, i. 255; *Assoc. Arch. Soc. (Northampton)*, 1882, p. 246. Now in Northampton Museum (3), all broken and all of late type: (a) quite neat. CI (=FR?) - - M I. A T; (b) - I D C M O (?); (c) illegible; both the latter with short crosses.

¹⁰ *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. x, p. 120 (quoted as BOLETI MO, otherwise unrecorded as a moneyer).

Heath, Bardwell (Suffolk), two or three coins, possibly part of hoard;¹ Narford, Norfolk (1959, information from Mr. Rainbird Clarke); Thetford (hereunder in detail):

Halfpence

1. Late group but neat inscription; toothed rings. Moneyer: Otbert. (there are no halfpence of his in the *B.M.C.*, but pence including comparable early-looking examples of the later group). Weight 8.64 grains, 0.56 gm.
Obv. $\overline{\Lambda} + \infty$ CEADIIP *Rev.* + +OTBRMON
2. Neat, earlier group, though found at higher horizon than 1. Moneyer: Adradus? No comparable halfpence known. Weight 8.02 grains, 0.52 gm.
Obv. Large $\overline{\Lambda}$ SCER-PBMNDRE *Rev.* + +ADMAIVTDNVE

Note. These, like all the *B.M.* examples, are clearly halfpence, not thirds: the weight is a good half of that of the (generally light) pence.

Pence

3. Later group, toothed rings. Garbled name of Saint on both sides.
Obv. $\overline{\Lambda} + \infty$ CEAID *Rev.* + ∞ CEADO
4. Rough work. Moneyer Iaoed? Weight much lost by corrosion.
Obv. $\overline{\Lambda} + \infty$ C-IDI *Rev.* + IA-DO\IO
5. Fragmentary.

Later Anglo-Saxon

6. Æthelred II. Cut farthing, Br. 3, Hild. C, *B.M.C.* iii. *Rev.* . . . DAM . . . for Goda?, known elsewhere but not at Thetford.
7. Cnut, Br. 2, Hild. E, *B.M.C.* viii, Moneyer Edwine; *Obv.* CVTRIXANCLOR *Rev.* EDP/INE/ONÐ/IOT (Thetford).

S. E. RIGOLD

COINS OF THE SUSSEX MINTS: ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

HASTINGS	Moneyer	Location or authority
CNUT, type <i>B.M.C.</i> xiv: Hild. G		
39a +CNVT REX $\overline{\Lambda}$ NL	Ægelsige?	Copenhagen (ex Lubeck hoard)
+ /ELSIGE ON H/E ∞ TINI:	Ælsige?	
49a +CNVT REX::	Etsige	H.H.K.
+ETSIGE ON H/E \mathcal{E} TIN		
WILLIAM I, type <i>B.M.C.</i> viii		
156a As no. 154	Dunninc	H.H.K.
As no. 156 (4)		
LEWES		
ÆTHELRED II, type <i>B.M.C.</i> i: Hild. A (late issue)		
108a +EDEL R/ED REX ANGLOR	Leofwine	Stockholm (Inv. 15152)
As no. 108		
CNUT, type <i>B.M.C.</i> viii: Hild. E		
121a +CNVT REX ANGLORII	Ælfweard	Hild. 1307 under Leicester
+ /EL/FPEI/RDII/L/EPE		
121b +CNVT REX ANGLOR	Ælfweard	Visby (Stora Sojdeby hoard)
+ /ELF/PER/DON/LEE		
149a +CNVT R·II+ ANGLOR	Onlaf	Copenhagen (ex Lubeck hoard)
+ON/L·AF/M·OL/IIIN		
Rev. legend retrograde		
WILLIAM II, type <i>B.M.C.</i> i		
306a Same die as no. 306	Winraed	H.H.K. (ex Drabble sale, 1939, 613)
+PINRED ON LIEPI		

¹ C. Golding, *Coinage of Suffolk* (1868), p. 3; J. Warren Sale (Sotheby's 22 Mar. 1869) (Golding quotes ADLANTO? for ADRADVS).

There is another specimen of Chichester, no. 1 (Athelstan, *B.M.C.* type v), in the Coates collection at Glasgow University. The Lockett specimens of this and Hastings, no. 194, are now in the author's collection.

Miss van der Meer has discovered that Æthelred II, *B.M.C.* 127, a very poor specimen (Lewes, no. 11 in the author's 'Coins of the Sussex Mints'), is not of Eadgar but Theodgar. The readings are the same as no. 19 but not the dies. Mr. R. H. M. Dolley has noticed further that the reverse die is that of the author's believedly unique mule (*B.M.C.* iid/iiia: Hild. B2/B1) no. 20.

Mr. C. S. S. Lyon has called my attention to the fact that the gold penny of Æthelred II of Lewes is from the same obverse die as the author's coin of Lewes, no. 61. Both are illustrated on Plate XXIX, nos. 1 and 13, in Vol. XXVIII.

HASTINGS.

The coin of Cnut, type *B.M.C.* viii, given as Hastings no. 35, is of Southampton, not Hastings.

Hastings, no. 127: for EIDPAR read EADPAR.

LEWES.

69 For 'As no. 68' read +ÆLFPERD ON : LÆP : E : ; to '*B.M.C.* 123' add 'H.H.K. (ex R. C-B. coll.), Hild. 1406'.

71 For rev. read 'as no. 69'.

74 Omit altogether.

The coin of Æthelred II, type *B.M.C.* i, Hild. A (late issue), given as Lewes, no. 105, is of Chester, not Lewes.

229 is from the same obv. die as no. 228. A specimen is now in the author's collection.

249 Omit pellet between EAD and PARD; for EADPINE read EADPIIE.

H. H. KING

THE HALF-CROWNS OF 1848

UNTIL recently it was thought that the rare half-crowns of 1848 all had the second 8 of the date struck over 6, of which the vertical stroke showed clearly in the angle between the loops on the left-hand side of the 8.

An additional feature on the obverse of all these overstruck coins examined was a fault in the alignment of the E of DEI, this letter being displaced upwards, i.e. towards the edge of the coin.

But during 1957 two coins turned up on which the date showed no trace of an overstrike. The first of these was nearly in mint condition, and the second was somewhat worn. Both coins were clearly from the same obverse die, which showed the following features:

- (a) All three letters of DEI in correct alignment.
- (b) A slender linear die crack, passing obliquely upwards and to the right, from the edge of the coin, between two of the border pellets, in front of the date as far as the base of the truncation; and then turning to the left, and crossing the front angle of the breast.

The following facts are known:

1. From the beginning of 1845 to 1853, when the coinage of half-crowns was suspended, the number of obverse matrices remained unchanged at 4. The number of punches was increased from 6 to 7 in July 1846.

2. At the end of 1846 there were in stock 35 obverse dies, all of which would have been dated 1846. Twenty-eight of these dies were sunk between July and December 1846.

3. During January and February 1847, sixteen obverse dies were sunk. It is not actually known whether these were completed by dating, but almost certainly they were not dated.

4. During 1847, 22 of the 35 1846 dies were destroyed, and, therefore, at the end of 1847 there remained 13 obverse dies dated 1846—which were used unaltered throughout 1847 as overstriking a 6 with a 7 would not have succeeded—and the 16 dies sunk in 1847.

5. During 1847, 367,488 half-crowns were struck, and, as none dated 1847 are known, it is clear that these were struck from 1846 dies. This explains the destruction—or consumption—of the 22 1846 dies referred to above.

6. There is a gap in the die records at the Mint from 1848 to 1852 inclusive, but it is known that only 91,872 half-crowns were struck in 1848, and also that 1846 dies, with the 6 overstruck by an 8, were used for by far the greater bulk of the 1848 issue.

From these facts the following inferences appear to be reasonable:

1. By modern standards, the balance of the 13 dies of 1846, still available at the beginning of 1848, would have been ample for the 91,872 coins struck in 1848, though the short life of dies was then a matter of concern.

2. It may be assumed that the 16 obverse dies sunk in 1847 remained incomplete as to the date; otherwise they would have been used in that year. Also, it must have been apparent by then that the fall in demand for half-crowns made it unlikely that they would be needed.

3. It is unlikely that, with the stocks available, and with the decreasing demand, new dies would have been sunk in 1848.

4. It is probable that the misplaced E in DE1, in the overstruck coins of 1848, was derived from the new punch made in July 1846.

5. This punch would have been taken into use at once, if only to try it out; and the 28 obverse dies, sunk between July and December 1846, of which 13 survived at the end of 1847, would have been derived from it, thus perpetuating the misplaced E.

6. That the overstrike of 8 over 6 occurred on coins from these dies.

7. That the coins with the clear date—i.e. with no trace of an overstrike—and with the correctly aligned E in DE1 were struck from one of the 16 dies sunk in 1847 and subsequently completed by the date 1848.

The writer is deeply indebted to Mr. H. G. Stride of the Royal Mint, who supplied all the recorded material regarding the matrices, punches, and dies of the relevant period. Free use of this material, and of Mr. Stride's deductions therefrom, has been made in paras. 2 and 3 above. Any blame for shortcomings in the setting forth thereof rests squarely on the undersigned.

Acknowledgements are also due to Mr. R. H. M. Dolley of the British Museum and to Mr. P. A. Rayner of B. A. Seaby Ltd. for their expert assistance in the examination and comparison of the two dies.

The first (ex coll. D. Burstall) of the two clear-dated coins is in the writer's collection.

Since this note was written, Mr. Rayner has reported two more specimens of

the clear-dated coins. In both the obverse showed the correct alignment of DEI and the linear die crack described above.

E. C. LINTON

A FROSTED GOTHIC CROWN IN AN UNUSUAL SETTING

THIS coin—a Gothic crown of 1847—was purchased by the writer in September 1953 from a well-known London dealer.

The obverse and the reverse are completely frosted, both as to the field and the design, and the frosting is perfectly level and even throughout with no trace of scratching. The coin is accurately sealed between two concavo-convex watch glasses joined at their edges with a metal band, on which the normal edge legend is copied.

Its companions—in a set of three coins—were crowns of 1820 and 1826, similarly frosted and encased.

It was suspected that the casing had been done by Messrs. Robert Pringle Ltd. of the Clerkenwell Road, who had carried out similar work on several medals in the British Museum collection, and a visit to them confirmed this. The Managing Director of this firm recognized the casing as identical with others which they had made in the past for the Royal Mint, and he added that the style was that of the nineteenth century rather than the twentieth. He also stated that the frosting had certainly not been done by them.

The specimen remained as something of a puzzle until the receipt of a letter dated 21 August 1957 from Mr. H. G. Stride of the Royal Mint—to whom the question had been referred—threw an interesting light upon it. Mr. Stride says:

With regard to your Gothic Crown, this form of mounting is known as a lunette, and, up to about 20 years ago, a medal we made for one of the learned societies was supplied in this form.

Up to the middle of the last century, the sale of proof coins and pattern pieces was one of the privileges of the Mint Engravers, and the Wyons sometimes supplied these pieces as lunettes.

The letter continues later:

I do not think, therefore, that your lunette piece was prepared for an exhibition, but was supplied by the Mint engravers to a customer who desired it in this form. Naturally, a coin, which had been specially prepared and treated, was protected from damage or discolouration by being made into a lunette.

The writer is indebted to Mr. Stride for this complete solution to an intriguing little problem in numismatics, and for his permission to publish it.

E. C. LINTON

REVIEW

Sylloge of the Coins of the British Isles: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Part I. Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon Coins. By PHILIP GRIERSON. Pp. xxii+32 plates with facing text. London: Oxford University Press. 1958. 35s.

THE appearance of the first volume of the *Sylloge of the Coins of the British Isles* earns a very warm debt of thanks to the British Numismatic Society, with which the project as a whole originated, and to the British Academy, which through the always wise and stimulating guidance of Sir Frank Stenton has made a reality of that project. To the classicist, reared on detailed catalogues containing long lists of neatly and comprehensively numbered varieties, it has always seemed irritating that reference to very large sections of the British coinage could be made no more effectively than by the citation of 'type x' or 'class y'. Such irritation, of course, is unfair and irrational. In the classical coinages major change of type is normal. Those of the Anglo-Saxon, medieval, and post-medieval periods in Britain (like those of the same periods in Europe) display, by contrast, standard and continuing types in which change is minor and sometimes, indeed, measured or measurable only by some extremely small detail. Thus reference by 'type' or 'class' was inevitable until it could be realized and accepted that the coinage would not reveal its true anatomy or structure without some closer and disciplined classification. That realization has now come, and the comparative study of English coins in the much brighter light of die-production and die-relationship has already progressed so far, and so fruitfully, as to make it clear that at no very distant point in the future they will increasingly possess individuality in terms of die-sequence and die-identity, as distinct from the disappointingly broad and uneloquent categories of 'type' and 'class' which have sufficed for them hitherto.

This objective, however, cannot be attained without the fullest possible photographic representation of the most significant collections; and this is what the British *Sylloge* now sets out to give. It is based in essentials on the now mature and well-tested Greek *Sylloge*, with each plate of coins faced by a page of very brief details of attribution, weight, die-axis, provenance, etc.; but in one respect it marks an important change. The British *Sylloge* is in quarto format, easy to shelve but large enough both to lie flat on the table and also to give a good 'spread' of coins—up to 28 pennies, for example—at a glance. Add to this that the 32 plates are, in general (though not quite always), of fine quality and that the text is clearly laid out and printed, and it is evident that a photographic record of nearly 1,000 coins, with brief catalogue-text and basic indexes, is remarkably cheap at the price of 35s.

The choice of the pre-Norman coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge to form this first volume was a good one. The British Museum collection must grow relentlessly. A university collection, rich in the accumulation of centuries, but much slower in current acquisition, is more easily halted for review, as it were, at a definite point in time. Cambridge is in fact rich in pre-Norman coinage: there are no less than 216 Ancient British coins, in very fine variety, and over 660 Anglo-Saxon, including 'thrymsas', sceattas, and stycas, all of which we must now probably learn to call other things. The fact that this splendid series could be described and edited by its Honorary Keeper makes the volume all the more valuable, since Mr. Grierson's high standards of accuracy, presentation, and documentation are an automatic promise of success. His brief introduction on the history of the Fitzwilliam

collection in relation to its Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon coins is a model of what is required.

The textual entries give the essential information for each coin. In some cases a series is prefaced by a critical or explanatory note: not always, however, and it may sometimes be wondered if the omission is wise. There are one or two points of purely technical detail which may provoke impatience in the student who is busy, or a non-specialist, or both. For example, abbreviations are things to be kept under control: 'A^R' and 'A^W' would appear more helpfully as 'red A' and 'pale A'. On the other hand, granted 'fd.' = 'found', 'wt.' = 'weight', and 'prov.' = 'provenance', space could be saved by 'acq.' instead of 'acquired' and 'bt.' instead of 'purchased'. Little economies of this kind, running over several volumes, add up to a respectable total in the saving of man-hours and thus of printing costs.

Mr. Grierson has had the assistance of Messrs. Allen, Blunt, Dolley, Elmore Jones, Lyon, and Stewart in the detailed arrangements of the sections in which they possess a special knowledge. The result of wise planning, generous collaboration, and skilful editing is a volume with which a large number of numismatists should feel well pleased. It should go into any library worth the name—to be joined later, let us hope, by equally good successor-volumes.

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

OBITUARY

HAROLD RABY, M.A.

HAROLD RABY, a Founder Member of the British Numismatic Society, who died suddenly on 16 June 1958, was born at Youlgreave in Derbyshire in 1877.

Much of his boyhood was, however, spent at Warminster where his father had retired, and it was during this period that his interest in coins was first aroused. In his early days his holidays were spent in going round the countryside exploring the shops of villages and small towns. Stories of such early finds filled younger collectors with incredulous envy.

At school he gave promise of a distinguished scientific career and when nineteen entered Owen's College to read Honours Mathematics; and in Manchester the rest of his life was spent. His health, however, never very good as a young man, did not permit him to complete the course and after a breakdown his hopes of an academic career had to be abandoned.

His future working life was spent with the Manchester and County Bank, later the District Bank, and the meticulous accuracy which this training gave him was of the greatest service in his numismatic studies.

From the first his main interest appears to have been in the Greek and Roman series, of which he built up magnificent collections. These he bequeathed to the Manchester Museum, where they add immensely to the important collections which it had already acquired.

Despite his preoccupation with the classical issues, he had a by no means insignificant interest in the British series and particularly, as may be expected, in the earliest. The writer well remembers a most stimulating lecture on the pre-Roman coinages of Britain which he gave to the Lancashire Numismatic Society a year or two before his death.

Raby was never a particularly easy man to get to know, perhaps because there was more than a trace of shyness in his contacts with other people. Once, however, the ice had been broken he was one of the most friendly of men and his friendship was worth having. His slim, neat, somewhat Victorian figure rendered him an outstanding member of Museum and University circles, and his work for the Museum, of which he was an Honorary Keeper of Coins and Medals for some twenty years, was recognized by the University by the conferment, in 1947, of the honorary degree of M.A. This distinction was not, however, merely in recognition of his services to the Museum but also an acknowledgement of the depth of his numismatic knowledge, particularly in the classical fields. He served on the Councils of the Royal Numismatic Society and of the Association of Numismatic Societies, and his help was always available to those of lesser knowledge and experience who sought it.

In his later years he became very interested in the Battersea enamels, of which he built up an outstanding collection, now in the Manchester Art Gallery. He was at times accused of deserting his first love for these enamels, but his interest in coins, particularly the Greek, never wavered.

British numismatics are the poorer for his passing but the richer for his life-long devotion. The unremitting care of his wife was a dominating factor in the success with which he devoted his undoubtedly great ability to the numismatic and ceramic arts.

F. C. THOMPSON

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1958

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

1903-8	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1909	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1910-14	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1915-19	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1920-1	FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
1922	J. SANFORD SALTUS—till 22 June
1922	GRANT R. FRANCIS—from 28 June
1923-5	GRANT R. FRANCIS
1926-7	MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
1928	MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.—till 20 February
1928	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.—from 22 February
1929-32	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1933-7	V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
1938-45	H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.
1946-50	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.
1951-4	EDGAR J. WINSTANLEY
1955-8	HORACE H. KING, M.A.
1959-	DEREK F. ALLEN, B.A., F.S.A.

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS GOLD MEDAL

This medal is awarded by ballot of all the members triennially 'to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science'.

The medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910.

Medallists

1910	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1911	MISS HELEN FARQUHAR
1914	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1917	L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.
1920	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1923	H. ALEXANDER PARSONS
1926	GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
1929	J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.
1932	CHARLES WINTER

1935	RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON
1938	WILLIAM C. WELLS
1941	CUTHBERT A. WHITTON, B.A.
1944	Not awarded
1947	R. CYRIL LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.
1950	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.
1953	DEREK F. ALLEN, B.A., F.S.A.
1956	F. ELMORE JONES

For Officers and Council for 1958 see Vol. XXVIII, p. 677.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at 21 Bedford Square on Wednesday, 22 January, Mr. H. H. King, President, in the chair, the following were elected to Membership of the Society: Sir Derek Greenaway, Mr. H. H. Snellenberg, and the Roborough Library of Exeter University. Dr. J. P. C. Kent and Mr. I. D. Brown opened a discussion on seventeenth-century hoards, the former detailing some recent finds and the latter suggesting the importance of a statistical approach. Exhibitions of relevant coins were furnished by the speakers, and by Mr. J. M. Ashby (cf. *infra*, p. 201) and by Mr. J. H. Ingham.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at 21 Bedford Square on Wednesday, 26 February, Mr. C. E. Blunt, vice-President, in the chair, the following were elected to Membership of the Society: Mej. G. van der Meer, Mr. R. G. Faulkner, Mr. K. V. Graham, Mr. J. H. Ingham, Mr. M. D. Robb (Junior), Mr. B. H. Saxton, the Croydon Central Library, and the Liverpool University Library. The evening was given up to short papers as follows:

Mr. O. F. Parsons discussed the medallic works of Nicholas Briot and suggested that some traditional attributions were dubious.

Mr. J. G. Pollard discussed the correspondence of Matthew Boulton in the light of his contributions to the technique of coinage.

Dr. J. P. C. Kent described four gold bars recently brought up from a treasure-ship sunk off the coast of Bermuda (cf. *N.C.* 1958, pp. 9–12).

Mr. R. H. M. Dolley described an unpublished seventeenth-century token (cf. *B.N.J.* xxviii. iii (1957), pp. 659–61).

Exhibitions of relevant coins, medals, and electrotypes were furnished by the speakers.

At an Ordinary Meeting, the last to be held at 21 Bedford Square, on Wednesday, 26 March, Mr. H. H. King, President, in the chair, the following were elected to Membership of the Society: Professor Dorothy Whitelock, Mr. N. A. Burton (Junior), Mr. S. Digby (Junior), and Mr. R. Williams (Junior). Mr. R. H. M. Dolley and Miss Jean Cook (Guildhall Museum) read a joint paper concerning a selection of surviving coin-balances from the Middle Ages. The speakers exhibited a number of these objects, and there were further exhibitions of coins by Mr. A. E. Bagnall, Dr. J. P. C. Kent, and Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart.

At an Ordinary Meeting, the first to be held at the Warburg Institute, on Wednesday, 23 April, Mr. H. H. King, President, in the chair, the following

were elected to Membership of the Society: Mr. G. S. Hovenanian and Mr. F. M. Stubbs. The Society was then honoured by an address by Sir Frank Stenton entitled 'The Anglo-Saxon Coinage and Historians'. By courtesy of the Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum there were exhibited some of the more outstanding pieces from the Morley St. Peter Treasure Trove. There followed a sherry party, and Members were invited to inspect the Library.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 27 May, Mr. H. H. King, President, in the chair, Mr. P. L. Stiles was elected to Membership of the Society. Mr. R. H. M. Dolley and Miss Joan Ingold read a paper seeking to establish for the so-called Hiberno-Norse series a relative and to some extent absolute chronology on the evidence of hoards. A number of pieces in illustration of the paper were exhibited by Mr. P. J. Seaby.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 24 June, Mr. H. H. King, President, in the chair, Mr. E. G. Hillyer was elected to Membership of the Society. Mr. H. G. Stride (Royal Mint) read a paper describing the transition from a silver to a cupro-nickel coinage. Two medieval coins were exhibited by Mr. P. J. Seaby (cf. *infra*, p. 201).

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 23 September, Mr. H. H. King, President, in the chair, Dr. J. P. C. Kent read a joint paper (with Mr. D. W. MacDowall) entitled 'The Coinage of British India'. Mr. C. E. Blunt laid before the Society an advance copy of Mr. P. Grierson's first fascicule of the British Academy's new *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 28 October, Mr. H. H. King, President, in the chair, the following were elected to Junior Membership of the Society: Mr. M. Denison and Mr. G. C. F. McConnell. Council's nominations for 1959 were read, and an advance number of the 1957 Journal laid before the Society. Mr. D. G. Liddell and Mr. P. A. Rayner read a paper discussing the half-crowns attributed to Truro and to Exeter. Coins in illustration of the paper were exhibited by the speakers on behalf of Mr. N. C. Ballingal and Dr. E. Burstal and by Mr. A. H. Baldwin on behalf of Mrs. R. H. Norweb.

At the Anniversary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 25 November, Mr. H. H. King, President, in the chair, the following Officers were elected for 1959:

President: D. F. Allen, B.A., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. Bagnall; C. E. Blunt, O.B.E., F.S.A.; G. V. Doubleday; H. H. King, M.A.; E. J. Winstanley, L.D.S.

Director: R. H. M. Dolley, B.A., F.S.A.

Secretary: C. S. S. Lyon, B.A., F.I.A.

Treasurer: J. M. Ashby, M.A.

Librarian: J. Porteous, B.A.

Council: R. D. Beresford-Jones, M.A.; I. D. Brown, B.Sc.; E. Burstal, M.A., M.D.; P. Grierson, M.A., F.S.A.; J. P. C. Kent, B.A., Ph.D.; W. Palmer; C. W. Peck, F.P.S.; J. G. Pollard, M.A.; H. Schneider; G. L. V. Tatler; P. H. Vernon, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

The retiring President, Mr. H. H. King, then delivered the Presidential Address. The Treasurer announced that the Commissioners of Inland Revenue had signified their approval of the Society for the purposes of Section 16 of the 1958 Finance Act. Mr. R. H. M. Dolley exhibited photographs of a penny of Æthelræd II with mint-signature HORN (cf. *supra*, pp. 51-54).

EXHIBITIONS

Session 1958

DETAILED descriptions have been furnished by the exhibitors of the following coins exhibited during the year which appeared to be unpublished and which are not described in the main body of the current *Journal*.

January

By Mr. J. M. Ashby:

A possibly unique variety of the Charles I half-crown of the Tower Mint. It is similar to Grant Francis's Type Ia, but has a ground line below the horse, a feature not hitherto recorded for the type although invariably present in Type I which immediately precedes it. The initial mark is lis on both obverse and reverse.

A feature of the ground line is that it is rather shorter than that found on Type I coins, the abridgement being necessitated by the comparatively shorter distance between the fore- and hind-legs of the horse, while the use of a Type I puncheon is of course precluded. It would seem that the original intention had been to retain the ground line in the new type which we know as Type Ia, but any such intention must have been short-lived, to judge from the absence of further specimens from the better-known collections, private as well as public. We may regard the variety as one more example of the gradual transition from one type to another which was so peculiar to the hammered coinage, in contrast to the usually clear-cut divisions which are found in the milled series.

June

By Mr. P. J. Seaby:

(a) An irregular penny of Stephen from an uncertain mint (Dudley?).

Obv. As Brooke Type II.

STIERNE

Rev. As Brooke Type I but with *voided* cross moline.

*MILAR ON DVDLE

Wt. 16.3 grains.

(b) An unrecorded farthing of Edward IV.

Obv. Normal type but *no* marks by bust.

*EDWARD DI GRA REX

Rev. Normal type.

CIVI TTS LON DON

Wt. 3.0 grains.

ADDRESS BY HORACE H. KING

PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 25 November 1958

As we come to the end of the fifty-fifth year of the Society's existence we may congratulate ourselves that our roll of membership still increases. In my first Presidential Address four years ago I said we hoped shortly to pass the 300 mark; we did so and now in my last address I look forward to the day, not very distant, we hope, when we shall reach a total of 400 members. In the past year our numbers have been increased by 22 but against this we have to set four deaths and two resignations, so that we have now 329 members. Among those we have lost by death the name of Mr. H. Raby is outstanding, for he was a founder member, joining the Society in 1903. We have now only one founder member left, Lt.-Col. C. L. Evans.

During the year our Secretary, Mr. I. D. Brown, had to resign as he was going abroad for some time. Mr. C. S. S. Lyon was appointed by your Council to take his place from 1 October and I have no doubt that the appointment will be endorsed by the ballot tonight. We regret that Mr. Brown had to cut short his term of office, for he had proved himself in a short time a very efficient Secretary.

Our Treasurer, Mr. Ashby, has continued to keep a watchful eye on our finances and has warned us that we may not be able to continue the system of seven-year covenants by which we obtain remission of Income Tax, on which he has had correspondence with the Inland Revenue authorities. We await the outcome in this matter, with which many larger societies as well as ourselves are faced, with some anxiety, for it will make a considerable difference to our finances. I am glad to be able to tell you that we have received a further subsidy of £150 for the coming year from the British Academy to enable us to maintain the increased size of our *Journal*, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman series.

Our librarian, Mr. Forster, has served us well for eight years and the Council felt that he must be given a rest. We thank Mr. Forster for his long and excellent service. The Council has put forward the name of Mr. J. D. Porteous for the office.

In April of this year we moved our meeting-place from Bedford Square to the new Warburg Institute building in Woburn Square and no one will have any doubt, I think, that it is a move for the better. We now have our library there, with the Royal Numismatic Society's library; the convenience of having it in central London instead of Kensington as well as the amenities of the room in which it is housed will be apparent to everyone. From the May meeting onwards the meetings were held on the fourth Tuesday in the month instead of the fourth Wednesday, and that will continue during the coming year.

As to the papers that have been read this year, the last to be read at the old

premises was by Miss J. Cook of the Guildhall Museum on 'Late Medieval Coin Balances'. The first at the Warburg Institute was very well attended, which is not to be wondered at since Sir Frank Stenton did us the honour to read a paper on 'The Anglo-Saxon Coinage and Historians'. Other papers read were 'The Hiberno-Norse Coinage' by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley and Miss J. Ingold; 'The Transition from a Silver to a Cupro-nickel Coinage in England' by Mr. H. G. Stride of the Royal Mint; 'The Coinage of British India' by Dr. J. P. C. Kent and Mr. D. W. MacDowall; and 'Truro and Exeter Half-crowns' by Mr. D. G. Liddell and Mr. P. A. Rayner. At the June meeting we had the pleasure of welcoming Dr. N. L. Rasmusson, Keeper of the Royal Swedish collection in Stockholm.

I am glad to know that you have received Volume XXVIII, part III, of our *Journal* during the last week. We endeavour each year to get it out by the Anniversary Meeting but we have not always succeeded.

Mr. Dolley is continuing his visits to Sweden and his examination of the hoards of Anglo-Saxon coins in the Stockholm Museum, an examination which has already produced important results, not least in finding new mints and confirming or definitely rejecting old ones. Largely out of this, too, has come the honour Mr. Dolley received in having his 'Some Reflections on Hildebrand Type A of Æthelred II' published in *Antikvariskt Arkiv* of the Royal Swedish Historical and Antiquarian Academy.

Mr. C. W. Peck has catalogued the English Regal Copper and Bronze Coins in the British Museum. His definitive study, in effect a corpus, has been accepted by the Trustees as an official catalogue and it has gone to press.

The British Academy has published the first part of their *Sylloge*, of which they intend to produce one part a year. It is the Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, by Mr. Philip Grierson. In active preparation are Parts II and III, the Anglo-Saxon coins in the Hunter and Coates collections in Glasgow by Miss Anne Robertson and the Hiberno-Norse in the British Museum by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley and Miss J. Ingold. The early preparation is contemplated of Parts IV and V, the Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

To be welcomed is the first number of *Medieval Archaeology*, just issued by the Society for Medieval Archaeology.

One of the most important finds of early Anglo-Saxon coins has been made this year at Morley St. Peter, near Wymondham, Norfolk. It consisted of 883 coins ranging from Ceolwulf II of Mercia to Athelstan, and 668 of them are late portrait pennies of Edward the Elder. It is believed that the whole hoard was recovered intact. A preliminary record of the hoard by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley appeared in Spink's Numismatic Circular for May but it will probably be some considerable time before a full description is available.

Of the great Lockett collection the sale of the third portion of the English coins has recently taken place, consisting of early Anglo-Saxon to the Commonwealth. Prices were high, continuing the trend in the earlier sales, but it is satisfactory that the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum acquired a number of coins that they needed to fill gaps in their collections. All the coins not illustrated in the sale catalogue have been photographed and are on sale.

The British Association of Numismatic Societies again held a lecture course at Old Jordans Hostel, Buckinghamshire, during the week-end of 10-12 October. The programme included lectures by Professor F. C. Thompson on 'Microstructures of Coins', Mr. R. H. M. Dolley on 'The Interpretation of Hoard Records', and Dr. J. P. C. Kent on 'Minting Techniques and Machinery'.

Of the B.A.N.S.'s work with the Museums Association our representative reports that out of the 90-odd provincial museums contacted over 70 have sent in a preliminary report on the coins in their possession and this work is going on.

The National Numismatic Congress, organized by the Bath and Bristol Numismatic Society, was held in Bath this year and was a conspicuous success. The Congress in 1959 is to take place at St. Alban's on a date in June. Preparation is in active progress under the auspices of the St. Alban's and Hertfordshire Numismatic Society.

Thus I come to the end of my last Presidential Address to you. I cannot finish it without saying how much I have owed over the years to the help of the officers and council. Under our new President, Mr. Derek Allen, for I cannot doubt that he will be elected, I hope and expect to see the Society expand both in numbers and influence.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1957

EXPENDITURE				INCOME			
1956	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	1956	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
10 Printing and Stationery		7 19 4		Subscriptions received for 1957	470 5 1		
38 Expenses of Meetings, Rent, and Library Facilities		42 0 0		512 Subscriptions in arrears received during year	88 10 5		
47 Sundry Expenses		55 0 7				558 15 6	
Additional cost for <i>Journals</i> underprovided 1956	238 6 0			18 Entrance Fees		27 6 0	
850 Provision for 1957 <i>Journal</i>	750 0 0			<i>Donation</i>			
		988 6 0		10 L. C. Briggs		2 2 0	
				52 Interest Received		62 15 0	
				31 Sale of Back Volumes and Duplicates		51 1 0	
				5 Income Tax recovered		- - -	
				317 Excess of Expenditure over Income carried to General Purposes Fund		391 6 5	
						£1,093 5 11	
£945		£1,093 5 11		£945			

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1957

1956		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	1956		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
£								£							
10	Subscriptions received in advance			9	9	0			Investments, at cost						
26	Subscriptions compounded			34	7	0			£833 5 1 3½ Defence Bonds	833	5	1			
1,032	Sundry Creditors and Outstanding Charges			1,004	18	1		1,260	£500 0 0 2½ Savings Bonds	426	13	3			
	J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund												1,259	18	4
	Capital Account	166	14	11				5	Sundry Debtor						
166	Less Debit Balance on Income Account	19	5	7					J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund						
					147	9	4	167	£166 14 11 Defence Bonds				166	14	11
171	Publications and Research Fund				112	7	9	152	Library, at cost				151	12	5
700	Provision for estimated cost of <i>Journal</i>				750	0	0	10	Furniture, at cost				10	7	6
	General Purposes Fund							114	Stock of Lockett Collection Photographs						
	Balance as at 31 October 1956	982	11	0					Cash at Bankers and in Hand						
982	Less Excess of Expenditure over Income for the year	391	6	5				571	Bank Current Account	233	14	6			
					591	4	7	301	Bank Deposit Account	309	7	1			
								503	Post Office Savings Bank	515	7	9			
								4	Petty Cash	2	13	3			
													1,061	2	7
													£2,649	15	9
£3,087					£2,649	15	9	£3,087							

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

We have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purposes of our audit. In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Society so far as appears from our examination of those books. We have examined the above Balance Sheet and annexed Expenditure and Income Account which are in agreement with the books of account and no credit has been taken for subscriptions in arrear. In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to us, the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view of the state of the Society's affairs as at 31st October 1957 and the Expenditure and Income Account gives a true and fair view of the excess of expenditure for the year ended on that date.

23 June 1958

GILBERTS, HALLETT, & EGLINGTON,
Chartered Accountants
51 Coleman Street,
London, E.C. 2

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

1 DECEMBER 1959

ROYAL MEMBERS

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF WINDSOR
HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELENA OF ITALY
HIS MAJESTY KING GUSTAV VI OF SWEDEN
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF SWEDEN

MEMBERS

* Honorary Members

- 1947 ALLCARD, LT.-COL. H., 29 Windsor Road, Selsey, Sussex.
1957 ALLEN, C. H., ESQ., 53 Sandy Lane, Cheam, Surrey.
1935 ALLEN, D. F., ESQ., B.A., F.S.A., Strand End, Grove Park Road, Chiswick, London, W. 4.
1946 AMANN, A. F., ESQ., 1a Mayfield Road, London, N. 8.
1953 ASHBY, J. M., ESQ., M.A., Queensmead, West Temple Sheen, London, S.W. 14.
1957 ASHERSON, MISS E., 21 Harley Street, London, W. 1.
1936 ASSHETON, J. R., ESQ., 42 Jubilee Place, London, S.W. 3.
1956 AUSTEN, R. L., ESQ., Westergate House, Fontwell, Arundel, Sussex.
1922 BAGNALL, A. E., ESQ., 1 Castle Road, Shipley, Yorks.
1938 BALDWIN, A. H., ESQ., 221 Crofton Lane, Orpington, Kent.
1923 BALDWIN, A. H. F., ESQ., 3 Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.
1941 BALDWIN, W. V. R., ESQ., 30 Lansdowne Road, Worthing, Sussex.
1955 BALLINGAL, N. C., ESQ., c/o Maclaine Watson & Co., P.O. Box 2001, Djakarta, Indonesia.
1956 BAREFORD, MR. H. S., 666 Fifth Avenue, New York 19, N.Y., U.S.A.
1946 BARNES, A. E., ESQ., 33 Stratton Road, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
1947 BASMADJEFF, M. LUBAN, Postfach Fraumünster 1071, Zurich, Switzerland.
1953 BELL, C. D., ESQ., Lyngate House, North Walsham, Norfolk.
1953 BERESFORD-JONES, R. D., ESQ., M.A., Wolfden, Swan Street, Sible Hedingham, Essex.
1953 BERGHAUS, DR. P., Landesmuseum, Domplatz 10, Münster/Westf., Western Germany.
1957 BIGLEY, DR. D., 15 Hampton Lane, Solihull, Warwicks.
1933 BLUNT, C. E., ESQ., O.B.E., F.S.A., Ramsbury Hill, Ramsbury, nr. Marlborough, Wilts.
1950 BOURGEY, M. E., 7 rue Drouot, Paris IX^e, France.
1948 BRAZENOR, H. C. F., ESQ., Art Gallery and Museum, Church Street, Brighton, Sussex.
1942 BRETTELL, R. P. V., ESQ., Grenedene, Whitchurch Road, Tavistock, Devon.
1933 BRIGGS, MR. L. C., Hancock, New Hampshire, U.S.A.
1955 BROOKS, F., ESQ., MUS. BAC., 27 Playfields Drive, Parkstone, Dorset.
1954 BROWN, I. D., ESQ., B.SC., 17 Green Lane, Oxhey, Herts.
1946 BROWN, L. A., ESQ., Lockerbie, River Bank, Hampton Court, Surrey.
1957 BRUMBY, S., ESQ., 27 Portland Terrace, Gainsborough, Lincs.
1942 BURSTAL, E., ESQ., M.A., M.D., 46 Lansdowne Road, Bournemouth, Hants.
1956 BUSSELL, MRS. M., 242 Westbourne Park Road, London, W. 11.
1959 BUTLER, MISS V. J., 184 Oakwood Hill, Loughton, Essex.
1955 BUXTON, MR. E. V., c/o Messrs. Benedict & Benedict, 99 John Street, New York City 38, N.Y., U.S.A.
1955 CALDERWOOD, DR. R., M.D., Chief Medical Officer, General Hospital, Singapore 3, Malaya.

- 1911 CARLYON-BRITTON, R. D., ESQ., F.S.A., 32 Westgate, Chichester, Sussex.
 1957 CARTER, B. L., ESQ., 9 Hornsey Lane Gardens, London, N. 6.
 1955 CARTER, G. E. L., ESQ., M.A., Pine Hollow, Budleigh Salterton, Devon.
 1947 CAWTHORNE, T., ESQ., F.R.C.S., 149 Harley Street, London, W. 1.
 1929 CHECKLEY, J. F. H., ESQ., F.S.A., 26 Maple Avenue, Maidstone, Kent.
 1959 CHILVERS, C. A., ESQ., Market Place, Snettisham, Norfolk.
 1914 CHRISTOPHER, R. T., ESQ., West View, Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts.
 1956 COLLINS, DR. C. L., 17 Ladbroke Gardens, London, W. 11.
 1959 COOPER, F. R., ESQ., Weir Cottage, Mill Lane, Marlow, Bucks.
 1955 CORBITT, J. H., ESQ., The Black Gate, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Northumberland.
 1959 CRAMP, MISS R. J., M.A., St. Mary's College, University of Durham, Durham.
 1959 CURWEN, H. C., ESQ., Swannington House, Swannington, Leics.
 1957 DANSON, E. W., ESQ., 28 Paxton Road, Tapton, nr. Chesterfield, Derbys.
 1937 DAVIDSON, J., ESQ., M.B., CH.B., F.R.C.P. (ED.), F.S.A. (SCOT.), Linton Muir, West
 Linton, Peeblesshire.
 1957 DAWSON, J. O., ESQ., 49 Lidgett Park Road, Roundhay, Leeds 8.
 1926 DENTON, A. R., ESQ., 90 Haygate Road, Wellington, Salop.
 1955 DOGGART, J. H., ESQ., 82 Portland Place, London, W. 1.
 1951 DOLLEY, R. H. M., ESQ., B.A., F.S.A., Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum,
 London, W.C. 1.
 1946 DOUBLEDAY, G. V., ESQ., The Old Rectory, Langford, Maldon, Essex.
 1948 DRESSER, MR. J. L., 167 East 90th Street, New York City 28, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1954 DYKES, D. W., ESQ., B.A., Thurlston, Rodway Hill Road, Mangotsfield, nr. Bristol,
 Glos.
 1955 EGAN, H., ESQ., PH.D., 49 Medway Gardens, Wembley, Middx.
 1954 ELLISON, THE VEN. C. O., 1 Westwood Avenue, Leeds 16, Yorks.
 1949 ELST, M. C. VAN DER, Longue Rue de l'Hôpital 32, Antwerp, Belgium.
 1946 ERSKINE, THE HON. R. W. H., M.A., 2 Cambridge Place, London, W. 8.
 *1903 EVANS, LT.-COL. C. L., 133 Andover Road, Newbury, Berks.
 1958 FAULKNER, R. G., ESQ., c/o Glendining & Co. Ltd., 7 Blenheim Street, London, W. 1.
 1955 FERGUSON, J. D., ESQ., Rock Island, Quebec, Canada.
 1949 FERGUSON, W. D., ESQ., 17 Upland Road, Wellington, W. 1, New Zealand.
 1946 FORRER, L. S., ESQ., Keizersgracht 448, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
 1947 FORRER, R., ESQ., c/o Spink & Son Ltd., 5-7 King Street, London, S.W. 1.
 1950 FORSTER, W., ESQ., 83a Stamford Hill, London, N. 16.
 1957 FREEMAN, J. C., ESQ., B.A., LL.B., Bank of New South Wales, 47 Berkeley Square,
 London, W. 1.
 1950 FRENCH, W. C., ESQ., 7 Blenheim Street, London, W. 1.
 1957 GARDNER, A. C., ESQ., 13 Astrop Gardens, King's Sutton, Banbury, Oxon.
 1954 GARDNER, T. H., ESQ., May House, Flitwick Road, Ampthill, Beds.
 1955 GARTNER, J., ESQ., 15 Guildford Lane, Melbourne, C. 1, Australia.
 1954 GIBBS, P. H., ESQ., Aycote House, Rendcombe, Cirencester, Glos.
 1958 GRAHAM, K. V., ESQ., c/o Thoby Manor, Thoby Lane, Mountnessing, Brentwood,
 Essex.
 1938 GRANT, COL. M. H., 18 Victoria Grove, London, W. 8.
 1955 GRANT, PROFESSOR MICHAEL, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A. (SCOT.), 9 Merchiston Avenue,
 Edinburgh.
 1958 GREENAWAY, SIR DEREK, Dunmore, Four Elms, Edenbridge, Kent.
 1947 GRIERSON, P., ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
 1956 GRIFFIN, A. C., ESQ., 27 Westmoreland Street, Bath, Somerset.
 1943 GRIFFITHS, N., ESQ., Trinity Chambers, 67 High Street, Tunstall, Stoke-on-Trent,
 Staffs.
 1954 GROVER, B. H., ESQ., 23 Beauchamp Road, East Molesey, Surrey.
 1955 HAINES, G. C., ESQ., F.S.A., 31 Larpent Avenue, London, S.W. 15.
 1949 HARKNESS, D., ESQ., B.SC., 41 Pereira Road, Harborne, Birmingham 17.
 1954 HARRIS, M. J., ESQ., Blagdon Hill, Taunton, Somerset.
 1952 HEPBURN-WRIGHT, H. K., ESQ., Westerton House, Pluscarden, Elgin, Morayshire.

- 1955 HEWITT, K. V., ESQ., 44 Feenan Highway, Tilbury, Essex.
- 1952 HICKS, MR. W., c/o Money Mart, 101 West 43rd Street, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1949 HILL, SIR FRANCIS, C.B.E., M.A., LITT.D., LL.M., F.S.A., 2 Lindum Terrace, Lincoln.
- 1958 HILLYER, E. G., ESQ., Elmlea, 68 Barton Road, Barton Seagrave, Kettering, Northants.
- 1944 HIRD, ALDERMAN H., M.A., F.S.A., 5 North Park Road, Bradford, Yorks.
- 1957 HODGKINSON, P. A., ESQ., Danetree, Terminus Road, Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex.
- 1946 HOPKINS, G. S., ESQ., 11 Chapman's Close, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.
- 1948 HOVENANIAN, MR. G. S., 97 Jackson Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1954 HOWELL, G. F., ESQ., The Royal Mint, Tower Hill, London, E.C. 3.
- 1939 HURLEY, W., ESQ., 57 Manor Farm Avenue, Shepperton, Middx.
- 1958 INGHAM, J. H., ESQ., Echo, Bluebell Hill, Maidstone Road, Rochester, Kent.
- 1959 INGOLD, MISS J., B.A., The Record Office, Northampton.
- 1946 JACOB, K. A., ESQ., 32 Gilbert Road, Cambridge.
- 1944 JOHNSTONE, DR. E. A., 121 North Road, Clayton, Manchester, Lancs.
- 1938 JONES, F. ELMORE, ESQ., 30 Finsbury Square, London, E.C. 2.
- 1957 KEMPSTALL, T. E., ESQ., 36 Glendower Avenue, Coventry, Warwicks.
- 1954 KENT, J. P. C., ESQ., B.A., PH.D., Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
- 1909 KING, H. H., ESQ., M.A., Undershaw Hotel, Hindhead, Surrey.
- 1938 KING, P. I., ESQ., 55 York Road, Northampton.
- 1955 KROLIK, P. D., ESQ., The Lansdowne Club, Berkeley Square, London, W. 1.
- 1949 LAINCHBURY, A. W., ESQ., Triggmore, Kingham, Oxon.
- 1956 LAING, W., ESQ., 41 Lytton Avenue, Letchworth, Herts.
- 1949 LARSEN, MR. L. V., 1136 Kenilworth Avenue, Coshocton, Ohio, U.S.A.
- 1956 LATTIMORE, C. R., ESQ., 320 Stag Lane, London, N.W. 9.
- 1947 LAWRENCE, G. W., ESQ., 111 Upton Road, Bexley Heath, Kent.
- 1948 LEE, CAPT. R., Woodgate House, Uttoxeter, Staffs.
- 1947 LIDDELL, D. G., ESQ., c/o Spink & Son Ltd., 5-7 King Street, London, S.W. 1.
- 1946 LINECAR, H. W. A., ESQ., c/o Spink & Son Ltd., 5-7 King Street, London, S.W. 1.
- 1950 LINTON, COL. E. C., R.A.M.C. (RET.), 506 Kensington Close, Wright's Lane, London, W. 8.
- 1956 LISMORE, T., ESQ., Calle 23, No. 413, Vedado, Habana, Cuba.
- 1954 LISTER, MAJ. C. W., R.A., Fram, Frithsden Copse, Berkhamstead, Herts.
- 1947 LIVEING, CDR. R. G., R.N., 10 Brodrick Avenue, Alverstoke, Hants.
- 1955 LOFFET, J., ESQ., Poolhead Farm, Tanworth-in-Arden, Birmingham.
- 1915 LONGMAN, W., ESQ., 42 Chelsea Square, London, S.W. 3.
- 1956 LOUTH, B., ESQ., 26 Clark Road, Keighley, Yorks.
- 1945 LYON, C. S. S., ESQ., B.A., F.I.A., Chantry Way, Abbot Road, Guildford, Surrey.
- 1930 MABBOTT, PROFESSOR T. O., 1435 Lexington Avenue, New York City 28, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1956 MCCORMICK-GOODHART, CDR. L., O.B.E., V.R.D., R.N.V.R., 610 East Boulevard Drive, Alexandria, Va., U.S.A.
- 1957 MACDOWALL, D. W., ESQ., M.A., Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
- 1947 MACK, CDR. R. P., M.V.O., R.N., West House, Droxford, Hants.
- 1945 MANGAKIS, D., ESQ., 7 Esmond Court, Thackeray Street, London, W. 8.
- 1954 MARTIN, MRS. J. S., Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
- 1946 MASON, C. L., ESQ., 1 Washington House, Basil Street, London, S.W. 3.
- 1942 MASON, N. B., ESQ., 172½ Coleman Avenue, Toronto 13, Ontario, Canada.
- 1947 MATTINGLY, H., ESQ., M.A., D.LITT., F.B.A., F.S.A., 9 Missenden Road, Chesham, Bucks.
- 1958 MEER, MEJ. G. VAN DER, Cornelis Jolstraat 60, Scheveningen, Netherlands.
- 1932 MITCHELL, D. D., ESQ., 19 Lime Grove, Twickenham, Middx.
- 1954 MITCHELL, P. D., ESQ., 19 Lime Grove, Twickenham, Middx.
- 1959 MOSSOP, H. R., ESQ., Greenleaves, Marshchapel, nr. Grimsby, Lincs.
- 1959 MULHOLLAND, J. H., ESQ., B.A., Strode's School, Egham, Surrey.

- 1957 NEWMAN, MR. E. P., 400 Washington Avenue, St. Louis 2, Missouri, U.S.A.
 1935 NEWNHAM, A. J., ESQ., 82 Laburnum Grove, North End, Portsmouth, Hants.
 1956 NICHOLS, D. C., ESQ., 2 Victoria Parade, Torquay, Devon.
 1957 NORTH, J. J., ESQ., 30 Wolstonbury Road, Hove, Sussex.
 1954 NORWEB, HON. R. H., 9511 Lake Shore Boulevard, Cleveland 8, Ohio, U.S.A.
 1955 OSBORNE, A. E., ESQ., 6 Portland Street, Warsop, Notts.
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 1953 OTTLEY, F. B., ESQ., 19 Clevedon Mansions, Lissendon Gardens, London, N.W. 5.
 1954 PALMER, W., ESQ., Hill Crest, Theydon Bois, Essex.
 1946 PARSONS, O. F., ESQ., Boundary Cottage, Churchdown Lane, Hucclecote, Gloucester.
 1947 PECK, C. W., ESQ., F.P.S., 31 Vineyard Hill Road, London, S.W.19.
 1959 PEDERSEN, MR. H. B., P.O. Box 116, Old Chelsea Station, New York 11, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1944 PEGG, H., ESQ., Sunny Nook, Wollaton Road, Beeston, Notts.
 1958 PHILLIPS, A. L., ESQ., 3 Ashlings Way, Hove 4, Sussex.
 1955 PITCHFORK, W. H., ESQ., Thurnholmes, Oweston Ferry, Doncaster, Yorks.
 1957 POLLARD, J. G., ESQ., M.A., 17 Highworth Avenue, Cambridge.
 1955 PORTEOUS, J., ESQ., B.A., 5 York House, Turk's Row, London, S.W. 3.
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 1945 PRITCHARD, J. R., ESQ., 122 Kensington Park Road, London, W. 11.
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 *1905 RENDALL, V. H., ESQ., B.A., Oxenwood, California Lane, Bushey Heath, Herts.
 1952 RENFREW, R. C., ESQ., 8 Densley Close, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.
 1953 RICHARDSON, J. H. H., ESQ., 65 Lowther Drive, Oakwood, Enfield, Middx.
 1949 RIGOLD, S. E., ESQ., M.A., 2 Royal Crescent, London, W. 11.
 1946 ROBINSON, E. S. G., ESQ., C.B.E., M.A., D.LITT., F.B.A., F.S.A., Iwerne, Stapleton, Dorset.
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 1938 ROLFE, M. S., ESQ., 102 Ruskin Avenue, Southend-on-Sea, Essex.
 1954 ROWLANDS, REV. J. F., 7 Brewer Avenue, Durban, Natal, South Africa.
 1959 SALMOND, FLT.-LT. J. S. R., Temple Hill Mess, R.A.F., Changi, Singapore 17.
 1953 SANDERS, P., ESQ., 157 Gibson's Hill, London, S.W. 16.
 1947 SCHNEIDER, M. H., 10 Place Léopold, Antwerp, Belgium.
 1948 SCHULMAN, MR. H. M. F., 545 Fifth Avenue, New York City 17, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1926 SEABY, H. A., ESQ., 65 Great Portland Street, London, W. 1.
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 1953 SEALY, D. L. F., ESQ., Flat 4, 95 Addison Road, London, W. 14.
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 1946 SHRIGLEY, MISS I., M.A., The Institute of Bankers, 10 Lombard Street, London, E.C. 3.
 1957 SLADE, W. W., ESQ., The Firs, Hardings Lane, Gillingham, Dorset.
 1946 SLAYTER, W., ESQ., 63 Westway, Edgware, Middlesex.
 1946 SMITH, C. B., ESQ., Greensted, Ashley Road, Farnborough, Hants.
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- 1952 STEWART, B. H. I. H., ESQ., B.A., F.S.A. (SCOT.), Camlet House, Hadley Wood, Herts.
 1947 STEWART, J. R., ESQ., M.A., Mount Pleasant, Bathurst 3 W, N.S.W., Australia.
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 1954 TOWELL, G. W., ESQ., The Cross, Sidford, Sidmouth, Devon.
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 1947 WRIGHT, L. V. W., ESQ., 1 Malbrook Court, Malbrook Road, London, S.W. 15.
 1955 WYLEY, W. B. M., ESQ., Watchbury House, Barford, Warwick.
 1947 YOUDE, MAJ. W. J. C., The Shrubbery, Leacroft, Staines, Middx.
 1953 ZACOS, M. GEORGE, Mercan Imamell Hau: no. 11, Istanbul, Turkey.

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- 1958 ROBB, MR. M. D., Hurchington Manor, Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex.
 1959 ROBINSON, MR. P. H., 75 Old Park Ridings, London, N. 21.
 1959 SHARP, MR. M. B., 66 Hampstead Road, Brighton, Sussex.
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 BIRMINGHAM, The Keeper, Department of Archaeology and Local History, City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham, Warwicks.
 BIRMINGHAM, The University Librarian, Edmund Street, Birmingham 3, Warwicks.
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 CARDIFF, The Director, Department of Archaeology, The National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, Glam.
 CARDIFF, The Librarian, The Public Free Libraries, Cardiff, Glam.
 CHESTER, The Curator, Grosvenor Museum, Chester.
 COLCHESTER, The Curator, The Colchester and Essex Museum, Colchester, Essex.
 COPENHAGEN, DENMARK, Kong. Mynt- og Medaillesammling, National Museum, København.
 CROYDON, The Central Library, Town Hall, Katharine Street, Croydon, Surrey.
 DERBY, The Director, The Public Free Library, Derby.
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 DUBLIN, EIRE, The Royal Irish Academy, 19 Dawson Street, Dublin.
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 HAMBURG, GERMANY, Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, Holstenwall 24, Hamburg 36.
 HARVARD, U.S.A., Harvard University Library, c/o E. G. Allen & Son Ltd., 14 Grape Street, London, W.C. 2.

- HELSINKI, FINLAND, Finska Fornminnesföreningen, Nationalmuseum, Helsinki.
 HEREFORD, The Chief Librarian, The City Library, Museum and Art Gallery, Hereford.
 LEEDS, The Chief Librarian, The Public Free Library, Leeds, Yorks.
 LEEDS, The Librarian, The University, Leeds, Yorks.
 LEICESTER, The Librarian, The Municipal Libraries, Leicester.
 LEICESTER, The Director, The Museum and Art Gallery, New Walk, Leicester.
 LINCOLN, The Director, The City and County Museum, Lincoln.
 LIVERPOOL, The Librarian, The University, Liverpool 3, Lancs.
 LONDON, The Keeper of Coins and Medals, The British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
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 NEW YORK, U.S.A., The American Numismatic Society, 156th Street, New York City 32, N.Y.
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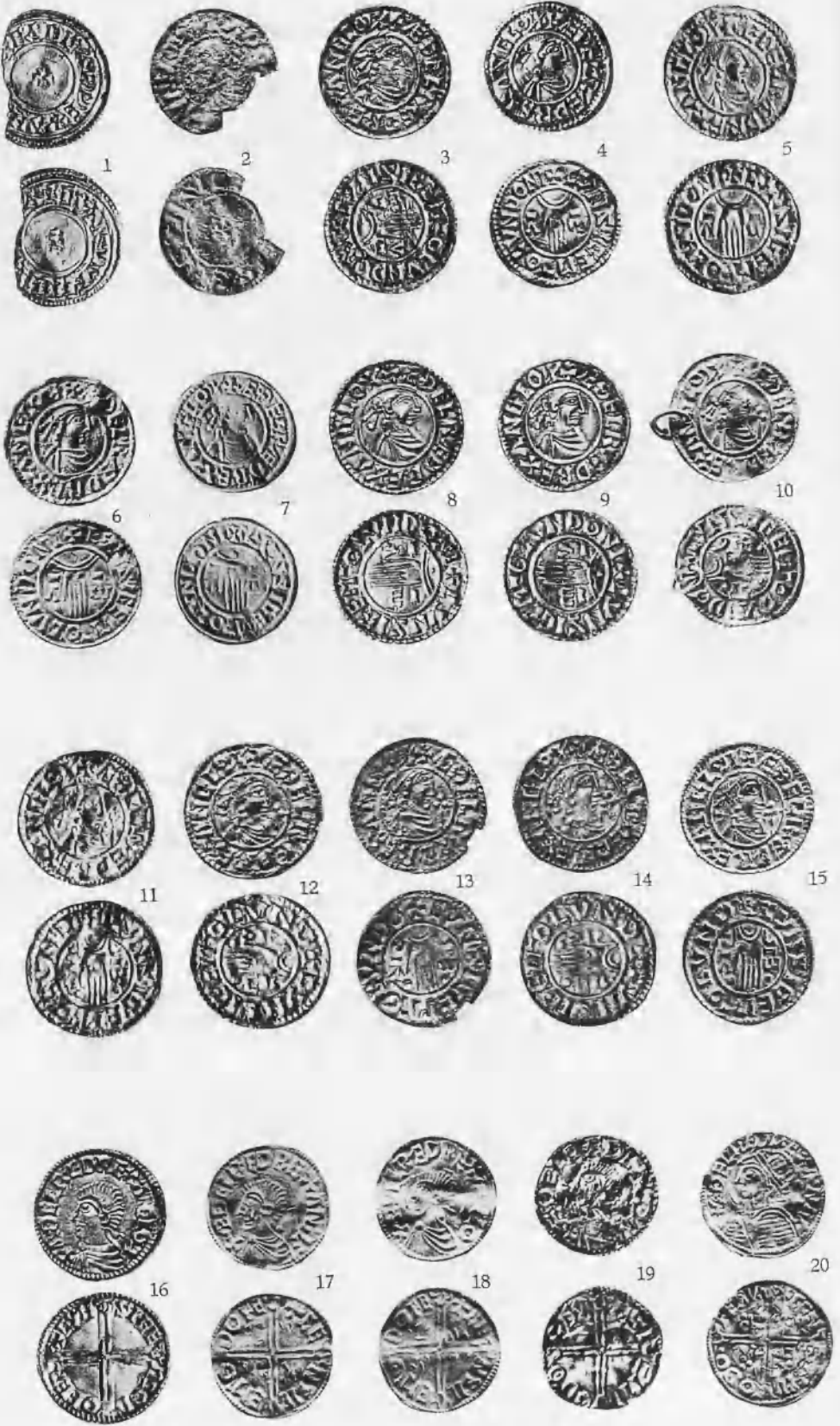
WARSAW, POLAND, Polskie Towarzystwo Archeologiczne, Zarząd Główny, ul. Jezuicka 6, Warszawa.

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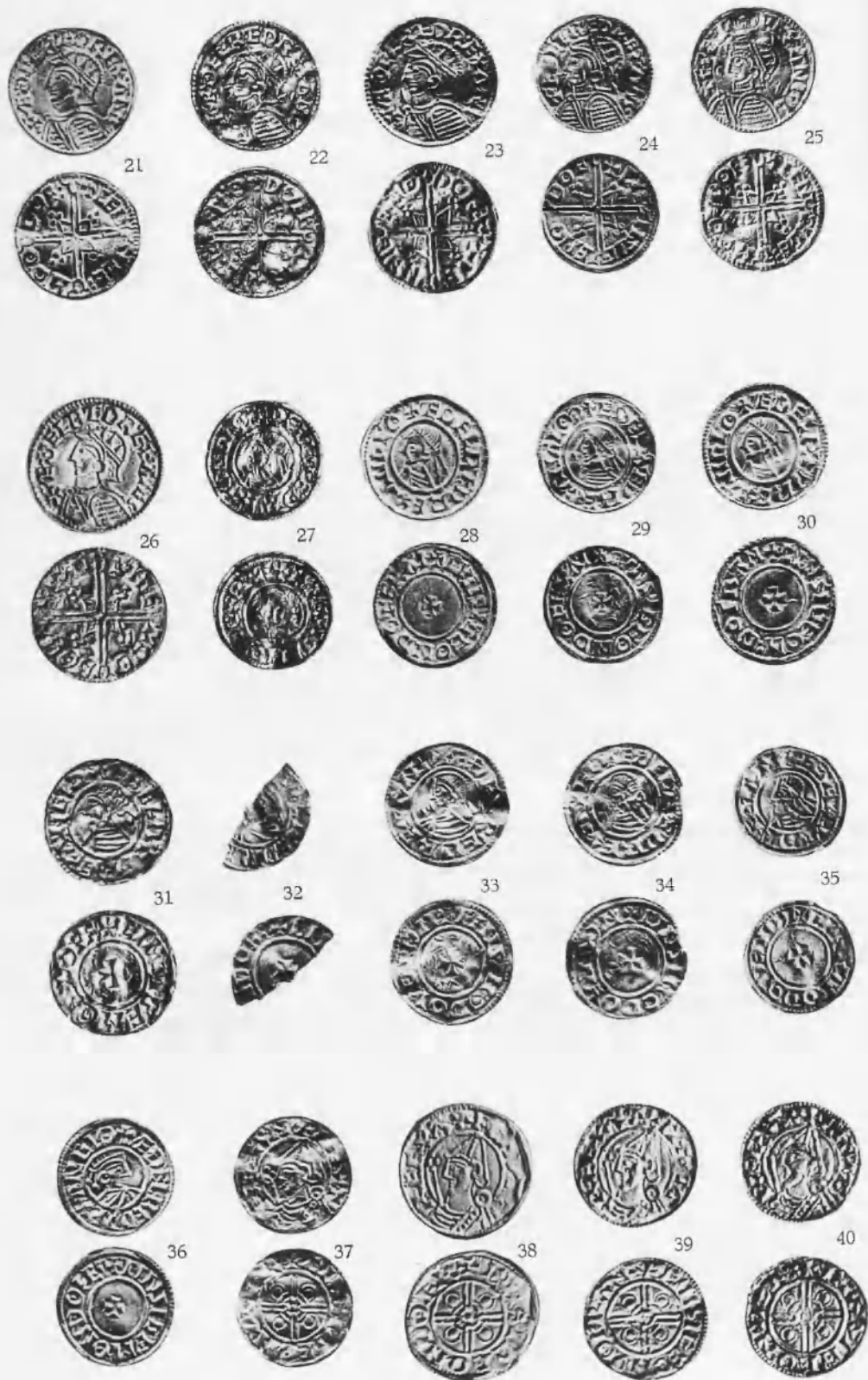
WINCHESTER, The Curator, The City Museum, The Square, Winchester, Hants.

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THE MONEYS OF CYNGSIGE (1)



THE MONEYER CYN SIGE (2)



41



42



43



44



45



46



47



48



49



50



51



52



53



54



55





COINS OF MILBORNE PORT
(Enlarged)



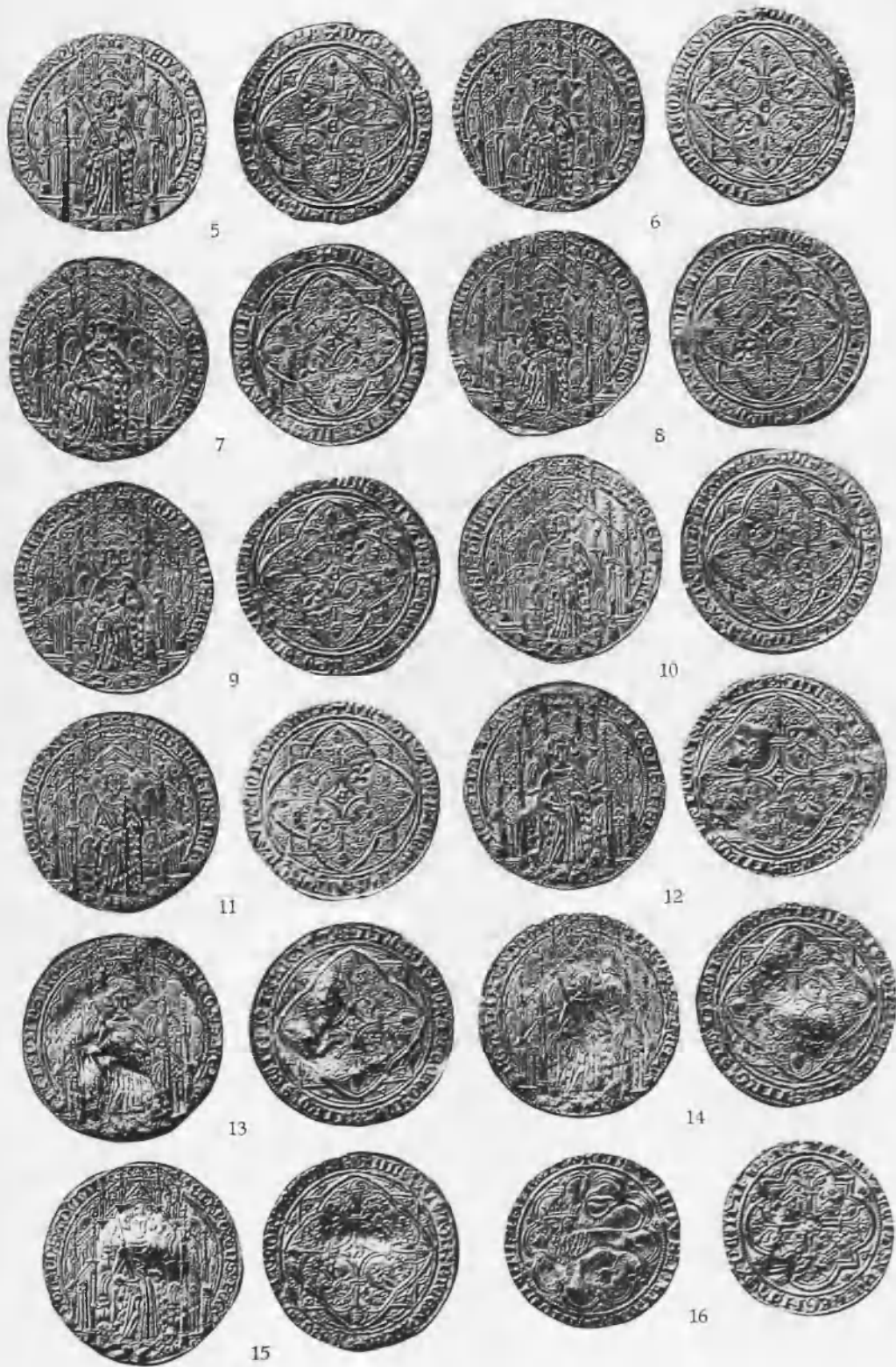
PENNIES OF HENRY II FROM THE TEALBY HOARD



COIN OF JOHN DE COURCY (ENLARGED 2x)



ANGLO-GALLIC HOARD I



ANGLO-GALLIC HOARD II



DOUBLE CROWNS OF CHARLES I (1)



DOUBLE CROWNS OF CHARLES I (2)



'STIRLING' TURNERS OF CHARLES I



'STIRLING' TURNERS OF CHARLES I





13



14



16



18



15



17



19



22



20

21

23

24

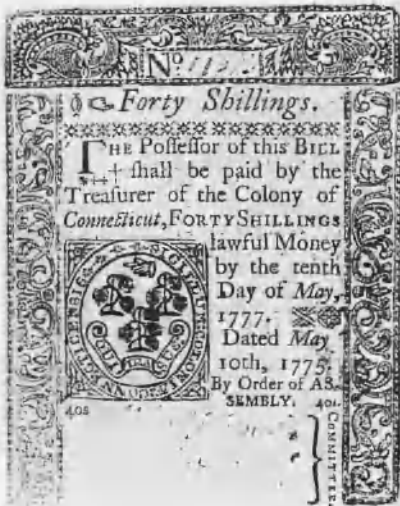


25

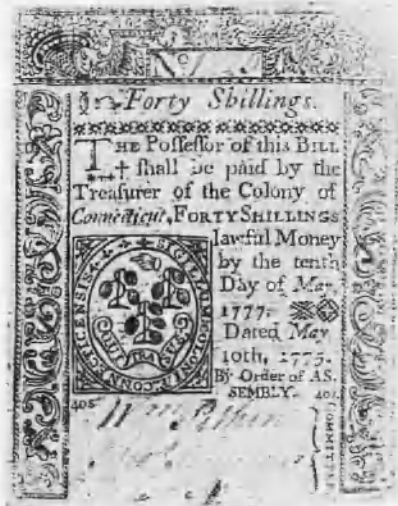


26



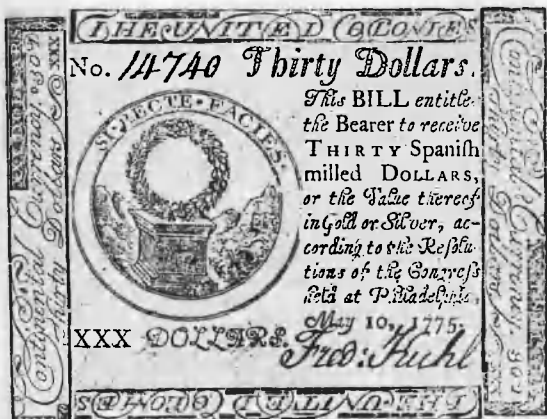


GENUINE

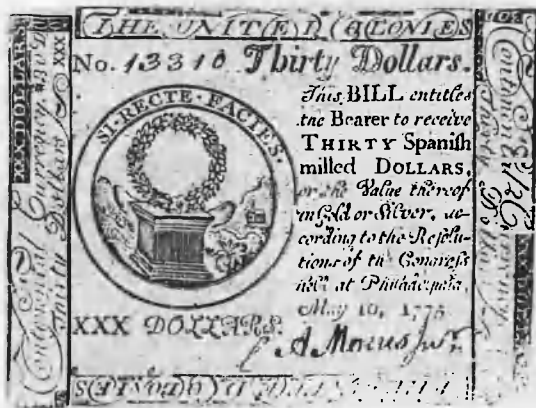


COUNTERFEIT

Connecticut, 10 May 1775, 40 Shillings. The engraved counterfeit has poorly formed letters such as the second *S* in *ASSEMBLY* and each *M* in *COMMITTEE*

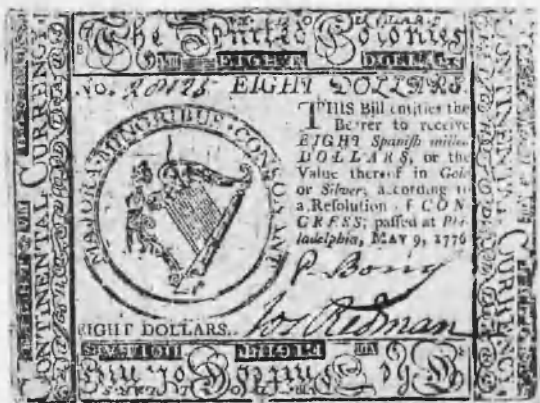


GENUINE



COUNTERFEIT

Continental Currency, 10 May 1775, 30 Dollars. In the engraved counterfeit the period after 1775 is lower than the centre line of the figures.

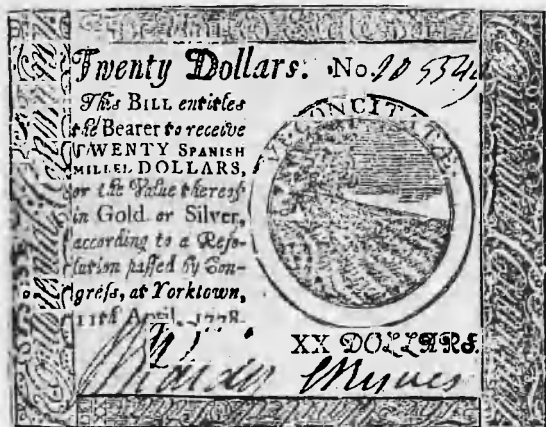


GENUINE



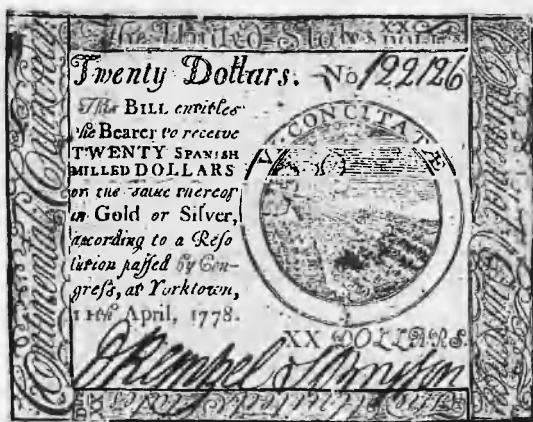
COUNTERFEIT

Continental Currency, 9 May 1776, 8 Dollars. In the engraved counterfeit there is *G* instead of *C* in *CONGRESS*.

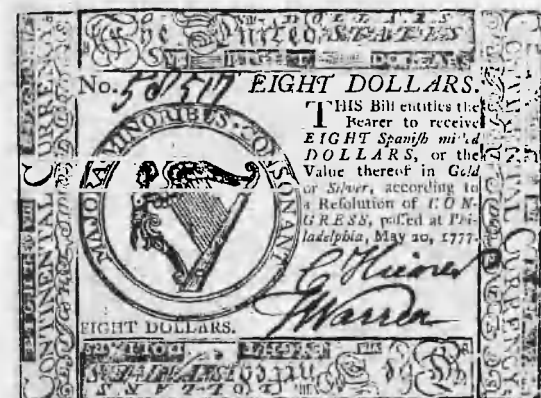


GENUINE

Continental Currency, 11 April, 1778, 20 Dollars. In the engraved counterfeit the *A* and *S* in *DOLLAR* are too small and the *r* in *APRIL* misshaped.



COUNTERFEIT

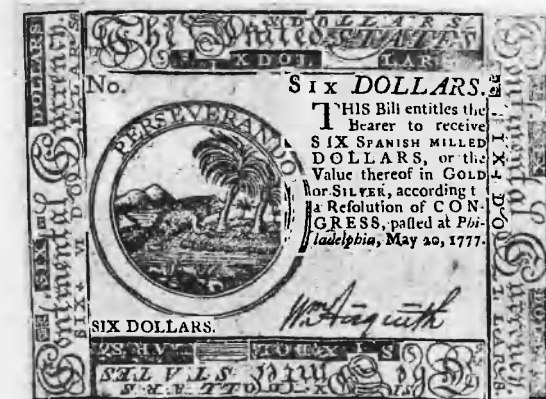


GENUINE

Continental Currency, 20 May 1777, 8 Dollars. Baseline of harp in engraved counterfeit rises to the right and the *O* and *E* in *CONGRESS* are too low.

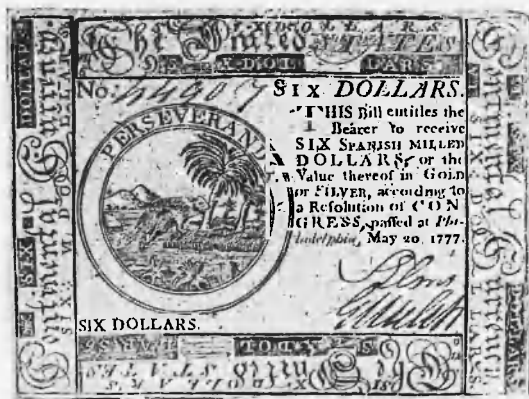


COUNTERFEIT



GENUINE

Continental Currency, 20 May 1777, 6 Dollars. The counterfeit is engraved instead of printed and has narrower lines of under-sized Letters.



COUNTERFEIT



1

2

3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



6 (enlarged)



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21

AN ICENIAN COIN HOARD FROM LAKENHEATH, SUFFOLK

By LADY BRISCOE, R. A. G. CARSON, and R. H. M. DOLLEY

A. THE DISCOVERY AND THE CONTAINER

ON 23 November 1959 a hoard of several hundred coins was discovered on the 'Roman Field', Lakenheath. This field has a long history from an archaeological point of view. When this land was acquired in 1930, we were told that very numerous coins and sherds of pottery, including Samian, had been found there over many years, hence its name. I was given a handful of coins from the site ranging from a third brass of Philip I to a silver siliqua of Honorius. In the adjoining field to the south, now known as the Rearing Field, there was a copse 'Sandy Plantation', the findplace in the last century of the well-known Lakenheath Celtic 'dragonesque' brooch, now in the Ashmolean Museum.¹

These two fields, on the very edge of the Breckland, were uncultivated in 1930 and formed a warren for numerous rabbits. In 1940 shallow ploughing was started. In 1934 a habitation site, half a mile to the south-east, was explored by A. S. R. Gell.² The pedestal bases and rims showing Belgic influence suggested a date either late in the first century B.C. or early in the first century A.D. In 1945 a trench for cables was dug across the Rearing Field, disclosing a small pit packed with Samian sherds of second-century date (4 potters' marks) and many sherds of first-century pottery.³ In 1948-50 excavation of that part of the Rearing Field adjoining the Roman Field led to the discovery of remains of buildings, probably a farmhouse with adjacent hut. Coins, Tetricus I to Theodosius, dated this settlement to the third and fourth centuries. In the space between the buildings was a perfect fantail brooch, dated by Mr. M. R. Hull to A.D. 65-85.⁴ It appeared that the early small Roman settlement was confined to the Rearing Field and that there was a larger settlement in the third and fourth centuries covering adjoining western corners of the two fields, about 10 acres altogether. In 1954 deeper ploughing in the north-east corner of the Roman Field brought up patches of black soil with many Iron Age A sherds, some finger printed. Seventeen patches were excavated.⁵ In 1957 still deeper ploughing on the northern outskirts of the later Roman settlement disclosed sherds of a large grey Face Urn, 14 in. in height. It is now fully restored and deposited in the Mildenhall Museum. It is similar to the third- and fourth-century Face Urns at Colchester.⁶ A month later a kiln was discovered, packed with hundreds of grey sherds, between the Urn site and the settlement. Five fourth-century coins were in the excavation soil.⁷

¹ *Vict. County Hist. Suff.* i. 272.

² A. S. R. Gell, *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, xlii. 112.

³ G. Briscoe, *ibid.* xli. 67.

⁴ G. Briscoe, *Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch.* xxvi, p. 2, p. 69.

⁵ *Ibid.* xxvii, pt. 1, p. 43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pt. 3, p. 176.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

In the last few years single prehistoric coins have been found in Lakenheath Fen, viz. a silver denarius of Appius Claudius and Titus Mallius (TL705855), a silver denarius of moneyer C PULCHER R (TL693846), a silver Icenian coin associated with a pedestal jar (TL697846).

The hoard of Icenian coins was found near the middle of the Roman Field on the eastern outskirts of the fourth-century settlement (TL728833). William

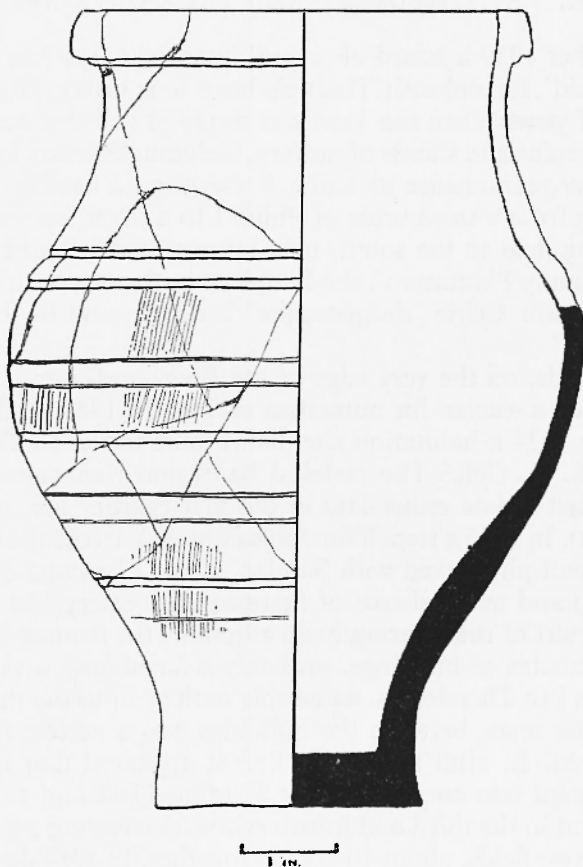


FIG. 1

Mackender, ploughing a little deeper than usual, about 9 in., stopped as soon as he saw he had thrown out the base of a pot, picked it up and a shower of coins fell out. He sent an urgent message to me and together we gathered over 400 coins, gold and silver, from the soil. The smaller silver coins were all stained green. Knowing well the angle and distance objects are thrown by the plough, we were able to locate the spot from which the base had come, a small depression in the surface of the chalk. At this point there is a small rise in the level of the underlying chalk and the plough had sheared an inch or two from the chalk surface, tipping out the base a yard away and smashing the body and rim.

The pot must have been lying on its side as green coin stains could be seen

on the interior surface of the neck sherds, yet when restored the coins only filled about one-third of its capacity. The sherds showed new and old fractures. Practically all the newly broken sherds fitted together to form a longitudinal half, giving a full profile (Fig. 1). The find was reported to the police the same day, an inquest was held on 15 December and the coins declared treasure trove.

During the interval before the inquest the surrounding ploughed soil was searched and over thirty more coins were found, none of them more than a yard away from the depression where the pot had lain. Clearing the depression showed that there was a hole in the chalk about 7 in. deep filled with sand and chalk rubble. In the wall of the hole there was a small coin which had stained the adjacent sand green showing that it must have come from an ancient breakage. Another coin was in the bottom of the hole. About a dozen coins were found in the undisturbed soil below plough level, pointing to the same conclusion.

After the inquest the soil in the unploughed part adjacent to the hole was searched and nine more green coins found on the surface of the chalk. These coins again must have been spilt from the first breakage.

The pot is a butt beaker with a pedestal base, $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. high. Externally and internally the colour is a sandy brown with a dark fabric. Horizontal grooves frame faint vertical combings between these lines. This form is frequently found at Colchester and is regarded as pre-invasion in date.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. Graham Pollard of the Fitzwilliam Museum for his advice and help.

G.M.B.

B. THE COINS

(a) *Roman*

There were 67 Roman silver denarii in the find, 41 of the Republic and 26 of the Empire. They were identified as follows:

(a) REPUBLIC

<i>Sydenham No.</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Sydenham No.</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Sydenham No.</i>	<i>Wt.</i>
574a	3.31 gm.	748	3.06 gm.	985	3.52 gm.
601	3.48	769	3.82	985	3.63
615	3.32	"	3.49	1002	3.42
684	3.87	774	3.39	1006	3.87
684c	3.57	777	3.93*	1060	3.67
700	3.57	785	3.36	1181	3.49
712	3.39	787	3.34	1228	3.67
"	3.22	808	3.83	1235	3.73
713B	3.69	879	3.60	1236	1.64
"	3.80*	890	3.52	1239	3.36
718	3.52	919a	3.53	1280	3.31
724a	3.57	"	3.70	1331	3.67
739	3.51	932	3.64	1334	2.75
		"	3.69		
		959	3.59		

* Uncleaned.

(b) EMPIRE

R.I.C. No.	Wt.	R.I.C. No.	Wt.	R.I.C. No.	Wt.
Aug. 3	3.55 gm.	Tib. 3 (16)	3.33 gm.	Tib. 3	3.73 gm.
255	3.44		3.54		3.63
350 (6)	3.64		3.53		3.89
	3.44		3.54		3.49
	3.67		3.51		3.75
	2.80		3.54		3.36
	2.44		3.58		3.65
	3.36		3.86	Cal. 10	3.78
			3.73	16	3.59

It has been thought worth while to record all the weights, for they demonstrate a remarkable consistency. It is clear that to the Ancient British hoarder it was the amount of metal which was important, not the condition of the coins which range from very worn, almost illegible pieces of Republican moneyers to extremely fine denarii of Tiberius and Caligula. The hoarder was also concerned to ascertain that the coins were of good metal for only eight of the Republican denarii show no trace of having been tested for metal content by small cuts from a sharp tool. One coin (S 919a, wt. 3.70) has had a small hole drilled almost through the centre of the coin. Of the eight pieces with no sign of a test mark four are legionary denarii of Antony, though after more than sixty years of circulation the poor reputation of these coins must have been widespread. One of them (1236) in fact proves to be a plated coin with, unusually, a core of iron.¹

None of the imperial denarii show test marks, though one coin (Aug. 350, wt. 3.36) is now seen to be a plated piece. This is certainly a plated coin which is definitely not an official issue, for, though of quite good style, it has a blundered obverse inscription ending PATTR PATRIA.

The earliest Republican denarius is of the moneyer L. Memmius Galeria and was issued about 102 B.C. The latest Roman coins in the hoard are the two denarii of the emperor Caligula, both issued in the first year of his reign, A.D. 34.

R.A.G.C.

(b) *Ancient British Coins*

The 415 Ancient British coins, all but two of them Icenian, may be listed summarily as follows. A full report based on a detailed die-study will be undertaken in due course by Mr. D. F. Allen, F.S.A., who has assisted with this provisional classification. Before the hoard left the British Museum, too, the opportunity was taken of photographing the whole hoard, the weights of the individual coins being recorded at the same time. References are to R. P. Mack's *The Coinage of Ancient Britain*.

A. GOLD		Wts.	Average
		(grains)	wt.
Mack 207	2	85.0, 84.4	..
418	1	82.9	..
	$\frac{1}{3}$		

¹ Iron has been recorded as the core of two plated Orichalcum coins of Gordian III. N.C. 1951, p. 132.

		B. SILVER	
		<i>Wts.</i> (<i>grains</i>)	<i>Average</i> <i>wt.</i>
Mack	408	3	18·7, 18·3, 17·4
	409	18	19·2 ↔ 15·8
	413	88	20·6 ↔ 17·8
	415	2	18·7, 14·9
	420	72	23·4 ↔ 12·1
	423	8	19·4 ↔ 18·1
	423 var.	3	19·4, 19·0, 17·1
	424	36	19·7 ↔ 17·4
	424 var.	13	19·8 ↔ 18·0
	425	29	20·7 ↔ 16·7
	426	5	19·6 ↔ 16·9
	427	36	20·0 ↔ 16·9
	428	5	21·0 ↔ 18·6
	429	8	20·3 ↔ 17·1
	432	7	20·2 ↔ 16·5
	433	2	19·3, 18·0
	434	3	19·7, 19·0, 17·5
Uncertain		61	(All of classes 419-29?)
Uncleaned		12	
		412	

$$3 \text{ } \mathcal{N} + 412 \text{ } \mathcal{R} = 415$$

As will be seen this hoard belongs to the same grouping as those from Honingham, Santon Downham, Weston, and Wimblington (cf. *B.N.J.* xxviii, i (1955), pp. 1-10), but this is not the place to enter into the controversial question of their relative dates. The new find seems to be the first mixed gold and silver hoard to be described, trifling though as is the representation of the former. The Mack 418 ANTED stater is, of course, a great rarity, and, perhaps significantly, proves to be from the same dies as the hitherto unique (?) British Museum specimen which is without hoard-provenance. In the same way the three specimens of Mack 434 reading CAMVL DVRO seem to double the total of recorded coins of this variety. Probably, though, the chief interest of the hoard will be found to lie in the presence of Roman denarii in such substantial numbers. Hitherto the numismatist has had to ponder the anomaly presented by the presence of two Imperial dupondii in the hoard from Santon Downham and of three Republican denarii in that from Weston, though it must be confessed that the new hoard poses problems of its own. On any telling the Lakenheath find is unlikely to have been deposited much before the Icenian revolt of A.D. 47-48, and there is thus a gap of some dozen years between the date of the latest Roman coin and that of the hoard's concealment.

Some 463 coins formed the subject of the treasure trove inquest held at Lakenheath on 15 December 1959. They were sent to the British Museum for examination, and in due course sold to the Fitzwilliam Museum, the finder receiving their full market value as an *ex gratia* reward. Eighteen coins subsequently recovered by Lady Briscoe, three Roman denarii and fifteen Icenian silver coins, have been presented by her to the Fitzwilliam Museum, and in this way an important hoard has been preserved intact for posterity in a university teaching collection where it will be available for detailed study under ideal conditions.

R.H.M.D.

THE HOARD EVIDENCE FOR THE COINS OF ALFRED

By C. E. BLUNT and R. H. M. DOLLEY

BEFORE a full review of the coinage of Alfred can be attempted, it is necessary to gather together the hoard evidence, some of which, like the Hook Norton, Bucklersbury, and Leigh-on-Sea finds, has never been published, some, like the Croydon hoard, imperfectly published, and some, like the great Cuerdale hoard, published in a form that makes it very difficult to follow. This paper is an attempt to do this and, although a number of comments are made in connexion with some of the hoards, it is not intended that this paper of itself should fill the much-felt need for a full review. This must follow later.

The hoards that contain coins of Alfred can be divided into the following five distinct groups:

- I. Containing coins of *B.M.C.* type I (the 'Burgred' type) only. All deposited in the early years of Alfred's reign. This is a substantial group the characteristics of which are generally similar.
- II. Consisting of coins later than *B.M.C.* type I but struck before the capture of London in 886. There is only one small find in this group.
- III. Containing in the main coins of the London mint; the significant hoard in this small class is Bucklersbury.
- IV. Containing in the main (so far as the Alfredian element is concerned) coins of southern types. The significant hoard in this group is Leigh-on-Sea (with which may probably be associated Ingatestone). The others were all deposited a quarter of a century or more after Alfred's death.
- V. Hoards from areas under Scandinavian control. In this group the Cuerdale hoard of course predominates, but the Stamford hoard is of considerable importance as providing an indication of the coinage current in the Danish midlands.

GROUP I

Beeston Tor, Staffs. 1924. dep. c. 875 (T 40)

This hoard has been admirably described by G. C. Brooke in *N.C.* 1924, 322-5. Besides 20 coins of Alfred, all of *B.M.C.* type I and its variants, 18 of which went to the British Museum, it contained the following: Burgred, 20; Archbishop Ceolnoth (of the 'Burgred type'), 1; Æthelwulf, 1; Æthelred I, 7. The following moneyers of Alfred were found:

<i>B.M.C.</i> I	Bosa (2)	Ethelmund
	Dunn	Ethered
	Eadulf	Ethelulf
	Elbere	Heabearht
	Elclaf	Torhtmund
	Etheleah	Wine
	Ethelere	Wulfearð

<i>B.M.C. Ia</i>	Tidbearht	
<i>B.M.C. Ib</i>	Biarnred	Wulfearð
	Ethelere	
<i>B.M.C. Ic</i>	Diarulf	

Cheltenham, Glos. 1924. dep. c. 875 (T 82)

This small hoard was said to have consisted of five coins, two of which are now in the Cheltenham Museum. In view of the statement in the *Inventory* that the only coin of Alfred described was of *B.M.C.* 'type XIII var a?', which would have been of considerable significance in the context of this find, the actual coins at Cheltenham are illustrated here (Pl. XVI, 21–22) through the courtesy of the curator. These, it will be seen, are a coin of Alfred *B.M.C.* type I, moneyer Heremod, and one of Burgred of *B.M.C.* type 'c', moneyer Duda.

Dunsforth, Yorks. 1860. dep. c. 873 (T 146)

This hoard comprises, as far as is known, 6 of Burgred, 2 of Æthelred I and the following 6 of Alfred, all of *B.M.C.* I:

Bosa	Dunn
Byrhelm	Ethelmund
Dann (= Dunn?)	Heremod

Gainford, Durham. 1864. dep. c. 873 (T 167)

A small hoard of 1 Burgred and 3 Alfred. The latter described as follows:

<i>B.M.C. Ia</i>	Sigeric
	. . . . . ildesreth
Ic	(He)rebald

The hoard is mentioned in *Arch. Aeliana* 1865 but the account there adds nothing to the summary in the *Inventory*.

Gravesend, Kent. 1838. dep. c. 871 (T 176)

This large hoard of 552 coins, all but one Anglo-Saxon, had only one coin of Alfred and must have been deposited early in his reign. The coin of Alfred is *B.M.C.* I, moneyer Deigmund, and is in the British Museum (*B.M.C.* 162).

Hook Norton, Oxon. 1848. dep. c. 873 (T —)

Mrs. J. S. Martin informs us that the manuscript register and minutes of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, give some particulars of a small hoard found with two skeletons in a cottage garden at Hook Norton, Oxon., in 1848. Thirteen coins are mentioned of which descriptions are only available of the five that the British Museum were successful in buying:

Burgred	<i>B.M.C.</i> 'a'	Lulla	=	<i>B.M.C.</i> 361
Alfred	<i>B.M.C.</i> I	Bosa	=	„ 160
		Sigestef	=	„ 168
		Ia	Dunn	= „ 174
		Ib	Manninc	= „ 176

London, Waterloo Bridge. 1884 or earlier. dep. c. 873 (T 256)

There is a lamentably brief account of this substantial hoard in *N.C.* 1884,

349–50. Of about 100 coins seen by N. Heywood 96 were of Burgred and 1 of Æthelred I. He lists the moneyers and types of these. The hoard was obviously ‘suppressed’. No coins with this find-spot occur in the *British Museum Catalogue* published in 1887. There is no mention in Heywood’s account of any coins of Alfred, but in the Carlyon-Britton sale (1913), lot 337, there is a coin of Alfred *B.M.C. I*, moneyer Herewulf, that is described as from ‘the Waterloo Railway Bridge find’. This is likely to be the same hoard. The cataloguer reads the moneyer Herevis but fortunately the coin is illustrated and the correct reading is clear.

Trewhiddle, Cornwall. 1774. dep. c. 873. (T 362)

In this important hoard there are said to have been two coins of Alfred, one of *B.M.C. I*, moneyer Sigestef, the other of *B.M.C. XIV*, moneyer Franbald. Considerable doubts, however, have arisen as to the accuracy of the list of coins published by Jonathan Rashleigh a century after the find was made, and it is now believed that the Franbald coin should be excluded. This would bring the hoard in line with the other hoards of the reign which, whenever they contain coins of *B.M.C. I*, never contain any later types.

Croydon, Surrey. 1862. dep. c. 875 (T 111)

In the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1862, the Rev. Henry Christmas, a well-known collector of the period, described the discovery in June of that year of a hoard of some 250 Anglo-Saxon coins. Workmen had chanced upon the hoard when engaged in ballasting ‘the new line from the Victoria Station to Balham’, or more accurately the extension of it from Balham to West Croydon, at a point which is rather vaguely indicated as ‘at White Horse, near Collier’s Water Lane’. The exact find-spot will probably never be known, but collation with a later account, that of Corbet Anderson to be discussed below, points to the discovery having been made while men were working on the line of the modern tracks at a point between Thornton Heath and Selhurst stations, and probably not more than a hundred yards south of the former. The hoard was found, then, on the northern edge of the old parish and modern county borough of Croydon, and the virtual disappearance from modern maps of the ancient ‘manor of Whitehorse’ means that the retention of the ‘White Horse’ found in the earliest accounts of the find is a piece of preciousness, if not a positively misleading anachronism.

Christmas, incidentally, refers to reports of the find in the *Croydon Journal*, and it is perhaps worth putting on record the fact that this weekly paper was no more than a local edition of the *Surrey Standard*. The relevant cuttings, from the issues of 6 August and 13 August 1862, are preserved in Croydon Public Library, and are endorsed ‘*Croydon Standard*’, a possible source of confusion because there seems to have been at that time no paper of that name. Moreover the *Tercentenary Handlist of English and Welsh Newspapers, Magazines and Reviews* published by *The Times* in 1920 gives the impression that the *Croydon Journal* did not begin publication until 1863, and we are very grateful to Dr. D. M. Metcalf for undertaking the research which has established the source of the cuttings in question.

Our excuse for treating the Croydon hoard in so much more detail than others of the same period is threefold. In the first place J. Corbet Anderson's detailed survey of the find printed in his *Saxon Croydon* privately published in 1877 seems to be virtually unknown to numismatists, and this despite the fact that it is illustrated by no fewer than 86 superb line-engravings. In the second place, it seems desirable to bring again before the numismatist the late Sir John Evans's magisterial listing of a major parcel from the find in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1866, not only the ultimate source of many of the statements in Corbet Anderson's account but like it completely ignored by the recent *Inventory*. The omission is the more surprising because this 1866 listing supplies 'the result of his [Evans's] negotiations' with W. Allen, a figure prominent in the life of Croydon at that period. Thirdly, Mr. P. Spufford has brought to our knowledge a small but highly significant parcel of coins from the find the existence of which was quite unsuspected (nos. 22, 60, 63, 105, 152, 155, 159, and 160 in the list that follows).¹

Bearing in mind the progress of numismatic science during the last century, we are able to read far more into a systematic collation of the different sources than was possible when Corbet Anderson was moved to record with loving care those of the coins that were brought to his notice. Moreover it is now possible to detect instances where Corbet Anderson was unintentionally misled by Evans. For example, certain coins, nos. 3, 22, 26, 127, 128, 145, 146, 149, 165–167, 170, and 179 in the list that follows, seem not to have been sent down to Corbet Anderson, while in the case of one coin, no. 114 in our list, quite the wrong piece was sent—a 'St. Edmund Memorial' penny by the moneyer Grim! Above all it is hoped that the summary that follows will stimulate all numismatists who are really interested in the find to visit the Reference Section of Croydon Public Library. Preserved there are not only the newspaper cuttings already mentioned, but the actual drawings made by Corbet Anderson. There is also an old photograph of the bulk of the hoard as it lay uncleaned and largely intact under an immortelle glass in the window of a Croydon jeweller. Of course individual coins cannot be identified, but the photograph does provide welcome corroboration of early estimates that the hoard as discovered numbered roughly 250 coins.

All accounts agree that the hoard was associated with some sort of stone trough, 'a coffin without a lid', but this was unfortunately destroyed. The depth below the surface of the ground, several feet at least, would not be inconsistent with a burial, but this cannot be presumed, though there are other hoards of precisely this period which are certainly to be associated with churchyards or human internments, e.g. those from Reading, Southampton, Hook Norton, Dunsforth and Gainford. The coins and the *hacksilver* and ingots were in a half-rotten bag which clearly figures in the photograph already mentioned and in one of Corbet Anderson's drawings. It passed to Allen, but cannot be identified in the sale-catalogue (Sotheby 14–17: iii: 1898) of the William Allen collection, where lots 181–96 form an entity out of sequence which confirms the theory of a common origin, and cannot now be traced. Its disappearance is the more to be deplored because it is not often that

¹ Mr. Spufford hopes to publish a full description of this parcel in an early number of this *Journal*.

the archaeologist has had the opportunity of studying quite so closely dated textiles of the Anglo-Saxon period.

Bag, coins, *hacksilver*, and ingots seem to have been locked together into a more or less solid mass by the surrounding clay and by a thick deposit of cuprous oxide. The latter seems to have been produced by the action of the soil on the copper which had been used to alloy the coinage silver, and it is of course notorious that coins of Burgred which appear to have constituted perhaps four-fifths of the hoard are among the most debased in the whole of the Saxon series. That the soil was more than usually metallophagous may seem implied by contemporary statements that the coins were almost all extremely brittle, though there is one major discrepancy between Christmas's description of the majority as 'in very fine preservation' and the accounts of other eye-witnesses whom he himself quotes. The condition of the score of coins identifiable today in the British Museum trays suggests that the truth lay between the two extremes, and we must balance the experienced collector's awareness of the superficiality of so much corrosion against the layman's genuine surprise that objects of such antiquity should survive at all. A few of the coins may have been dispersed at the first finding, but the bulk of the hoard was carried off by one of the workmen and brought into Croydon. The first jeweller to whom the hoard was offered would have nothing to do with it—not from any scruples about the treasure trove position but because he considered the corroded mass quite worthless. The workman then submitted his spoils to another prominent Croydon tradesman, Mr. Thomas Weller, who happened also to be the editor of the *Croydon Journal*. One of his employees, perhaps suspecting a 'story' for the paper, was sufficiently interested to test one of the fragments with a file, and the whole hoard was purchased as scrap silver at a price of 4s. 6d. an ounce. Unfortunately we are not told the exact sum paid which would have been a most useful check on the approximate size of the hoard, but we may suppose that the price amounted to two or three guineas. When the hoard came to Mr. Weller's notice its significance at once was appreciated, and it is pleasant to echo Christmas's testimony to the generosity with which the editor of the *Croydon Journal* made the material accessible to all serious students who requested the privilege of being allowed to handle it.

The *Croydon Journal* cuttings supply details of the reverse legends of seventeen coins of Burgred of Mercia, of four of Eadmund of East Anglia, and of five of Æthelred I of Wessex. We are further told that there were five coins of Æthelred's brother and successor, Alfred the Great, and 'a few of Charlemagne', the last being of course coins of Charles the Bald, Burgred's contemporary. For reasons that we cannot go into here, we believe that the above three dozen or so coins represent Weller's own private selection from the hoard, and that the coins do not figure either in Evans's or in Corbet Andersons's listings of the find. In our listings below they appear as (Burgred) nos. 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 93, and 94; (Eadmund) nos. 109, 110, 115, and 117; (Æthelred) nos. 130, 135, 136, 137, and 142; (Alfred) nos. 172–175; and finally (Charles the Bald) nos. 179–182. It is noteworthy that this parcel includes coins by three Burgred moneyers not otherwise recorded as represented in the find.

Among Weller's 'customers' were Christmas, who seems to have bought 14 coins and who published the 1862 summary of the find, and W. Allen who bought at least 120 coins, more than 80 of which he sold to Sir John Evans. Allen seems also to have acquired the bulk of the *hacksilver* and ingots, most of which also found their way to Evans. They are now in the Ashmolean Museum. Of the Evans coins 20 are now in the British Museum, and a further 12 'duplicates' appeared in *Spink's Numismatic Circular* in 1912. It is likely, too, that Weller was the source of a further 8 coins in the possession later of a J. Bennington, a Dr. George Cooper and a Henry Harland, all of the Croydon neighbourhood, but unfortunately we cannot as much as guess at the identity of the most discerning customer who picked out the 9 coins, no fewer than 5 of them of Alfred, which S. S. Lewis was able to buy a few years later at Tunbridge Wells and which are now in the collection of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

As already remarked, there are occasional discrepancies between the different accounts of the find, and we must admit that in the resolution of these we have had to rely in part on instinct. It is for this reason, therefore, that in the lists that follow we have set out the evidence on which each coin is listed. The columns headed 'E' and 'CA' respectively refer to Evans's 1866 paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle* and to Corbet Anderson's *Saxon Croydon*. In the column headed (a) we have indicated the various early owners, 'A' being William Allen with references to the William Allen sale-catalogue; 'B', John Bennington; 'C', Dr. Cooper; 'Chr.', Rev. Henry Christmas with references to his sale-catalogue (Sotheby 1-6: ii: 1864); 'E', Sir John Evans; 'H', Henry Harland; 'L', S. S. Lewis; 'W', Thomas Weller (or his widow). In the column headed (b) we have recorded either sale-catalogues in which the coins appear to be listed, or, in the case of the Weller coins, the form under which the moneyer's name appears in the *Croydon Journal*. *S.N.C.* = *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, 1912. In column (c) are recorded the coins from the Croydon hoard identifiable as such in the British Museum ('BM') and in the Cabinet of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge ('CCCC'). The arrangement is not ideal, but it is hoped that at least it will be found to be serviceable.

KINGDOM OF MERCIA

BURGRED, 852-74

B.M.C. type a

		E	CA	(a)	(b)	(c)
BEAGSTA(N)	(1)	1	1	E		
	(2)	2	2	E	<i>S.N.C.</i> 91967	
	(3)	2	2	E?		
BERN(H)EA(H)	(4)	3	..	E		BM
	(5)	3	3	A	lot 184	
	(6)	..	4	A	lot 182	
CENRED	(7)	10	8	E		
	(8)	6	9	E?		
	(9)	6	9	E?		
	(10)	7	10	A?		
	(11)	8	11	A?		

} (Note 1)

Note 1—two of these coins probably appear as lot 301 in Sotheby Sale 1-4: viii: 1883 and two in lots 181 and 183. The former of these might be of var. *c* or *d*, or even the hitherto unrecognized variety published in *B.N.J.* 1958, p. 11 (? the actual coin).

B.M.C. type a (cont.)

		E	CA	(a)	(b)	(c)
CENRED	(12)	9	12	E	S.N.C. 91969	
	(13)	11	13	E		
CUNEH(L)	(14)	..	6	H		
CUTHBERT	(15)	15	17	E		BM
DADA	(16)	16	18	E		
DEALINC	(17)	17	19	E		BM
	(18)	17	19	E?		
DIARULF	(19)	28	21	E		
DIGA	(20)	20	22	A	lot 182	
	(21)	..	23	B		
	(22)	..	..	L		CCCC
DUDDA	(23)	21	25	E		BM
	(24)	22	..	E?		
DUDWINE	(25)	24	27	A	lot 183	
	(26)	25	28	E		BM
EADNOTH	(27)	26	..	E	S.N.C. 91972	
	(28)	..	29	A	lot 183	
EAD(W)ULF	(29)	..	30	A		
	(30)	27	31	A		
EALDULF	(31)	28	32	E	S.N.C. 91974	
ETHELULF	(32)	30	33	E		
	(33)	30	33	E?		
	(34)	30	33	E?		
	(35)	29	34	E		
	(36)	31	35	E		
	(37)	32	36	E		
GUTHRE	(38)	..	37	A	lot 182	
	(39)	35	38	A	lot 183	
	(40)	33	39	E		BM
	(41)	..	40	C		
	(42)	34	41	E		
HEAWULF	(43)	37	42	E	S.N.C. 91978	
	(44)	36	43	E		
	(45)	38	44	E	S.N.C. 91979	
HEREFERTH	(46)	39	45	E		BM
HYGERED	(47)	42	46	E	S.N.C. 91980	
	(48)	40	47	E		
HYSSA	(49)	51	57	E		BM
	(50)	..	..	E	S.N.C. 91982	
LIAFWALD	(51)	44	49	E	S.N.C. 91981	
	(52)	43	..	E		BM
	(53)	..	50	A	lot 182	
OSMUND	(54)	46	51	E	(Note 2)	
	(55)	45	52	A	lot 183	
TATA	(56)	49	55	E		
TIDEHELM	(57)	50	56	E	(Note 2)	
	(58)	Add.?	59	A		

Note 2—cf. Sotheby Sale 3/4: viii: 1916, lot 11.

B.M.C. type b

DIARULF	(59)	19	20	E
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B.M.C. type c

DIARULF	(60)	L		CCCC
DUDDA	(61)	23	24	A	lot 181	

B.M.C. type c (cont.)

		E	CA	(a)	(b)	(c)
DUDECIL	(62)	2	26	E	S.N.C. 91983	
ETHELULF	(63)	..	..	L		CCCC

B.M.C. type d

BURGHELM	(64)	5	7	E		BM
CIALLAF	(65)	13	14	E	S.N.C. 91985	
	(66)	12	15	E		
	(67)	14	16	E		
CUNEHLM	(68)	4	5	E	S.N.C. 91986	
HYGERED	(69)	41	48	E		BM
TATA	(70)	48	53	E		BM
	(71)	47	54	E		
WULFEARD	(72)	..	58	A	lot 181	

B.M.C. type uncertain (great majority of type a?)

BERN(H)EA(H)	(73)	..	Add.	Chr.	lot 30	
	(74)	..	..	W	'BEARNA'	
	(75)	..	..	W	'BERHEA'	
CENRED	(76)	..	..	W	'AENRED'	
	(77)	..	..	W	'EENRED'	
DIARULF	(78)	..	..	W	'DIARVILE'	
DUDD(A)	(79)	..	Add.	Chr.	lot 30	
	(80)	..	..	W	'DVDD'	
	(81)	..	..	W	'DVDDA'	
DUDECIL	(82)	..	..	W	'DUDECIL'	
DUDWINE	(83)	..	Add.	Chr.	lot 30	
	(84)	..	..	W	'DWYDWIN'	
DUNN	(85)	..	..	W	'DVNN'	
EADULF	(86)	..	..	W	'EADVLE'	
ETHELRED	(87)	..	..	W	'EDELRED'	
GUTHRE?	(88)	..	..	W	'EADERE'	
HYGERED	(89)	..	Add.	Chr.	lot 30	
	(90)	..	..	W	'HVGERED'	
HYSSA	(91)	..	..	W	'HISSA'	
'INCA' (DIGA?)	(92)	Add.	..	A?		
TATA	(93)	..	..	W	'TATA'	
WINE	(94)	..	..	W	'WINE'	

KINGDOM OF EAST ANGLIA

ÆTHELSTAN c. 825-c. 840

Type as B.M.C. no. 6 but pellets in rev. angles

		E	CA	(a)	(b)	(c)
EADGAR	(95)	A	lot 192	

Type as B.M.C. no. 6

ÆTHELHELM	(96)	A	lot 191	
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ÆTHELWEARD, c. 840-c. 865?

Types as B.M.C. nos. 21-24, &c.

		E	CA	(a)	(b)	(c)
ÆTHELHELM	(97)	1	1	E	..	BM
	(98)	A	lot 193	
	(99)	..	..	A	lot 194	

Type as B.M.C. nos. 25-27, &c.

		E	CA	(a)	(b)	(c)
DUDDA	(100)	..	Add.	Chr.	lot 134	

(ST.) EADMUND, c. 865-70

Type as B.M.C. nos. 41-45

		E	CA	(a)	(b)	(c)
BAEGHELM	(101)	..	7	A		

Type as B.M.C. nos. 46-49

BEORNFERTH	(102)	6	6	E	(ex Chr. lot 40)	
	(103)	..	..	A	lot 196	

Type as B.M.C. nos. 50 and 51

BEORNHEAH	(104)	Add.	Add.	Chr.	lot 37	
	(105)	L		CCCC

Type as B.M.C. no. 53 (this coin)

EADBERHT	(106)	2	2	E		BM
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Type as B.M.C. nos. 54-60

EADMUND	(107)	Add.	Add.	Chr.	lot 38	
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Type as B.M.C. nos. 61-67

EADWALD	(108)	1	1	E		
	(109)	W	'EADALD'	
	(110)	W	'EADWALD'	

Type as B.M.C. nos. 71-74

ETHELWULF	(111)	5	4	A		
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Type as B.M.C. nos. 75 and 76

ETHELWULF	(112)	4	5	E		
	(113)	..	Add.	Chr.	lot 39 ('Decale')	

Type as B.M.C. nos. 77-80

SIGERED	(114)	3	..	E		
	(115)	..	..	W	'SILERED'	

Type as B.M.C. no. 81

SIG(E)RED	(116)	..	3	A	lot 195	
	(117)	W	'SITRED'	

Type as B.M.C. nos. 82-84

TWIC(G)A	(118)	Add.	Add.	Chr.	lot 41	
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ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY

CEOLNOTH, 833-70

Type as B.M.C. no. 34

		E	CA	(a)	(b)	(c)
BIORNMOD	(119)	Add.	1	A		Ashmolean

KINGDOM OF WESSEX

ÆTHELRED I, 866-71

B.M.C. type i

		E	CA	(a)	(b)	(c)
BIARN(H)EAH	(120)	1	6	A		
BIARNMOD	(121)	2	7	E		
	(122)	3	8	E		
BURGNOTH	(123)	4	9	A	lot 190	
DENEWALD	(124)	..	4	A	lot 190	
	(125)	5	10	E		BM
DUDD	(126)	..	2	A	lot 189	
DUNN	(127)	6	..	E?		
	(128)	7	..	E?		
ELBERE	(129)	8	11	E		BM
(= ÆLFHERE)	(130)	..	..	W	'ELBERE'	
	(131)	..	..	A	lot 189	
ETHELRED	(132)	9	12	E		BM
	(133)	9	12	E		
	(134)	Add.	Add.	Chr.	lot 173	
	(135)	..	..	W	'ÆDELBRED'	
	(136)	..	..	W	'EDELRED'	
	(137)	..	..	W	'EDELRED'	
HEREBEALD	(138)	..	5	B		
LIABINC	(139)	Add.	Add.	A	lot 187	
MANN	(140)	..	1	A	lot 188	
	(141)	Add.	Add.	Chr.	lot 174	
	(142)	..	..	W	'MANN'	
WINE	(143)	10	13	E	(Note 1)	
WULF(H)EARD	(144)	..	3	A	lot 190	

Note 1—Lockett I, lot 484.

ALFRED THE GREAT, 871-99

B.M.C. type i

		E	CA	(a)	(b)	(c)
BIARNRED	(145)	1	..	E?		
BIARN(W)ULF	(146)	2	..	E?		
BOSA	(147)	Add.	Add.	Chr.	lot 176	
DENEWALD	(148)	..	9	A	lot 185	
DIARELM	(149)	3	..	E?		
DUDD	(150)	4	1	E	(Note 1)	
	(151)	5	2	E		
DUDINC	(152)	..	..	L		CCCC
DUNN	(153)	Add.	Add.	Chr.	lot 175	
EAD(WULF)	(154)	..	..	A	lot 186	
EALHERE	(155)	..	..	L		CCCC
ELBERE	(156)	6	3	E		BM
	(157)	..	4	B		
ETHERED	(158)	..	10	W	(Note 2)	
	(159)	..	..	L		CCCC
HEA(WU)LF	(160)	Add.	12	A		
HEREB(E)ALD	(161)	..	5	A	lot 186	
	(162)	7	6	E		BM
HEREMOD	(163)	..	7	C		

Note 1—Carlyon-Britton II, lot 927.

Note 2—the coin was in the possession of Mrs. Weller in 1877.

B.M.C. type i (cont.)

		E	CA	(a)	(b)	(c)
	(164)	..	7	C?		
	(165)	8	..	E?		
	(166)	8	..	E?		
LIABINC	(167)	9	..	E		
LUNINC?	(168)	10	8	E		
(LVHINC)	(169)	..	..	L		CCCC
OSGEARD	(170)	11	..	E		
TORHTMUND	(171)	12	11	E		BM
Uncertain moneyers	(172-175)	..	..	W	(Note 3)	

Note 3—Weller omitted to cite the moneyers.

In addition to the 175 English coins listed above there should be mentioned trifling fragments of several coins of Burgred preserved in Croydon Public Library, and a fragment of a coin of Alfred in the cabinet of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

LOUIS THE PIOUS, 814-40

		E	CA	(a)
Cf. Prou 1009	(176)	..	1	B

CHARLES THE BALD, 840-77

Cf. Prou 1063	(177)	..	1	A
	(178)	1	..	E
	(179-182)	..	..	W 'a few'

There is some reason to think that the 'Syracuse' coin which Allen claimed to possess (cf. *Inventory*, p. 39) was a misread coin of this class.

THE EASTERN CALIPHATE ('ABBĀSID)

Both Christmas and Evans mention the inclusion in the find of Kufic coins which are identified as of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Corbet Anderson illustrates one side only of three of the dirhams from the hoard, and we are grateful to Dr. John Walker for the following interpretations of the drawings:

HARUN AL-RASHĪD, 786-809

		E	CA	(a)
Uncertain mint c. A.D. 800	(183)	Add.	1	E

temp. HARUN AL-RASHĪD

Medīnat Balkh?	(184)	Add.	2	E
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AL-WATHIK, 842-7

Uncertain mint	(185)	..	3	E
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It is of course a tribute to Corbet Anderson's meticulous skill as an artist that his drawings can be so interpreted with confidence by an Arabic specialist, and one hastens to add that the coins are very fragmentary. Of great significance is the fact that around the edge of no. 184 there appear several of

the mutilations which are a feature of Kufic dirhams from Scandinavian hoards, and there can be little doubt but that the three coins in the Croydon find had reached England by way of Russia and the Baltic. They are believed to be the only dirhams of this period to have been found south of the Thames, and their presence in the Croydon hoard is another argument that the latter is a Viking treasure.

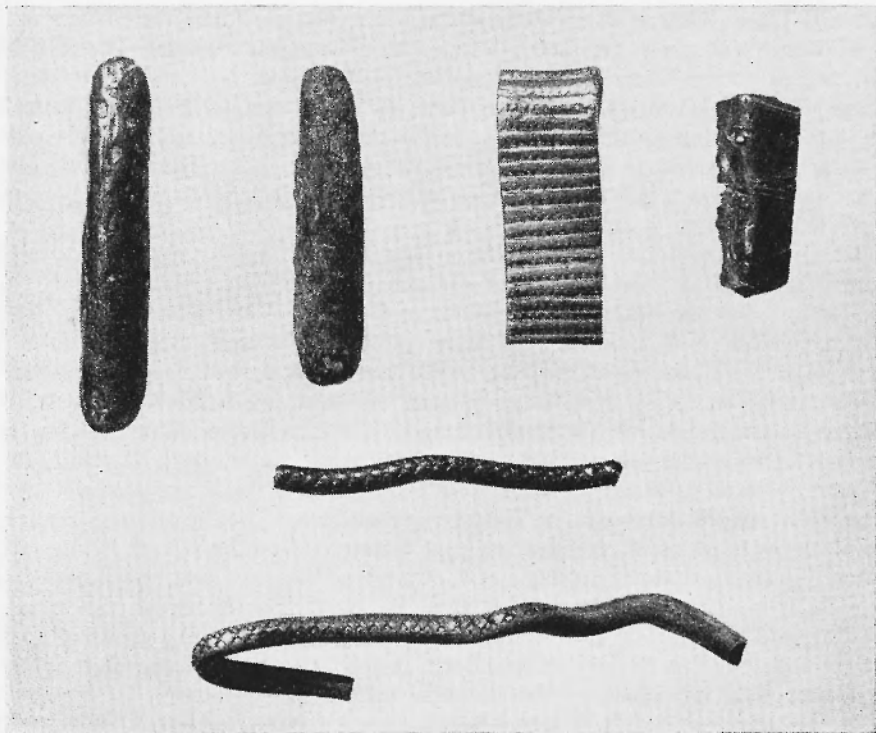


FIG. 1. By courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum.

HACKSILVER, INGOTS, ETC.

Three pieces of *hacksilver*, two ingots, and a cut section from a third are preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, and reached there through Evans. We are grateful to Mr. D. M. Wilson, F.S.A., for the following authoritative report:

Six silver fragments from the Croydon hoard survive; they were presented to the Ashmolean Museum, by Sir John Evans, in 1909:

Ashmolean Mus. *reg. no.* 1909, 556 (fig. 1, top left). Silver ingot, 4.9 cm. in length, with rounded top and ends and a flat base. The surface of the ingot is pitted with corrosion (wt. 346 grains).

1909, 557 (fig. 1, 2nd left). Silver ingot, 4.3 cm. in length, flat bottomed with rounded ends and a slight ridge along the curved top (wt. 264 grains).

1909, 558 (fig. 1, 3rd left). Silver fragment, 3.8 cm. in length, cut from a plain armlet of rectangular cross-section with transverse ribs; one side of each rib is 'embattled'. The underside of the fragment is plain (wt. 236 grains).

1909, 559 (fig. 1, top right). Fragment of a silver ingot, 2.7 cm. in length; it is almost square in cross-section but the presence of only one rounded longitudinal corner, the sharply cut sides and one torn edge, would suggest that it has been partly cut and partly torn from an ingot of much larger size. There are a number of nicks and cuts in the surface of the fragment (wt. 229 grains).

1909, 560 (fig. 1, bottom). Silver fragment, 7.5 cm. in length. The fragment, which is wire-like, is probably part of a spiral arm-ring; it is of circular cross-section and is stamped along the outer face with a series of triangular stamps, which are filled with three raised spots. The corners of these triangles touch the corners of the neighbouring triangle to produce a double line of opposed triangles. The fragment is clipped at both ends and is much bent (wt. 191 grains).

1909, 561 (fig. 1, centre). Silver fragment, 4.7 cm. in length, probably from the same object or from an object similar to the preceding fragment: also of circular cross-section, it is decorated with a series of short nicks, cut saltirewise and joining each other to form a continuous lattice pattern. The fragment is much bent (wt. 65 grains).

The silver ingots are of the type commonly found in Viking Age hoards in this country and abroad. They occur, for example, in the Great Cuerdale hoard¹ and are also found in the Viking Age treasures of Gotland.² The fragment of an armlet with its vertical ribbing is of a type fairly common in Western Scandinavia in the Viking Age.³ The two bracelet fragments probably form part of a spiral armband of a very common Viking type.⁴ The pattern on these armbands very commonly changes two or three times along their length: it is therefore possible that the fragments are part of the same object.

These fragments are quite consistent with the dating of the hoard provided by the coins. They are presumably all of Viking origin and would not be out of place in any late ninth- or tenth-century hoard in Great Britain or Scandinavia. It is interesting to note, however, that the presence of *hacksilver* of this sort, in a hoard of such an early date, is uncommon in the British Isles. *Hacksilver* occurs in the series of hoards dated between 900 and 930 found in Northumbria⁵ and in a group of hoards in Scotland, but this is the earliest hoard, found in this country, which contains fragments cut from objects of Scandinavian origin.

In addition to the Evans pieces Corbet Anderson illustrates a piece of *hacksilver* and a third ingot from the Allen collection. These can no longer be traced. Reference to the 1862 photograph of the hoard suggests that the eight fragments and ingots account for the bulk, if not the whole, of the non-numismatic element in the hoard. The suggestion has already been made that the Croydon hoard is a Viking treasure and not a true cross-section of English currency south of the Thames, and the presence of the *hacksilver* and ingots seems to confirm this. Recently it has been necessary to draw up a list of coin-hoards from the British Isles which include ingots and the distribution itself is suggestive. From Ireland there are six, one from Co. Dublin, one from Limerick, one from Offaly, one from Louth, one from West Meath, and one from Meath. From North Wales there is one, from Chester one, and

¹ E. Hawkins, 'An account of coins and treasure found in Cuerdale', *Arch. Journ.* iv, p. 112.

² M. Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit*, vol. ii (Lund 1947), pls. *passim*.

³ Cf. O. Rygh, *Norske Oldsager* (Christiania, 1885), fig. 717.

⁴ Cf. J. J. A. Worsae, *Nordiske Oldsager*, (Kjøbenhavn 185), fig. 449; M. Stenberger, *op. cit.*, fig. 6, 12, &c.

⁵ D. M. Wilson, 'An Irish mounting in the National Museum, Copenhagen', *Acta Arch.* xxvi (1955), p. 171.

from Lancashire two. The Isle of Man has produced one, and the Scottish Isles four. Except in the case of the Croydon hoard and the find from Meath, all are to be dated to the tenth century. The Croydon hoard is, in fact, the earliest of the grouping by more than a quarter of a century. Yet another argument for the theory that the Croydon coins belonged to—or at least had been very recently captured from—a Viking invader is provided by the proportion of East Anglian coins in the hoard. These presumably did not circulate within the monetary union of Wessex and Mercia, and appear to have been entirely absent from the Trewhiddle, Waterloo Bridge, and Southampton hoards of approximately this date. In the slightly earlier Dorking hoard they amounted to less than 4 per cent. of the total, and a feature of Croydon is that so high a proportion are of the latest reign (18 out of 24). No less suggestive of a Viking origin is the presence of half a dozen Carolingian coins. The only ninth- and early tenth-century finds from the British Isles to contain more than one Carolingian denier seem all to be connected with the Vikings, namely those from Cuerdale, Harkirke, Ixworth, Lough Lane, Mullaboden, Penard, Stamford, and Talnotrie.

In the course of this note we have listed a total of 185 coins, in almost every case with details of moneyer, &c., which there is reason to think are from the Croydon hoard, of 1862. If some of the inferences drawn seem to be too speculative, in the case of nearly 150 of the coins the evidence appears too solid lightly to be set aside. In other words, we can now be reasonably certain concerning the composition of at least 60 per cent. and very probably of more than 70 per cent. of a hoard dismissed in the *Inventory* in a few lines which fail even to record the main types represented. For the purposes of this general account of Alfredian hoards, however, it may be convenient to summarize the conclusions reached, and this is done most conveniently in the following form:

MERCIA		EAST ANGLIA	
Burgred <i>B.M.C.</i> type I	94	Æthelstan*	2
		Æthelweard*	4
		Eadmund*	18
CANTERBURY		WESSEX	
Ceolnoth <i>B.M.C.</i> type I	1	Æthelred I <i>B.M.C.</i> type I	25
		Alfred <i>B.M.C.</i> type I	31
CONTINENTAL	7		
KUFIC	3		

* Normal types for moneyers

As regards the 31 Alfred pennies the distribution between the different moneyers is as follows:

Biarnred	1	Dudinc	1	Herebeald	2
Biarnwulf	1	Dunn	1	Heremod	4
Bosa	1	Eadwulf	1	Liabinc	1
Denewald	1	Ealhere	1	Luninc	2
Diarelm	1	Elbere	2	Osgearð	1
Dudd	2	Ethered	2	Torhtmund	1
		Heawulf	1		
		Uncertain moneyers	4		

The Croydon hoard is thus the largest single source for *B.M.C.* type I pennies of Alfred that has been recorded, and the fact that 15 of those listed here escaped the notice of Evans may suggest that from the first Alfred coins were picked out as rarities, and consequently that the Alfredian element in the hoard may have been even larger than the above totals would seem to imply.

GROUP II

The second group, represented by a single hoard, consists of coins issued between 875 and 886.

Washington, Sussex. 1904. dep. c. 880? (T.—)

The only record of this hoard is Brooke's account of Anglo-Saxon Acquisitions of the British Museum, *N.C.* 1925, 349 ('*B.M.A.*'). The only indication of the number of coins is his remark that it was 'a small find'. It is not clear whether there were others beyond the three he records:

ALFRED <i>B.M.C.</i> V	3
Moneyers: Guthere (<i>B.M.A.</i> 477); Hereferth (<i>B.M.A.</i> 478); Luceman (<i>B.M.A.</i> 480)	

GROUP III

The third group consists of coins of the London mint issued after Alfred's capture of London in 886.

London, Bucklersbury, Barge Yard. 1872. dep. c. 890 (T.—)

The sole evidence known to us for this hoard is a reference to it in the sale-catalogues of the Marsham collection (1888) and the Webb collection (1895). The Marsham catalogue, under lot 145 a penny of *B.M.C.* VI of Alfred, says: 'This coin is one of about sixty, all of Alfred, found in an earthenware pot at Barge Yard, Bucklersbury, in 1872.'

Lot 148, a penny by Tilewine of *B.M.C.* IX is also said to be from the same hoard.

The Webb sale-catalogue confirms the date of finding but adds nothing further to what we know.

Lot 7, from the find, was a penny of Tilewine *B.M.C.* IX.

Lot 8, a penny of type VI, has this note under it: 'This and the following five pieces were from the Bucklersbury Find 1872.' The coins referred to are as follows:

Lot 8/12,	<i>B.M.C.</i> VI
,, 13,	a penny of Æthelred I

The penny of Æthelred I is unexpected in the context of this hoard and, in view of the note in the Marsham catalogue that all the coins were of Alfred, it may well be that the note to Lot 8 should have been attached to Lot 7, where it would more logically fit. If this is correct, out of the hoard of some sixty pennies of Alfred the following can be identified:

<i>B.M.C.</i> VI	7
,, IX, Moneyer, Tilewine	2

References are made in both catalogues to Ruding's plates. From this it appears that both the Marsham coins (Ruding, pl. 15, 6 and 8) were of official

London work. The Webb coins of *B.M.C.* VI are referred to Ruding pl. 15. 5 (probably a mistake for 6 as the type described does not conform to the illustration) and 7 (3 specimens). Lot 12 is described as 'an unpublished variety of bust with quaint arrangement of hair, and with single dot only above king's head, no cross bar to A in monogram, and no pellets in centre'. The single coin of *B.M.C.* IX is referred to pl. 15. 8. With the possible exception of Lot 12, all these would seem likely to be of official London work.

Any further information on this poorly documented hoard would be particularly welcome. It was probably never the subject of an inquest as no coin identifiable as from the hoard is in the British Museum nor, even more significantly, in the Guildhall Museum.

Erith, Kent (nr.) c. 1840. dep. c. 890 (T.—)

Mr. Grierson has suggested that three halfpennies of the London type (*B.M.C.* VI) known to have been found near Erith are likely to be from a hoard¹ and that it may also have contained pennies of the same type, as two in the Fitzwilliam Museum are exactly similar in colour and corrosion. The three halfpennies are from official London dies.

GROUP IV

The fourth group consists primarily of coins of southern origin, the emphasis being more on the Canterbury than on the London mint. They would have been deposited after 886.

Leigh-on-Sea, Essex. 1892/3. dep. c. 893. (T.—)

This hoard is of the greatest importance in providing a cross-section of the currency of the south-east of England in later Alfredian times and in offering a corrective to the distorted picture produced by the Cuerdale hoard. It is said to have been found in 1892 or 1893 beneath the neck of a skeleton. The scanty published accounts differ widely as to the number of coins that it contained. The *Essex Review*, ii, 187, gives the number as 7; the *Essex Weekly* as 10; the *Victoria County History, Essex* as 'numerous coins'. In his *Southend before the Norman Conquest* (1953) Mr. William Pollitt writes as follows:²

In 1892 silver coins of the time of Alfred were found near a skeleton exposed in West Street, Leigh-on-Sea. The printed reports differ as to the number of coins, one stating that there were seven and another ten. They were silver pennies of Alfred (871–900) and Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury (890–914); some were by Biernott and others by Diarwald, moneyers, but the name of the mint was not given in the inscription. The hoard was dispersed, but the number of coins was greater than was reported. Twelve of these were presented to the Colchester Museum by H. W. King, of Leigh-on-Sea (eight of Alfred and four of Plegmund) and at least four or five passed into the hands of private collectors; of the latter two are now in the Southend Museum. This hoard has been connected with the Battle of Benfleet, fought in 894.

Mr. Pollitt, writing from Southend, has kindly supplied the following additional information:

¹ *B.N.J.* xxviii. 480–1.

² pp. 41–42.

Our coins from the Leigh hoard were in the possession of the late Mr. W. C. Wells, then of South Benfleet, from whom I bought them for the Southend Museum. In reply to my inquiry Mr. Wells wrote (27.1.1930):

'I regret I cannot give you any further information concerning the Leigh "find". I know the coins were, to some extent, dispersed. Twelve reached Colchester, and four or five were sold by the finders to a schoolmaster at Southend. At least four of the latter subsequently passed into the hands of Mr. Taffs, who is now Secretary of the British Numismatic Society. He disposed of two of them to a dealer from whom I purchased them 25 or 26 years ago.'

Mrs. J. M. Martin has kindly supplied the following extract from Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, August 1894:

A number of coins found at Leigh in Essex in the early part of the year, and delivered as Treasure Trove, were received in the Mint in July last and purchased for the museum. They comprise four pennies of Alfred the Great and one of Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Two of the coins of Alfred were acquired for the British Museum (B.M.A. 481-2).

In spite of the hoard having, as appears above, been delivered as treasure trove, no report of it was published and, if a manuscript record was made, it must have perished in the Coin-Room fire in the last war, for none exists there today.

The sum of the above reports is that the hoard probably contained at least twenty-three coins made up as follows:

British Museum	2
Royal Mint Museum	5
Colchester Museum	12
Southend Museum ex Wells ex Taffs	2
Taffs	2
	—
	23
	—

Through the good offices of Mr. M. R. Hull of Colchester, Mr. L. Helliwell of Southend, and Mr. L. G. Stride of the Royal Mint, it has proved possible to trace twenty of the above coins and these are illustrated on **Pl. XVI, 1-20**. One of the Plegmund coins at Colchester had been lost by 1922. It is possible that the first coin in Lot 70 of the H. W. Taffs sale (1956) is from the hoard. It is a Canterbury penny of Alfred (*B.M.C. XVII*) by the moneyer Diarwald and is said to be 'very fine' as are all the Canterbury coins from the hoard.

The following is a list of the coins illustrated on **Pl. XVI**:

ALFRED			
Moneyer	Weight (grains)	Die-axis	Location
<i>B.M.C. XIV. No mint</i>			
1. Burgnoth	22.3	↑	B.M.A. 481
2. „	22.4	→	Colchester. Different dies
3. Burnwald	22.0	←	B.M.A. 482
4. „	22.6	→	Colchester. Different dies
5. Diarwald	Not recorded	Not recorded	Southend

ALFRED (*cont.*)

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Weight (grains)</i>	<i>Die-axis</i>	<i>Location</i>
6. Diarwald	22.2	↑	Royal Mint. Same obv. die as 5
7. Eadwead	23.0	↗	Colchester
8. Ethelulf	22.0	↘	"
9. Tirvald	23.1	↑	"
10. Wulfred	Not recorded	Not recorded	Southend

B.M.C. XVII. Canterbury

11. Diarwald	23.3	←	Colchester
12. "	24.4	→	Royal Mint. Different dies
13. "	21.9	→	" " "
14. "	22.4	↓	" " "
15. Dunninc	21.2	↓	Colchester
16. Ethelstan	25.0	→	"

ARCHBISHOP PLEGMUND

Type as *B.M.C. I*, pl. xiii. 11; Brooke, *English Coins*, pl. iv. 13

17. Diarwald	21.9	↓	Royal Mint. Same dies as <i>B.M.C. 14</i>
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Type as *B.M.C. I*, pl. xiii. 13

18. Elfstan	23.6	↑	Colchester
19. Hunfreth	23.2	↑	"
20. "	22.7	↓	" Same reverse die as 19

What is significant about this hoard is that, with the exception of no. 10, all the coins are of the style that is to be associated with the Canterbury mint, a feature of the style being the lozenge-shaped 'O' in the contraction 'M◇'. This hoard provides, we would suggest, a typical cross-section of the coinage of south-east England in the last decade of the tenth century and, as such, is unparalleled by any other hoard, if the Ingatestone hoard, discussed below, is excepted. This 'hoard' we think may well in fact have been made up of strays from Leigh.

Among the individual coins, mention should be made of no. 7. The moneyer Eadwead is only recorded in *B.M.C.*, and then in a somewhat different form, on nos. 191–2 which have irregular obverses and are likely to be imitative pieces. This coin establishes Eadwea(r)d as a moneyer of the Canterbury mint.

No. 17 provides the third known example of Plegmund's coin with the mysterious letters in the field of the obverse that still await explanation.

No. 10 is a typical product of a Mercian mint, similar to so many that were found at Cuerdale.

The deposit must be dated after 890, when Plegmund became archbishop, and its loss may well, as has been suggested by Mr. Pollitt, be associated with Alfred's attack on Haesten's stronghold at Benfleet, the corrected date for which is 893.

Ingatestone, Essex (nr.). 1895. dep. c. 893 (T. 197)

This alleged hoard rests on the sole authority of Mr. T. Bliss who, on 16 April 1896, exhibited at a meeting of the Royal Numismatic Society the

The London coin is from official dies and all the coins of type XIV appear to be of southern style.

Rome, Vatican. abt. 1928. dep. c. 928

Alfred <i>B.M.C.</i>	VI	London	.	.	.	2
	XIV	.	.	.	.	11
	XV	.	.	.	.	5

From the descriptions given in the sale-catalogues when this hoard was dispersed (Glendinings, 16 May 1929 and 13 November 1930), it would appear that all the coins of Alfred were southern types.

Rome, Forum. 1883. dep. c. 945

De Rossi's list, published *N.C.* 1884, 233 ff., gives three coins of Alfred, one each of *B.M.C.* types VI, XIV, and XVII. Our examination of the coins in the Museo Nazionale in Rome, where the hoard is preserved intact, gives the following slightly different list:

Alfred <i>B.M.C.</i>	VI	.	.	.	.	1
	XIV	.	.	.	.	1
	XV	.	.	.	.	3
	XVII	.	.	.	.	1

All appear to be of southern style.

Chester. 1950. c. 970 (T. 86)

This large hoard contained a single fragmentary coin of Alfred of Canterbury, *B.M.C.* XVII.

GROUP V

The fifth group of hoards consists of those found in areas under Scandinavian control and containing in varying degrees coins issued by them in imitation of Alfred's coinage. The principal item in this group is, of course, the Cuerdale hoard which is our largest source of coins of the time of Alfred.

Stamford. 1902. dep. c. 900 (T. 339)

The report on this hoard (*N.C.* 1903, 347-55) is unsatisfactory. Thirteen coins of Alfred are listed, four of which are halfpennies, but it is suggested that the total was greater. How much greater is indicated by Mr. P. Grierson in a paper in this *Journal* (xxviii. 484 ff.). The author lists no less than twenty-three halfpennies (he suggests that they may have been one-third of a penny) which it is reasonable to believe came from the Stamford find. It is unfortunately not possible to make an equally convincing list of possible additions to the pennies.

Accepting Mr. Grierson's list, however (using the traditional designation of halfpenny), and combining it with Grueber's original publication gives the following totals of Alfredian coins. Mr. Grierson's slight modification to the *B.M.C.* classification, summarized below, is also used:

									<i>Pennies</i>	<i>Halfpennies</i>
<i>B.M.C.</i>	VIb	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3
	VIc	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	..	1
	VII	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	..
	XI	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	..
	XIV	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10-11	12
	XIV	with $\bar{\Lambda}$ and Ω	.	.	.	.	.	.	..	5
	..	Lincoln monogram	.	.	.	.	.	.	..	1
	..	Alfred, but without his name; mint-name of Leicester	.	.	.	.	.	.	..	1
									<hr/>	<hr/>
									15-16	23
									<hr/>	<hr/>

B.M.C. VI has been divided by Mr. Grierson into three sub-classes: VIa, correct and full legend; there were none of this type (as far as can be ascertained) in this hoard; VIb, blundered legend; VIc similar, but bust left.

The difference between this important hoard and those hitherto discussed will be readily apparent. A substantial number of the coins are imitative pieces, not issued from mints under Alfred's control, and the high proportion of halfpennies will also be noted. The proportions shown in the list may, however, well not be correct, as it is likely that a number of pennies should be added to it. But whether or not the halves actually preponderated, they were there in proportions never found in southern hoards. The Stamford hoard does, we would suggest, provide a cross-section of the currency in the time of Alfred in the Danelaw.

Cuerdale, Lancs. 1840. dep. c. 903 (T. 112)

Out of 7,000 coins recorded by Hawkins from the Cuerdale hoard over 900 were of Alfred and there is reason to believe that a not inconsiderable number escaped the inquest. The hoard therefore is the main source of Alfredian coins known today.

The following is a list of the coins of Alfred classified according to the *British Museum Catalogue* types. It is divided into three sections: those contained in Hawkins's original report; those in his supplementary report; additions made from coins said to be from Cuerdale but not appearing in either of Hawkins's reports. To this last section it has only been possible to add rarities; the more common coins have generally lost their provenance and, in cases where they have them, it is not possible to establish whether or not they are included in Hawkins's lists. The list therefore is still far from complete, but it is doubtful if at this point of time it can be made much more so, though further additions of rarities to the third column should still be possible. What still remains to be done is to analyse, by means of the coins in the British Museum and in other public collections, the composition of the coins of types XIV and XV. At this stage, however, it can be said that, generally, the composition is markedly different from the Leigh hoard where the Kentish type predominates. This type is found at Cuerdale, but the greater part of the coins of type XIV have a distinctive character and may be associated with Mercian mints under Alfred's control. There is also a liberal admixture of imitative pieces.

PENNIES OF ALFRED

<i>B.M.C. type</i>	<i>Original report</i>	<i>Suppl. report</i>	<i>Additions</i>	<i>Total</i>
III	1	..	..	1
V (and vars.)	8	5	6	19
VI 'London'	22	14	..	36
VI (var. bust to left 'London') . . . . .	..	1	..	1
VII 'London'	1	..	..	1
IX 'London'	2	2	1	5
X 'London' . . . . .	..	..	1	1
XI Lincoln	1	..	..	1
XII Doubtful mint	1	1	..	2
XIII Canterbury	3	..	..	3
XIIIa	1	..	..	1
XIV }	abt. 630	23	..	abt. 653
XV }				
XIV/XV var.	4	..	2	6
XIV var. with name of Pleg- mund	1	..	..	1
XV var.	3	..	1	4
XVI	2	..	..	2
XVII Canterbury	abt. 110	..	..	abt. 110
XVIII 'Orsnaforda'	56	10	..	66
XIX do.	5	..	..	5
XX Gloucester	1	..	..	1
XXI Exeter	1	..	1	2
XXI Winchester	1	..	..	1
				<hr/> abt. 922 <hr/>

Halfpennies

Vla . . . . .	..	1	..	1
Vlb	1+?	..	..	1+?
XIV	11	..	1	12
XVII	3	..	2	5
XVIII	1	1	..	2
XIX . . . . .	..	1	..	1
Everat/me fecit . . . . .	..	..	1	1
				<hr/> 23+? <hr/>

In view of the difficulty of establishing, even from the published accounts, the exact composition of the hoard as it reached the coroner, a few notes are appended showing how the figures are made up and giving details of the additional coins in the third column:

B.M.C. III. This unique coin, illustrated in Brooke's *English Coins*, pl. xiii. 3, is in the possession of Lord Clitheroe, the lineal descendant of Mr. William Assheton on whose property the treasure was found.

B.M.C. V and vars. Of the nineteen coins recorded the following can be identified today:

		<i>Recorded</i>	
<i>Moneyers</i>		<i>Number</i>	<i>by Hks.</i>
Burgnoth	R. C. Lockett 2702	1	..
Ciolwulf	<i>B.M.C.</i> 188 and (?) 185-6	3	× (2)
Dunna	„ 181	1	×
Eadelm	R. C. Lockett 488 (‘probably ex Cuerdale’)	1	..
Eadulf	Listed by Hawkins (= ? <i>B.M.C.</i> 187. bt. 1867)	1	×
Ethle . . .	<i>B.M.C.</i> 182	1	×
Heastan	Ashmolean ex. R.C. Lockett 489	1	..
Hereferth	R. C. Lockett 3632	1	..
Liafwald	Ld. Clitheroe; B.M.A. 479; Seaby. 1951 (half a coin)	3	×
Lulla	<i>B.M.C.</i> 183	1	×
Tirwald	Ld. Clitheroe	1	×
Torhtmund	<i>B.M.C.</i> 184	1	×
Wulfred	Ld. Clitheroe	1	×
		17	

B.M.C. VI. Of the 36 specimens recorded by Hawkins, 23 are in the British Museum (*B.M.C.* 85 and 89-110) and 6 in Lord Clitheroe’s collection. Rashleigh sale lot 222 is also said to be from Cuerdale.

Of the coins in the British Museum seven are of good London work and sixteen are imitative; of Lord Clitheroe’s the respective figures are 1 and 5; the Rashleigh coin is of good London work.

B.M.C. VI var. with bust to left. This is an extremely crude coin in Lord Clitheroe’s collection. It is illustrated *N.C.* v. 101.

B.M.C. VII. The single coin of this type is *B.M.C.* 113. It does not bear Alfred’s name but is clearly associated with his coinage by the London monogram on the reverse. In our view it is not a product of the London mint but an imitative issue by the Danes.

B.M.C. IX. The two coins in Hawkins’s original report are *B.M.C.* 115 and 117. The coin now added is in the British Museum ex Lockett 511. All these are imitative types, not, in our view, struck at London despite the fact that they bear the London monogram. Lord Clitheroe’s specimen, on the other hand, is by the moneyer Tilewine and of normal London work.

B.M.C. X. Hawkins recorded no specimen of this type of which, until recently, only a single specimen was known, B.M.A. 453, the find-spot of which is not recorded. In 1951, however, B. A. Seaby Ltd. acquired a small parcel of coins from a family living near Cuerdale which, it was clear, came from the hoard. Among them was a specimen of this type, from the same dies as the British Museum specimen (now Blunt).

B.M.C. XI. The single specimen of this type recorded from the hoard is *B.M.C.* 83.

B.M.C. XII. Two specimens recorded: *B.M.C.* 155; Lord Clitheroe. The find-spot of the third known specimen, Fitzwilliam *Sylloge* 550, is not known. It was in the collection of Aquilla Smith of Dublin in 1842.¹

¹ Lindsay, *Coinage of the Heptarchy*, 129.

B.M.C. XIII. Three specimens recorded, *B.M.C.* 2; Lord Clitheroe (badly chipped); Blunt ex Ryan 718. These are official coins of typical Canterbury style.

B.M.C. XIIIa. One recorded, *B.M.C.* 189. This is an imitative piece.

B.M.C. XIV and XV. Unfortunately Hawkins has treated these together and says in his original report that they number about 630 to which he adds a further 23 in his supplementary report. The relative proportions in the hoard may perhaps be roughly gauged from the fact that there are in the *British Museum Catalogue* the following from Cuerdale: XIV, 236; XIV/XV var., 4; XV, 11; XV, var., 1; in Lord Clitheroe's collection there are 23 of type XIV and 2 of XV. In the parcel at Preston are 11 of type XIV and none of XV. All suggest that type XIV preponderated heavily. This is what one would expect as type XV is a southern (? London) type, whereas the bulk of type XIV are from a Mercian mint or mints. In addition, there are a number of imitative pieces, the more peculiar of which were noted by Hawkins and illustrated by him on pl. i. 8 and 14 and are here treated as XIV/XV var. and XV var. The rarity, before the Cuerdale hoard, of the now common type XIV is illustrated by the fact that of the 244 coins of this type listed in *B.M.C.* all but four are from Cuerdale. All but one of the 13 coins of type XV there listed are also from this hoard. It is likely therefore that the greater part of the coins of these types surviving today are from Cuerdale though most have lost their provenance, as is so often the case with the more common coins. Even where this is recorded, it is not possible to say with certainty whether or not any individual coin is included in Hawkins's tally; he gives no indication of the number struck by any individual moneyer save in the case of Cuthberht of whom he says (in his original report) there were nearly 130 specimens, that is about 20 per cent. of the total.

It is probable that further study of the manuscript list in the offices of the Duchy of Lancaster (a photostat of which is in the British Museum Coin Room) will enable considerably more to be said about this important element of the hoard, but this is work that has still to be done.

B.M.C. XIV/XV var. This is Hawkins's no. 32 = *B.M.C.* 419. It is not clear from what he says whether he is recording more than one specimen. The feature is the absence of what can in any way be said to be a blundered version of Alfred's name and the substitution for it of a legend that has not yet been convincingly explained. A legend in some ways comparable is also found on *B.M.C.* 191/2 and 412 (all from Cuerdale) and these have for the purpose of this paper been grouped together. The two additions are Bruun sale, 49 and Lockett sale, 442. These curious legends may be compared with some occasionally found on the St. Eadmund Memorial Coinage, *B.M.C.* 428/9 and 659, all of which are also from Cuerdale. Keary remarks that the name on these latter coins has been read as Heming, a name that 'occurs more than once among the Danish leaders on the Continent at a somewhat earlier and again at a somewhat later date'¹ but he hesitates to accept the attribution. H. A. Parsons, while not noticing the St. Eadmund Memorial coins, seeks to

¹ *B.M.C.* i. 119 n.

associate the Alfredian coins with an otherwise unknown Viking chief called Reine and to attribute them to the London mint, but his arguments are not convincing.¹ A more persistent (and pernicious) attribution is to Regnald of Northumbria, 943–4. It should be sufficient to dispose of this to point out that his reign was forty years after the date of the Cuerdale deposit. We are far from saying that this curious legend may not be susceptible to interpretation but we are not satisfied by any of the explanations so far put forward.

B.M.C. XV var. Of this type Hawkins lists three specimens, but four are known to us today that claim (and probably justly) to come from Cuerdale: *B.M.C.* 453; Ryan sale (1952), 723; Liverpool Museum ex Grantley sale (1944), 1024; Ashmolean Museum ex Lockett sale (1955), 498. The feature of these coins is the curious and as yet not satisfactorily explained reverse legend. Even the fertile brain of Haigh could offer no solution² and most writers have been content, as must we be, to record the variety. The only one to attempt an interpretation was Lord Grantley who suggested that it might be expanded: AUR(UM)S(EPULCHRI)S(ANCTI)C(UTHBERHTI) and that these coins might have been struck by the episcopal authorities at York or Chester-le-Street.³ It seems to us that the ultimate interpretation is likely to come from one familiar with the manuscript forms of lettering at the time, from which the legend would appear to derive.

B.M.C. XIV var. with name of Plegmund. There was a single specimen of this variety in the hoard and it remains the only one known, *B.M.C.* 62 under Plegmund. This is a coin of official Canterbury workmanship with the unparalleled legend ELFRED REX PLEGN. The rights of the archbishops of Canterbury to coin in their own name had already suffered some curtailment under Ceolnoth. In the last of his issues, the archbishop's tonsured bust, which had been introduced by his predecessor Wulfred, was changed to the profile diademed bust of the king and on the few surviving coins of his successor, Æthelred, the same is found. In the case of the present coin we find a reversion to the earliest archiepiscopal coinage on which the name of the archbishop on the one side was combined with that of the king (of Mercia) on the other, another sign it would seem of the weakening of the temporal powers of the archbishops, which was carried further on the death of Plegmund, when the archbishop's right to put his own name on the coins was finally withdrawn altogether.

B.M.C. XVI. Hawkins records two specimens of this type in the hoard, *B.M.C.* 454 and Lockett sale (1955), 499 which is stated in the Rashleigh sale-catalogue (1909) to be from Cuerdale. This is a curious imitative piece of crude workmanship, combining the names of Alfred and Cnut. But we do not regard it as historically significant and are unable to share Haigh's view that it is 'a memorial of the alliance and friendship which existed between Ælfred and Guthfrith-Cnut of Northumbria'.⁴ In our view it is an entirely unofficial imitative piece of which this series contains so many.

B.M.C. XVII. Hawkins notes 'about 110' specimens in his original report and makes no addition in his supplement. Of the 73 specimens of this type

¹ The Viking Coinage of London A.D. 872–886 in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, 1948.

² *N.C.* 1870, 34.

³ *B.N.J.* viii. 52.

⁴ *N.C.* 1870, 34.

in the *British Museum Catalogue* all but one (*B.M.C.* 10) are from Cuerdale, but this total includes certain coins which Hawkins treats as copies of Plegmund. From the *British Museum Catalogue* it will be seen how large a proportion of these are imitative pieces. Keary lists nos. 28–74 as such and to these should probably be added nos. 3, 4, 14, and 18, making 51 out of the total of 73. Lord Clitheroe has 5 of which 3 are imitative. This type is even more extensively copied (in proportion to surviving specimens) than type XIV. It is of Canterbury origin and this would seem to suggest that this copying took place in the southern Danelaw.

B.M.C. XVIII. Of this type Hawkins records 54 specimens in his original report and two more (his pl. ii. 25) even more blundered than usual. He mentions a further 10 in his supplement, making a grand total of 66. He remarks on the number of blundered readings and says of the one good coin he illustrates that it 'is one of the very few which reads correctly'. Of the 35 specimens of this type listed in the *British Museum Catalogue* all but one (no. 148) were from Cuerdale and, as this last coin was bought in 1869 without provenance, it may well be from the hoard too. It can be seen from this list how extensively this type was the subject of imitation. Lord Clitheroe has five of this type, on two of which the legends read properly.

It is now felt that the traditional attribution of this type to Oxford cannot be sustained. In addition to the fact that the spelling ORSNAFORDA is not an acceptable form for Oxford, the close affinities of this, and in particular the following, type with coins of Siefred and Earl Sihtric will be noted. The only recorded find-spots for the two types were, until lately, Cuerdale and Harkirke, both in Lancashire, but recently Mr. Metcalf has reported a find in the river Ouse at York in about 1740.¹ This tends to support the provisional attribution to Horsforth, Yorks.

Two further points of interest on this type are to be noted. The one that, if the attribution to the north is correct, we have here a substantial issue in the name of Alfred, albeit without the title *Rex*, made in an area over which he did not have control. The other, that this issue either deteriorated rapidly or was itself the subject of imitation.

B.M.C. XIX. Of this type, which is a much rarer variant of type XVIII, with a long cross on steps in the reverse field as on some coins of Siefred, Hawkins records five specimens in the hoard. These more often than not have a proper reading (e.g. *B.M.C.* 154, Lord Clitheroe's specimen and Bruun sale, 67) but the specimen from the hoard in the Murdoch sale, 89, shows that the degraded form of legend is occasionally found.

B.M.C. XX. The single coin of this type is *B.M.C.* 80. It is believed to be unique. Major Carlyon-Britton claimed to have a second specimen² but it was not in his sale and its whereabouts is not known. The presumption is that it was later considered false.

B.M.C. XXI. Hawkins records a single specimen of Exeter (*B.M.C.* 79) and a fragment of Winchester (*B.M.C.* 157). Lockett 500, of Exeter, was, however, also from Cuerdale.

¹ *N.C.* 1958, 94–95.

² *B.N.J.* vi. 153 n.

The halfpence

B.M.C. VIa and b. Hawkins says in his original report (p. 18) that there were 'said to be two or three halfpence' of this type (and on p. 21 'one or two') 'but except one they by some means disappeared from the general mass which came into the possession of the Duchy of Lancaster'. But he adds that, through the liberality of Mr. Assheton, one has come to the British Museum. This passage is not entirely clear. If one specimen was included in the coins that were the subject of the inquest, the British Museum would automatically have claimed it. The coin in question is *B.M.C. 112*. In his supplementary report he records 'another London farthing' (clearly a misprint for halfpenny) 'in beautiful condition and having the name much more fully written than upon fig. 21' (the first coin he quoted). This second coin is in the possession of Lord Clitheroe and was illustrated in *B.N.J.* xxviii, pl. xxviii. 5. The British Museum coin is clearly an imitative piece but Mr. Grierson regards Lord Clitheroe's as an official product of the London mint.

B.M.C. XIV. Twelve halfpennies of this type are recorded by Hawkins in his original list, but these include one of Halfdan (*B.M.C. i*, p. 203, 869). The list published by Mr. Grierson,¹ however, restores the number to twelve by the addition of one omitted by Hawkins. A study of Mr. Grierson's plate shows that none of these are of southern style. Those of good workmanship are of the style that we would associate with Mercia; the remainder are imitative.

B.M.C. XVII. Hawkins records three halfpennies of the Canterbury type, a number which Mr. Grierson brings up to five. All are more or less blundered.

B.M.C. XVIII. Hawkins records one very blundered halfpenny of this type in his original report (*B.M.C. 153*) but in his supplementary report illustrates a second, this time with the legend reading correctly. This coin, still unique, is in Lord Clitheroe's possession.

B.M.C. XIX. The only specimen is recorded by Hawkins and illustrated by him in his supplementary report. The legend is utterly confused and Hawkins's statement that 'it is in vain to attempt a description' is fully justified. This, which remains the only coin known of this type, is in Lord Clitheroe's possession.

B.M.C. —. This curious halfpenny (Fitzwilliam *Sylloge* 563) does not in fact bear Alfred's name though it clearly belongs to the series under review. On the one side is the name EVERAT divided by a long cross on a step (as on the coins of type XIX) and on the other the words ME FECIT. It is not recorded by Hawkins.

The hoard, as can be seen, presents a remarkably comprehensive selection of Alfred's types. Of those not represented, types II and III are unique and VIII and XXII known probably from only two specimens. Type XXIII must be abandoned as a type. The specimen of it in the hoard (*B.M.C. 1*) is, as Mr. Grierson has shown, a halfpenny of type XIV.

The only significant omission is type I, a relatively plentiful one today. Its absence not only from this but from all other hoards containing later coins of Alfred can, in our view, only be accounted for by the fact that it had been called in and demonetised.

¹ *B.N.J.* xxviii. 487.

Harkirke, Lancs. 1611. dep. c. 910. (T. 184)

This hoard may originally have consisted of nearly 100 coins, 35 of which were illustrated on a plate prepared from a drawing by William Blundell on whose property the coins were found.¹ Seven of the coins illustrated are of Alfred of the following types:

<i>B.M.C.</i> XIV	.	.	.	.	.	4	(Cuthberht, Ludig, Wulfred (2))
„ XV	.	.	.	.	.	1	(Aethered)
„ XVII	.	.	.	.	.	1	(Aethelstan)
„ XVIII	.	.	.	.	.	1	(Bernwald)

7

The hoard has affinities with the Cuerdale hoard and was found in the same area but was deposited a few years later. It is the only other recorded hoard provenance for the *Orsnaforda* type, *B.M.C.* XVIII. The coins were sent to Wales for safe keeping during the Civil Wars but were lost there and have never been recovered.

Dean, Cumberland before 1790. dep. 910 or later.

This hoard, recently reconstructed by Mrs. Martin,² contained no coin in the name of Alfred but there was in it one of the exceedingly rare pennies of Lincoln (*B.M.C.* VIII of Alfred) which combine an obverse comparable to the Cuerdale coin *B.M.C.* VII, but in this case with the moneyer's name ERIENER, with a reverse showing the monogram of Lincoln.

Goldsborough, Yorks. 1858. dep. c. 925–930 (T. 175)

This curious hoard consisted of 35 (the author³ gives this number in the text but includes only 33 in his lists: he may have omitted 2 duplicates) dirhams of the 'Abbāsid and Samanid dynasties and only two Anglo-Saxon coins, one of Alfred, the other of Eadweard the Elder.

The coin of Alfred is, however, of the highest importance. It is the fragment *B.M.C.* type XXII, no. 159 of the 'offering piece' of which the only other specimen is also in the British Museum (*B.M.C.* 158). The importance lies not only in the coin itself but in the fact that it was found on British soil in a hoard the bulk of which is clearly Scandinavian in immediate provenance. As the hoard also contained 'a number of pieces of silver, such as ingots, several portions of silver bracelets, one very large and perfect silver buckle' besides the coins, it is clearly Viking loot and the two Anglo-Saxon coins are likely to have been added to it in this country.

Terslev, Denmark. 1911. dep. c. 945.

This hoard, the bulk of which consisted of Kūfic dirhams, contained a small number of English coins, including one of Alfred *B.M.C.* XIV.⁴

We believe that the list of hoards given above includes all those that contained coins of Alfred but we shall welcome any additions or corrections.

¹ See *N.C.* 1955, 189–93.

² *B.N.J.* xxviii. 177–80.

³ *N.C.N.S.* i. 65 ff.

⁴ See *Nordisk Num. Arsskrift*, 1957–8, 32.

ANGLO-SAXON HOARDS AND COINS FOUND IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND

By W. A. SEABY

*Derrykeighan, Co. Antrim, 1843*¹

ONE hundred and fifteen years ago James Carruthers of Glencreagh, Co. Down, recorded in detail some part of the Anglo-Saxon hoard found at Derrykeighan (Derrykeerhan), near Dervock, by a man digging a grave in the old churchyard, March 1843.² Although the coins quickly became scattered, about two-fifths of the total came into the possession of three collectors: Carruthers himself, Edward Benn of Glenraval, Co. Antrim, and James Bell of Prospect, Ballymoney, Co. Antrim. Other Anglo-Saxon coins now in Belfast Museum may well have originated from this source and are indicated as such in the Appendix.

According to the revised account given by Carruthers, the hoard consisted of at least 260 coins.³ There are, however, discrepancies between the 48 specimens which Carruthers says he possessed on 1 May 1843, the list of 74 which he details (pp. 112–14) and the further list of 67 which he later claimed to have had (pp. 213–14); yet only some 54 pieces can possibly be identified with this hoard amongst the 99 Saxon coins from his collection, sold in 1857.⁴

If we take into consideration the differences arising from the two transcriptions as well as the inevitable misinterpretation of certain Anglo-Saxon letters by author, editor, and compositor alike, we can yet recognize types and approximate inscriptions of some 65 coins 'belonging' to Carruthers in the two main lists; a further 9 or 10 appearing once only may be inferred as having passed through his hands. Nineteen of the 20 specimens formerly in the possession of Benn are now in the Belfast collection,⁵ one of which, however, is certainly Eadwig and not Eadred. In the Bell portion were 23 coins including one of Elangerht ('Regnald') / Bernart⁶ and an Eadred (OX VRBIS) / Wynnelm.⁷ This part of the hoard, at least, seems to have come into the possession of John Lindsay, possibly also some of Carruthers' coins.⁸

Although Thompson⁹ has summarized the hoard, a detailed study of the

¹ I am indebted to Mr. R. H. M. Dolley for information which led to the discovery that part of this hoard is housed in the Belfast Museum.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1st ser. vi (1844), pp. 112–14.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 213–16.

⁴ Auction Sale at Sotheby's, 26/27 Jan. 1857. Mr. Dolley kindly supplied me with a transcription of this list.

⁵ Edgar/ESVI (IVE?) cannot now be traced at Belfast. The Edward Benn collection was acquired by the Belfast Nat. Hist. and Phil. Society in 1880; it came to the Belfast Museum in 1910, but no inventory of his coins seems to exist.

⁶ R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Post-Brunanburh Viking Coinage of York', *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1957–8, pp. 30–31, 61, fig. 33.

⁷ G. C. Brooke, *English Coins* (1932), pl. xv. 6.

⁸ See Lindsay, *Remarkable Greek, Roman and Anglo-Saxon Coins, etc., in the Cabinet of the Author*, Cork (1860), pp. 6–7 and pl. ii, nos. 8, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22. I would acknowledge Mr. C. E. Blunt's assistance for this information.

⁹ J. D. A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600–1500* (1956), pp. 45–46, no. 119. Also see Dolley, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–31, no. 31.

various lists shows that there is room for differences of opinion as to moneyers and types; and in view of the number of coins now at Belfast, either known or thought to have come from this deposit, a further summary is given here, the doubtful coins, some thirty in all, being dealt with in the Appendix.

Athelstan (925–39). *B.M.C.* type VI. Shrewsbury: ÆÐELSTAN REX TO B CENBERHT MOSCROB (Cenberht) (1). *B.M.C.* type XII. No mint-name: HERRIE MONTA (Heric)¹ (1).

Eadmund (939–46). *B.M.C.* type I? DRMOD MO (Thermod or Durmod) (1).

Eadred (946–55). *B.M.C.* type I. Oxford: (OX VRBIS on *obv.*). Wynnelm² (1). No mint-name: EYDHANDN (Eadmund)³ (1); CÐROD (Eoroth?) (1); Heriger (1); Hunred (4); Wulfgar(es) (1); Wulfstan (1). *B.M.C.* type V. Norwich: Manna (1). No mint-name: CNHNĀ MONETĀ (probably Manna)⁴ (1).

Eadwig (955–9). *B.M.C.* type I. No mint-name: Dunn(es) (1); FREXILES MOY (Frethic or Frethig) (1); CRIN HOHE (Crin or Grim) (1). Heriger (3). *B.M.C.* type II. Chester: Wilsig (1). Southampton?: LOI HAXHĀ MO (Boia)⁵ (1).

Eadgar (959–75). *B.M.C.* type I (or II). No mint-name: Adelaver (7); Ælfsig (2); Æsculf (2); Æthelsie (1); Albutic (6); ADLVINE MO (Adelwine or Aldewine) (1); BERENARD MO (Bernard) (1); Britfer (2, one with some letters inverted); Capelin (1); Cnapa (2, variously spelt); Durand (2); Eanulf (4 or 5, one apparently double-struck); Ethelwine (3, one, which may be corruption of name, given as COELANCO); Farthein (7, one given as CÆRÐENNHO); Frethig(es) (1); Heriger (5); Unbein or Hunbein (2); Igenc (1); Ingolf (1); INBELRIES MON (Ingelrics?) (1); Isembert (4, one partly retrograde); Ive (7); ESVI (Ive ?) (1); HACYS (Macus?) (1); Manna (6); WĀNĀ HO or WANT MO (Manna or Manticen?) (1); Martin (1); WORCNR HO (Morcar or Morgna?) (1); Thurmod (1); VDIFERÐ MO⁶ and VDIFERD MO (Wiferth) (2). *B.M.C.* type II. Chester: Boia or Boiga (1); Ethelm (1); Frothric (1); Thurmod (1). *B.M.C.* type III. Oxford: Leofsig (1); Southampton?: Oswald (1); York: Herolf⁷ (1); no mint-name: Durand(es) (1); Fastolf (1); Fastolf (1, retrograde both sides) (1); Fastolf(es)⁸ (1); Fastolf Boiga (1); Heriger (1); Herolf (1); *B.M.C.* type IV. EOFERARP (Eoferard or Everard) (1). 'Regnald' (two-line), reads: ELĪ••Ā•NĒERHT with + in field / BERNART in two lines⁹ (1).

Here then is a re-summary¹⁰ of the known 117 coins given by Carruthers in his two accounts; it includes all but the blundered piece mentioned by Dolley. It is quite probable that the York penny of Eric Bloodaxe/Ingelgar (two line), which may be dated *c.* 948, came from Derrykeighan (no. 9).

Carrowen Hoard, Burt, Co. Donegal, 1864

This hoard has recently been reassessed by Dolley.¹¹ He demonstrates beyond all reasonable doubt that what were thought to have been two hoards were in fact one, found during construction of the Londonderry and Lough Swilly Light Railway. Of the 11 coins mentioned, all can be attributed to

¹ Lindsay, *op. cit.*, pl. ii, no. 8.

² *Ibid.*, no. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, no. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 14.

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 18.

⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 21.

⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 20.

⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 22.

⁹ For illustration of this type see Dolley, *op. cit.*, p. 61, fig. 33.

¹⁰ A revision of the summary of 100 coins given by Thompson, *op. cit.*

¹¹ 'A Neglected Tenth-century Hoard from Donegal', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3rd ser. xxii (1959), pp. 56–58.

Eadgar, 9 being of *B.M.C.* type I, and 2 being of type III. While at least 4 of the moneyers (Adelaver, Farthein, Unbein, and Herolf) are to be found on Edgar coins of unidentified locality in the collection of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society (acquired by the Museum in 1910), it is perhaps more probable that coins bearing these names were from the missing 140 in the Derrykeighan hoard. One other coin which might equally well have come from either hoard is an Edgar/Grid *B.M.C.* I, presented by Miss Black of Strandtown in 1953 (no. 26). Two of Grid's coins are recorded from Carrowen but, surprisingly, none of this comparatively common moneyer is listed by Carruthers at Derrykeighan.

Near Armagh, 1831

The only other Anglo-Saxon hoard, recorded as such from Ulster, appears to be that given by John Lindsay but included in Thompson's *Inventory* and reappraised by Dolley.¹ Unfortunately, its size and general composition remain unknown, but it is interesting to note that it was discovered in June of the same year that the Belfast Natural History Society's Museum was opened in College Square (Nov. 1831). The only two coins named in the Armagh hoard are one of Æthelstan/ELIAF MONETA, probably ELLAF or ECLAF and one of Anlaf Guthfrithsson of the Raven/Small Cross type, ATHELWARD MINETRIE, probably for AÐELFERD MINETRǫ, c. 940.² In the Belfast collection, listed below, there is an example of the Anlaf/Raven penny (no. 8) which might well be that from Armagh, but none of the Museum's Æthelstans is of Eclaf, who appears to have been a London moneyer. All we know of the Anlaf piece is that it was a fairly early acquisition, for it is listed with nine other Saxon coins as being in the Society's cabinet when the first numismatic inventory was made in 1870.

Miscellaneous finds of Saxon coins in the North

The following notes have been taken from publications of Carruthers and emphasize how scarce Saxon coins are in this part of Ireland. It may be some reflection on the general lack of interest in numismatics that finds of pre-twelfth-century coins do not seem to have been recorded in Ulster during the past century.

1820. Penny of Harthacnut discovered somewhere in Ireland and now in the cabinet of Major Farmer, Armagh.³

1849. Coin of Offa, King of Mercia, found near site of a religious house in Armagh.⁴

1849. Coin of Offa, King of Mercia, found near Londonderry.⁵

1849. In a grave near Red Bay, Cushendall, Co. Antrim, two Anglo-Saxon coins were found. One was of Berthulf, king of Mercia (Ruding, vol. iii, pl. vii, no. 3); the

¹ *Coinage of Heptarchy* (1842), p. 22; Thompson, op. cit., p. 4, no. 13; *Num. Circular* lxxv (1957), no. 5, col. 194.

² See Dolley, 'Viking Coinage of York', pp. 45, 67–75. Note that the hoard (no. 32), as suggested on p. 31, is based on a false premise.

³ J. Carruthers, *Journ. Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, iii (1854–5), p. 63.

⁴ J. Carruthers, loc. cit., p. 62.

⁵ *Ibid.*

other was of Ceolnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury (Ruding, vol. iii, pl. xiii, no. 7).¹ A much fuller report of this discovery, given by Col. Jones to the Royal Irish Academy in 1849, makes it virtually certain that the coins were not directly associated with the skeletal remains and the bronze and stone axes found in and below the 'cave' at Red Bay, although the Colonel implies that they might have been. It should be noted that the axes were much corroded and, like the bones, were covered with a heavy incrustation of lime, whereas the coins were both in excellent preservation. The description of the coins reads as follows: One is a coin of Berhtulf King of Mercia, as Ruding states, A.D. 839, the legend being on obverse BERHTVLF. REX, on the reverse BRID. MONETA. The second is a coin of Ceolnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury in the same year. The legend on obverse is CIALNO. ARC., and on reverse VVNERE. MONETA.²

No dates. Coins of Anlaf, Athelstan, and Edgar have been found in and about the City of Armagh.³

APPENDIX I

ANGLO-SAXON AND VIKING COINS OF YORK
IN THE BELFAST MUSEUM

All are pennies except No. 1 which is a sceat. Those known to have come from Derrykeighan hoard are marked *; those thought to have come from Derrykeighan, or possibly Carrowen, marked †. No. 8 is possibly from Armagh. No. 7 was found at Drogheda, Co. Louth.⁴

No.	Ruler	Moneyer	District or Mint	B.M.C.		*	†	Museum Source and Date acquired
				Type	No.			
1.	Abp. Wigmund	Ethelhelm	(York)	..	739/40			Purchased Agnew 1956
2.	Burgred	Wulfear	(Mercia)	Id	395			B.N.H.P.S. (1870-1910)
3.	Alfred	Uulfred	(Wessex)	XIV	403/4			Purchased O'Connor 1958
4.	Edward Elder	Æthered	(S. Group)	II	15, 16	†		B.N.H.P.S. (1870-1910)
5.	Athelstan	Eadgild	„	I	..	†		B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
6.	Athelstan (REX TO B)	Cenberht	Shrewsbury	VI	..	*		B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
7.	„	Beahred	London	VIII	64			Grainger 1891
8.	Anlaf Guthfrithsson	Athelferd (Raven)	(York)	2	1093 rev.			B.N.H.P.S. (before 1870)
9.	Eric Bloodaxe	Ingelgar (two-line) ⁵	„	..	1107 rev.	†		B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
10.	Edred	Heriger	(NE. Group)	I	..	*		B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880

¹ J. Carruthers, op. cit. iv (1856-7), p. 49. The Berhtulf reference is given as pl. iii which must be a misprint for pl. vii.

² *Proc. R. I. Acad.* iv (1850), pp. 394-6.

³ J. Lindsay, *The Coinage of Ireland* (1839), Appendix no. 7, p. 136, quoting Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, 2nd edit. (1847) i, p. 72.

⁴ Possibly the same as that recorded by J. Carruthers, *U.J.A.* i (1853), p. 164, as having been discovered at Drogheda in 1810.

⁵ Reads: +•ERIC•RE•+Γ.O./•.INGEL•+++ΓAR Mo••.

No.	Ruler	Moneyer	District or Mint	B.M.C.		*	Museum Source and Date acquired
				Type	No.	†	
11.	Edred	Hunred	(NE. Group)	I	54	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
12.	"	"	"	I	..	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
13.	"	Regther	(NW. Group)	Ic	74 rev.	†	B.N.H.P.S. (before 1870)
14.	Edwig	Ælfsige	(NE. Group)	I	..	†	Grainger 1891
15.	"	Heriger	"	I	27 var.	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
16.	Edgar	Adelaver	"	I	58 var.	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
17.	"	"	"	I	60 var.	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
18.	"	"	"	I	..	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
19.	"	"	"	I	61?	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
20.	"	Albutic	"	I	cf. 72	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
21.	"	"	"	I	..	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
22.	"	Eanulf	"	I	..	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
23.	"	Farman	"	I	90/91	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
24.	"	Farthein	"	I	cf. 92	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
25.	"	"	"	I	..	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
26.	"	Grid	"	I	cf. 95	†	Miss Black 1953
27.	"	Haculf	"	I	98 rev.	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
28.	"	Heriger	"	I	104 var.	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
29.	"	"	"	I	105 var.	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
30.	"	"	"	I	106 var.	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
31.	"	"	"	I	..	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
32.	"	Ive	"	I	..	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
33.	"	"	"	I	116 var.	†	Grainger 1891
34.	"	Macus	"	I	..	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
35.	"	Manna ¹	"	I	..	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
36.	"	" ²	"	I	..	†	B.N.H.P.S. (before 1870)
37.	"	"	"	I	..	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
38.	"	"	"	I	cf. 123 rev.	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
39.	"	"	"	I	124	†	Grainger 1891
40.	"	"	"	I	126	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)

¹ Only one Manna coin is recorded in the Benn portion of the Derrykeighan hoard. It has been given to no. 35 arbitrarily.

² One Manna coin known to be in the Society's collection before 1870.

No.	Ruler	Moneyer	District or Mint	B.M.C.		* †	Museum Source and Date acquired
				Type	No.		
41.	Edgar	Hunbein	(NE. Group)	I	..	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
42.	"	Alhmund	(NW. Group)	Ic & d	..	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
43.	"	Frethic(es)	"	Ic & d	141	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
44.	"	Thurmod	"	Ic & d	162/3	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
45.	"	Ælfsige	Chester	II	21 var.	†	Grainger 1891
46.	"	Ælfstan	"	II	22 var.	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
47.	"	Ethelm	"	II	..	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
48.	"	Thurmod	"	II	31/32	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
49.	" (REX)	Durand(es)	(NW. Group)	III	168 var.	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
50.	" (REX TO B)	"	"	III	..	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
51.	"	Herolf	(NE. Group)	III	190	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
52.	"	"	"	III	..	*	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn) 1880
53.	(REX/ANÆ*)	Cynsige	Chichester? ¹	IV	..	†	Grainger 1891
54.	"	Thurmod	(NW. Group)	IV	204?	†	B.N.H.P.S. (Benn?) (1870-1910)
55.	"	Manticen	(E. Anglian Group)	V	209 var.	†?	B.N.H.P.S. (before 1870)
56.	Edward II (Martyr)	Ælfwald	Stamford	I	cf. 21		Purchased McElderry 1956
57.	Æthelred II	Eadric	Chester	II d	..		Grainger 1891
58.	"	Ead . . .	Thetford	III a	..		B.N.H.P.S. (before 1870)
59.	"	Eadsige	Winchester	III a	..		Grainger 1891
60.	"	Onga	York	III a	..		B.N.H.P.S. (before 1870)
61.	"	Byrhsige	?	III a	?		B.N.H.P.S. (before 1870)
62.	"	Godwin	Winchester	IV a	378		Purchased O'Connor 1958
63.	Cnut	Wadlos	Lincoln	XVI a	..		Purchased O'Connor 1958
64.	"	Thurim	York	XVI a	204		Grainger 1891
65.	Edward Confessor	Duninc	Hastings	XI	515 var.		Grainger 1891
66.	"	Arngrim	York	XIII a	378		Purchased Agnew 1958
67.	"	Duninc	Chester	XV	..		B.N.H.P.S. (before 1870)

APPENDIX II

Near Oldcastle, Co. Meath, before 1900

SINCE this paper was written Belfast Museum has been fortunate in acquiring part of the above hoard through the kindness of Mr. Harry P. Swan of Buncrana, Co.

¹ Provisionally identified as such by Mr. C. E. Blunt, although the name of the mint is broken away from the edge.

Donegal, who purchased the coins with others from the Rev. Charles Kevin of Oldcastle in 1947. According to the original account, the coins were discovered some years before 1900 by a labourer working in a gravel-pit some miles from Oldcastle. He raised a small flag-stone and discovered beneath it a little heap of silver coins. The greater part seem to have been fragmentary but twelve, in a tolerably perfect state, survived.

Of these, two were subsequently lost and two others were owned by a local resident, who parted with one, the remainder being in the possession of Edward Crofton Rotherham who published nine of them.¹ His list corresponds exactly with that given by Thompson.² As it has now been ascertained that the Anlaf/Ingelgar 'flower' type, also listed, is the coin in the British Museum and illustrated by Dolley,³ eight of the twelve pieces can with certainty be accounted for. A note also states that the Edwig coin of Heriger was then in the possession of C. Hannan (probably the local resident mentioned by Mr. Rotherham). This coin has not been subsequently traced.

The following seven pennies have been, therefore, added to the Belfast cabinet:

Anlaf Guthfrithsson (939–41). *B.M.C.* type 2.

68. +A·NL·AF CVNVNCO·. Raven. +AÐELFERD MINETRI. Small Cross.
Cf. *B.M.C.* nos. 1092–6. Reverse of Ruding, pl. ii, Anlaf 1.

Edmund (939–46). *B.M.C.* type I.

69. CVDI DMOI (probably for DVDIE). A reverse from the same die is on a coin of Edred in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.⁴

Edred (946–55). *B.M.C.* type I.

70. Boiga. M in field on obverse. *B.M.C.* no. 23.

71. Demence. M in name inverted. *B.M.C.* no. 26 var.

72. Hunred. Cf. *B.M.C.* no. 53. Lockett Sale, English (pt. III), no. 2746.

73. Ingelgar. Cf. *B.M.C.* nos. 58–61. Reverse as Iona hoard no. 47⁵ and the reverse of a coin of Edmund in the Fitzwilliam Museum.⁶
B.M.C. type IV.

74. Manne. Reads MANNE ESMOT. Lockett Sale, English (pt. I), no. 597.

¹ *Journ. Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, xxx (1900), pp. 253–4.

² Thompson, op. cit., p. 112, no. 298. The date of this hoard must be at least as late as 955 on account of the Edwig coin. It was probably deposited before 959 or at the latest 960 as no coins of Edgar are recorded.

³ Dolley, 'Viking Coinage of York', p. 52, fig. 16. Mr. Dolley has traced the ownership of this piece back to Rotherham.

⁴ P. Grierson, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, pt. i (1958), pl. xviii, no. 590.

⁵ R. B. K. Stevenson, *Num. Chron.*, 6th ser. xi (1951), p. 74, no. 47.

⁶ P. Grierson, op. cit., pl. xviii, no. 586.

A HOARD OF PENNIES OF EADGAR FROM LAUGHARNE CHURCHYARD IN SOUTH WALES

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

THROUGH the kindness of the Rev. J. P. Gordon Williams of Haverfordwest, I am able to put on record some account of a quite unpublished find of silver pennies of Eadgar from the churchyard at Laugharne in Carmarthenshire. The discovery was made 'between the wars' when gravediggers were filling in after an interment, and the presumption is that the coins had been brought to the surface during the excavation of the grave. They were described as forming a single rouleau about the size of a man's little finger, and from this it may be estimated that the hoard comprised originally as many as sixty coins. The men broke many of the coins when attempting to split up the rouleau, and these fragments seem to have been shovelled back into the grave with the rest of the filling. The coins that survived this treatment were divided between the two men, but do not seem to have numbered more than a dozen. One group passed into the hands of children and may be assumed to have disintegrated almost at once, but four coins fortunately found their way into the possession of Mr. Gordon Williams. They were submitted to the British Museum but at that time there seems to have been little interest in Anglo-Saxon numismatics—a commentary on the sceptical aftermath of the by then justly discredited school which had flourished at the beginning of this century—and the only positive result of the examination would seem to have been that one coin disintegrated completely in the post. The three survivors have remained in the security of Mr. Gordon Williams's cabinet, and it was not until this year that at Mr. C. E. Blunt's suggestion I wrote to the owner and obtained his, in the circumstances, peculiarly generous permission to make a new study of the coins in the light of recent research into the coinage of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The condition of the coins is extremely brittle, and this more than bears out the men's statement that they were able to extract intact from the rouleau no more than a handful of the component coins. To some extent this brittleness may be attributed to corrosion, which seems to have been unusually heavy, but the age-embrittlement of silver even in most favourable conditions is a subject to which increasing attention has been given in recent years. In the case of the Laugharne coins further deterioration has now been arrested and the coins made perfectly safe to handle by mounting them in clear 'perspex' discs, a technique evolved in the British Museum's Research Laboratory and carried out by Mr. K. A. Howes. The three coins may be described as follows:

EADGAR

'Reform' Type (Brooke 6 = *B.M.C.* VI = Hildebrand C. 2 = Hawkins 200)

Mint of Chester

Moneyer Mælsuthon or Mælsuthan

Obv. +EADGARRE NĒLOX

Rev. +M/ELSVÐON OLEĒ-

Nine fragments

Die-axis 270°

Hild.—but cf. Lockett 2754 (from diff. dies)

Mint of Lincoln

Moneyer Leving or Leofing

Obv. +EA GARRE+ANĒLO

Rev. +LEVINGM⁻OLIN COL

Two fragments

Die-axis 0°

Hild.—but cf. unpublished coin in Sir Francis Hill collection (from diff. dies)

Thompson (*Inventory*, p. 29) has normalized slightly later spellings Levig as Leofwig, but the omission of 'N' is well attested on coins of this period, and the evidence of the new coin—and of the Hill specimen—must be decisive. In any case the deuterotheme *-wig* is not common in the Danelaw whereas *-inc* or *-ing* occurs frequently. Reluctantly, therefore, Leofwig must be deleted from the canon of late tenth-century moneyers of Lincoln, and the coins hitherto attributed to him given to Leofing (Le(o)vi(n)g).

Uncertain Mint

Moneyer Beorht . . .

Obv. +EADG

OX

Rev. +BĠIRHTI

One fragment

Die-axis 270°

The identification of the mint is at present impossible. Moneyers with the prototheme *Beorht-* (*Byrht-*, *Briht-*), &c. are known for *B.M.C.* type VI of Eadgar at Malmesbury (*Byrhtferth*) and Wareham (*Byrhtic*). In the case of the new coin, however, the first letter of the deuterotheme would seem to be 'M' or 'N' (*-mar* or *-noth*?). The prevalence of metathesis in the case of *Beorht*-names on coins of precisely this period makes the more valuable this clear illustration of an engraver hesitating between the alternative spellings.

It is true that the three coins here published represent in all probability no more than 5 per cent. of the hoard as concealed, but the comparative rarity of coins of *B.M.C.* type VI of Eadgar makes it likely that the hoard was in fact composed of coins of this issue only. In the 1914 Chester find, for example, a hoard almost certainly concealed in haste on the occasion of the ravaging of Wirral during the winter of 979/980, the First Small Cross coins were divided as follows:

Eadgar	.	.	.	23
Edward the Martyr	.	.	.	52
Æthelræd II	.	.	.	34

It is not pretended that these figures reflect accurately the numbers of coins of this type issued in the names of each of the three kings—and here the Scandinavian hoards provide a most welcome control—but it should be clear that the Laugharne find is not very likely to have been assembled more than a few months at most after the issue of coins in the name of Eadgar had ceased. For practical purposes, then, we may regard the winter of 975/6 as a *terminus ante quem* for the putting together, if not the concealment, of the find. In the

same way, the absence of the 'pre-reform' coins of Eadgar may suggest that the coins had been amassed from an English source after the period of grace that must necessarily have accompanied a recoinage on the scale of that of Michaelmas 973, and on the present evidence a date of deposit *c.* 975 \pm 1 might seem not unreasonable.

Finds of Anglo-Saxon coins from Wales are exceptionally rare. The *Inventory* seems to list five hoards, but one of these—that from Anglesey—proves on investigation to spring from a garbled description of a single find, while the find from Drwsdangoed is that from Penarth Fawr masquerading under another name.¹ We are left then with a tiny find of three ninth-century pennies, only one of them English, from Penard, the scarcely more substantial early tenth-century find from Bangor, and the only slightly larger hoard of pennies of Cnut from Drwsdangoed. The first two finds at least seem to be connected with the onslaughts of the Vikings, while the third may well be associated with only less predatory activities of the Ostmen. To these three hoards a fourth has recently been added, a 'pre-reform' Eadgar hoard of uncertain size found *c.* 1845 at Bangor,² and more recently still a fifth, an Æthelræd Helmet hoard from Penrice in Gower,³ so that the 1959 total now stands at six, and in addition to the penny of Eadgar—*pace* Thompson a silver coin—from Anglesey there are pennies of Burgred, Ethelstan, and Harthacnut found at Caerleon, on the dunes at Laugharne and at Caerwent respectively.⁴ It will be noticed that all six of these hoards and all four of the single-finds are from within five miles of the shore, and in fact they may be said to belong to a wider grouping which is not characteristically Welsh. That coins of Eadgar figure in three of the nine finds may also serve as a hint at the extent of the depredations which England could have expected had Eadgar been a weak king.

As is well known, however, Eadgar type VI coins are notably rare in hoards of the wider grouping, to which allusion has already been made, and it has been suggested that there was a prejudice against portrait coins as such among the Ostmen the commercial implications of which Eadgar sought to avert by a parallel issue of coins of *B.M.C.* type II. Consequently I am inclined to believe that the Laugharne coins may not have come to Carmarthenshire through an Ostmannic intermediary, though the occasion of the deposit doubtless reflects the activities of the 'traders' of Waterford and Dublin. The tentative suggestion that I would like to put forward is that the Laugharne coins derive from a payment made by some English authority, presumably the Crown, on the occasion of the general submission of the Welsh which is exemplified by the royal progress on the Dee. As part of this consolidation of English supremacy there must have been a number of payments to individuals and to religious houses, and I feel that it may not be altogether coincidental that the Eadgar hoard from Bangor, albeit deposited some years earlier,

¹ The exact find-spot is known, Drwsdangoed is a farm $\frac{1}{2}$ mile west-south-west of Chiwilog station and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile north-east of Penarth Fawr—letter from Mr. Wilfrid Hemp, F.S.A. to Mr. C. E. Blunt, F.S.A.

² *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Apr. 1959, p. 76.

³ *N.C.* 1959, pp. 187–8.

⁴ Burgred, Caerleon, *N.C.* 1958, p. 87; Æthelstan, Laugharne, letter from the Rev. J. P. Gordon Williams; Harthacnut, Caerwent, *N.C.* 1960 (in the press).

and that from Laugharne are from the immediate vicinity of the church. The same seems to be true, incidentally, of one of the single finds, that from Caerwent, 'Found within the (Roman) city walls.'

Since the whole weight of the numismatic evidence must be that coins did not circulate among the Welsh—and there is for this failure to obtain currency an exact Irish parallel—and since there is no reason to think that there was English intervention in Wales on any scale in the years immediately following Eadgar's death—it may be necessary to put forward a few years the presumptive *terminus ante quem* of the Laugharne find. Even so, it is unlikely that the occasion of the deposit is to be found more than a decade after the introduction of *B.M.C.* type VI of Eadgar. The Laugharne hoard, therefore, may be reduced to modified *Inventory* format as follows:

LAUGHARNE, churchyard, Carmarthenshire, c. 1930

c. 60 *Æ* Anglo-Saxon pennies (3 described). Deposit: c. 975 (or a little later?)

KINGS OF ENGLAND, Eadgar, *B.M.C.* (A) type vi—Chester: Mælsuthon, 1. Lincoln: Leving, 1. Uncertain Mint: 'Bwirht . . .', 1.

B.N.J. xxix. ii (1959), pp. 255–258.

No container.

There is some reason to think that the coins, which were found in a finger-sized rouleau, were all of the one type.

Coins of *B.M.C.* type VI of Eadgar occur but rarely in finds from the British Isles. None are recorded in hoards from Ireland and Man, and only one in a find from Scotland. Fair quantities were present in the 1914 Pember-ton's Parlour hoard from Chester and in an unpublished eighteenth-century find from the Lincoln area, but both these hoards seem to have included coins of both of Eadgar's sons. It is clear, therefore, that the composition of the Laugharne hoard is quite exceptional, and the numismatist will do well to ponder the circumstance that all three of the coins that happen to have survived are from dies unrecorded in B. E. Hildebrand's *Anglosachsiska Mynt*. More and more one realizes that Eadgar's 'Reform' coinage which we know today as *B.M.C.* type VI was on a scale that might seem belied by the comparatively sketchy representation of these coins in modern cabinets, and there is further food for thought in the circumstance that the coins of the Chester moneyer Mælsuthon and the Lincoln moneyer Leving should be from dies other than those already known.

SOME FURTHER REMARKS ON THE TRANSITIONAL CRUX ISSUE OF ÆTHELRÆD II

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

IN a recent paper in the *British Numismatic Journal*,¹ Mr. F. Elmore Jones and I have distinguished a late variant of the so-called Crux issue of Æthelræd II which we believe to be not without significance for the student called upon to establish the correct sequence of the six substantive coinages initiated in the course of that long and far from happy reign. Of this 'Transitional'



FIG. 1

variant we have further distinguished three principal varieties, one with diadem but no sceptre, one with neither diadem nor sceptre, and one with sceptre but no diadem. The bust, however, is essentially the same, and anticipates that found on coins of the Long Cross issue, while the characteristic of the reverse is the use of the copulative MΩO instead of M-O, though in practice mules with true Crux reverses are almost as common. In this note, the annates of a further visit to Scandinavia, I wish to distinguish a fourth variety of the Transitional Crux obverse, and also to put on record a further four mints with which these important late variants of the main Crux issue are to be associated.

A convenient point of departure is afforded by a coin of the Bath mint in the Stora Sodjeby hoard from Gotland (Fig. 1). This was listed by Schnittger² as belonging to Hildebrand's C.b variety, i.e. as an Intermediate Small Cross/Crux mule. The enlarged direct photograph, however, establishes beyond all cavil that it is a particularly fine example of a Transitional Crux penny of the least uncommon of the three varieties distinguished in the paper already

¹ *B.N.J.* xxviii, i (1955), pp. 75-87.

² *Fornvännen*, 1915, p. 47 (no. 1650).

mentioned. There is no sceptre and no diadem, the hair is 'curly' and two double lines of drapery run from the throat downwards to the inner circle. On the reverse the copulative takes the form ΜΩΟ, and the coin thus ranks as a true coin and not as a mule. A die-duplicate is in the City Museum at Bath,¹ a reminder of the rarities tucked away in provincial collections which



FIG. 2

it is hoped will be flushed by the British Academy's new *Sylloge*. The moneyer is Æthelric who struck quite a number of coins at Bath during the last decade of the tenth century and the first two decades of the eleventh, and this is perhaps a suitable place to remark that Hildebrand was nodding when he described his Æthelræd 43 as belonging to the C.a variety. This admittedly largely illegible coin is not in fact struck on an appreciably narrower flan, and the weight is far from being on the light side,² while what can be seen of the style of the obverse die is typical of the Crux type proper.

To revert to the coin from the Stora Sodjeby hoard which is now in the Museum at Visby, I would like to draw attention to the very important pellet on the forehead and also to the circumstance that the obverse legend ends not ANGLORX, as on true Crux coins, nor yet ANGLORX, as in the case of the Intermediate Small Cross issue, but ANGLORX. It is my contention that both these features merit inclusion in the canon of criteria proper to the Transitional Crux variant.

The second of the coins with which this note is concerned is in the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm, and in the 1881 edition of *Anglosachsiska Mynt* is listed as no. 3908 of Æthelræd II (Fig. 2). Hildebrand considered it a normal coin of his Type C, i.e. a normal coin of the Crux issue, but the enlarged direct photograph suggests that he was mistaken. Both the portrait and the treatment of the drapery leave no room for doubt but that we are dealing

¹ I am again under an obligation to Mr. C. E. Blunt who has been generous enough to supply me with copies of his unrivalled sets of photographs of Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman coins in various provincial collections.

² The weight is in fact 1.66 grammes, i.e. 0.26 of a gramme more than the heaviest of a number of true C.a coins which were weighed by Hildebrand (cf. *Anglosachsiska Mynt* (1881 ed.), p. 30).

with a coin of the Transitional Crux issue—at least as far as the obverse is concerned—and it is a variety with sceptre but without diadem which until now has been recorded only at Oxford where a single obverse die was used by Ælfwine to strike a true coin and by Godinc with a normal Crux reverse. In this case the reverse lacks the ΜΩΟ form of copulative and so the new coin



FIG. 3

ranks as a mule. The moneyer is Alfwold and the mint Wallingford, and it is perhaps not without significance that this particular variety should be found at two adjacent mints.

So far we have been considering coins which fit within the classification proposed in the 1955 paper to which allusion has already been made, but the three coins that follow constitute an entirely novel variety of the Transitional Crux issue. All have the drapery characteristic of the group as a whole, and the portrait is essentially the same except that the hair is straight instead of 'curly'. All, moreover, have the quite characteristic epigraphical quirk of ΛΓΘΓΧΛ instead of ΛΓΘΛΧ. What sets them apart from the coins already recorded is the occurrence on one and the same coin of the sceptre (cf. the coins of Oxford and Wallingford cited above) *and* the diadem (cf. a unique die at Chichester known from coins in the British Museum and the H. H. King collection). These features are seen quite distinctly on the only very slightly double-struck penny of the Aylesbury moneyer Leofstan, no. 2 of Æthelræd II in *Anglosachsiska Mynt* where it is considered a normal coin of Type C, which is preserved in the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet (Fig. 3). The second coin where I have noted this phenomenon is a unique penny of the Buckingham moneyer Sibwine in the Royal Danish Coin Cabinet at Copenhagen (Fig. 4). It is, however, considerably more double-struck, though as it happens the line of the diadem is even more pronounced. Again I would suggest that the circumstance that this variant obverse is found at two adjacent mints is one that merits the most serious consideration. It now begins to appear reasonably certain that the Transitional Crux dies were engraved at Winchester, and the fact that certain minor variants would seem to

be regional—and peripheral—might suggest that the dies required for a given area were both engraved and dispatched at the same time.¹



FIG. 4



FIG. 5

It will have been noticed that both the above coins are 'mules', the reverses being from what appear to be quite normal Crux reverses with the M⁻O copulative instead of the MΩO form proper to the Transitional Crux variety. The same is true of a third coin with this obverse (Fig. 5) which has occurred

¹ There is a pretty phonological argument that the Traditional Crux (and Intermediate Small Cross?—though the epigraphy is very different) dies were engraved by the same hand on the same occasion—namely the remarkable consistency with which the prototheme *Beorht-* appears as *Byrh(t)-* even in the case of compounds where metathesis is normal (e.g. Brihtmaer, Brihtnoth, &c.). In this connexion it is perhaps worth remarking that, whereas in Crux these metathetic forms together with such spellings as *Beorh(t)-* and *Berh(t)-* are relatively common, in Long Cross the writing *Byrh(t)-* is universal—another indication, if one were needed, that the Transitional Crux variety is late and not early.

in a small parcel of coins recently purchased by the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet. Still, therefore, there has to be discovered the true coin of this new Transitional Crux variant, and it is possible that it does not exist. The third mule is of the Totnes mint, the moneyer being Ælfstan, and again it should be remarked that the mint is peripheral to the presumptive die-engraving centre at Winchester. In this case the reverse die is perhaps of slightly unusual work, but it is already recorded in conjunction with a normal Crux obverse, Hild. 383 being from the same reverse die.

To the 1955 paper there was appended a table setting out the position that then obtained with respect to both the Intermediate Small Cross and the Transitional Crux varieties. Regarding the latter, two of the columns inadvertently were transposed—though fortunately the error should have been self-evident to the attentive reader—and it may perhaps be thought useful here to set out the present (spring 1960) position respecting the Transitional Crux variety and the diverse mules thereof:

TABLE I

	<i>Var. A (no sceptre or diadem)</i>	<i>Var. B (with diadem but no sceptre)</i>	<i>Var. C (with sceptre but no diadem)</i>	<i>Var. D (with sceptre and diadem)</i>	<i>Var. A/Crux mules</i>	<i>Var. B/Crux mules</i>	<i>Var. C/Crux mules</i>	<i>Var. D/Crux mules</i>	<i>Mule with Intermediate Small Cross obv.</i>
AYLESBURY									
Leofstan	..	..	..	r	..	..	..	S	..
BATH				u					
Æthelric	B, V	..	..	e	..	..	..	..	..
BUCKINGHAM									
Sibwine	..	..	..	c	..	..	..	K	..
CHICHESTER				o					
Eadnoth	..	BM, HHK	..	i	..	..	..	..	..
DORCHESTER				n					
Wulfnoth	L	..	..		..	..	..	..	..
EXETER				s					
E(a)dric	..	..	..	t	K	..	..	..	..
HEREFORD				i					
Byrh(t)stan	..	..	..	l	..	..	..	..	S
OXFORD				l					
Ælfwine	..	..	S		..	..	..	..	..
Godinc	..	..	..	t	..	..	BM	..	..
TOTNES				o					
Ælfstan	..	..	..		..	..	..	S	..
WALLINGFORD				b					
A(E)lfwold	..	..	..	e	..	..	S	..	..
WAREHAM									
Ælfsige	S	..	..	r	..	..	..	..	..
WINCHESTER				e					
Æthelgar	..	..	..	c	..	..	..	..	K
Byrh(t) -mær	S, FEJ	..	..	o	..	..	..	..	..
-noth	S, BM	..	..	r	..	..	..	..	..
-sige	S, TCG	..	..	d	..	..	..	..	..
-wold	..	..	..	e	..	..	..	..	S
Godeman	..	..	..	d	..	..	..	..	S
Godwine	S	..	..		..	..	..	..	..

B = City Museum, Bath; BM = British Museum; FEJ = F. Elmore Jones; HHK = H. H. King; K = Royal Coin Cabinet, Copenhagen; L = University Historical Museum, Lund; S = Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm; TCG = T. C. Gardner; V = Gotlands Fornsal, Visby.

Since also at least three of the obverse dies employ a diademed bust, a detail *prima facie* suggestive of continuity with the Second Hand type, it may be as well to recall that the balance of the evidence is that the Transitional Crux variety belongs late, and not early, in the currency of the Crux type proper. For one thing the portrait so very clearly anticipates that of the succeeding Long Cross type, while the very distinctive—and indeed unprecedented—form of copulative (MNO) itself points to a period adjacent to that issue. Only less effective is an appeal to prosopography, and the following table, based on the coins recorded in the 1881 edition of *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, sets out the different substantive types of the period *c.* 980–*c.* 1015 in which the moneyers so far recorded for the Transitional Crux variety are known to have been striking:

TABLE II

	<i>First Hand</i>	<i>Second Hand</i>	<i>Crux</i>	<i>Trans. Crux and Mules</i>	<i>Long Cross</i>	<i>Helmet</i>	<i>Last Small Cross</i>
AYLESBURY							
Leofstan	+
BATH							
Æthelric	+	+	+	+	+
BUCKINGHAM							
Sibwine	+
CHICHESTER							
Eadnoth	..	+	..	+	+
DORCHESTER							
Wulfnoth	+	+	+	+	+
EXETER							
E(a)dric	+	+	+
HEREFORD							
Byrh(t)stan	+*	+	+
OXFORD							
Ælfwine	+	+	+	+	..
Godinc	..	+	+	+	+
TOTNES							
Ælfstan	+	+	+
WALLINGFORD							
A(E)lfwold	+	+	+	+	..
WAREHAM							
Ælfsige	+	+
WINCHESTER							
Æthelgar	+	+	+	+	..
Byrh(t) -mær	+	+	+
-noth	+	+	+	+	+	..	+
-sige	+	+	+	+	+	+	..
-wold	+	+
Godeman	+	+	+	+	+
Godwine	+	+	+

* H. H. King collection.

In other words, of the 19 moneyers concerned, 2 are found in the First Hand type, 4 in Second Hand, 14 in Crux, 17 in Long Cross, 7 in Helmet, and 4 in Last Small Cross. On this evidence alone one would be justified in suggesting that the variety in question comes at the very end of the Crux issue (summer of 997?).

It only remains for me once again to express my gratitude to my Scandinavian colleagues, Forste antikvarie N. L. Rasmusson and Inspektør Fritze Lindahl, for the admirable photographic enlargements from which have been made the blocks illustrating this paper.

NEW LIGHT ON THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY FIND OF PENCE OF ÆTHELRÆD II FROM ST. MARTIN'S-LE-GRAND

By V. J. BUTLER and R. H. M. DOLLEY

IN the 1953 number of this *Journal* there was published a summary listing of thirty-five pennies of the so-called Last Small Cross type of Æthelræd II (*B.M.C.*, type i = Brooke 1 = Hildebrand A = Hawkins 205) preserved as an entity in the Guildhall Museum, London.¹ The further suggestion was made that they represented the bulk, if not the whole, of a small hoard unearthed c. 1870 near St. Martin's-le-Grand. Twenty-five pennies from this find were exhibited by a Mr. J. W. Baily of Gracechurch Street to the British Archaeological Association in November 1870 as an example of what some new technique of cleaning could do for coins in the friable and corroded condition that is typical of so many of the Anglo-Saxon coins found in London, and in the 1953 paper it was argued that the twenty-five coins exhibited in 1870 were the pick of the thirty-five coins in the Guildhall Museum. Recently, however, when it became necessary to take into account certain criteria the importance of which was not yet recognized by Anglo-Saxon numismatists seven years ago, we had occasion to check this provisional listing against the actual coins, and by a happy misunderstanding we were fortunate enough to stumble across a further parcel of twenty-two coins which must surely be from the selfsame find.

The second parcel, likewise preserved as an entity, could be thought of as representing the pick of the hoard exhibited by Baily in 1870, and it is significant that these twenty-two coins though very brittle are all substantially intact. Strictly, of course, there should have been twenty-five, but the correspondence is near enough, and especially when it is borne in mind that the coins were in Baily's cabinet for a number of years before their acquisition by the Guildhall Museum. Leaving aside the extreme fragility of these corroded and age-embrittled coins, one could ill afford to have dismissed the possibility that Baily may have parted with one or two of the coins in order to oblige his friends and customers. What we feel is very significant is that the twenty-two coins have a common patina. Superficially this is just a little different from that found in the case of the thirty-five coins already published, but on closer examination it will be found by no means inconsistent, and, in fact, the no more than seeming discrepancies would be entirely consonant with Baily's specific statement that the coins exhibited to the British Archaeological Association had been subjected to special treatment.

Last Small Cross coins of Æthelræd II are not often found in the British Isles, and Mr. J. D. A. Thompson's recent *Inventory* in fact records only one hoard where they seem to have occurred in any quantity, the find from St. Martin's-le-Grand (Thompson 249). A substantial number admittedly are

¹ *B.N.J.* xxvii, ii (1953), pp. 212-13.

listed in the *Inventory* account of the 'City' hoard of 1872 (Thompson 255), but it is only necessary to refer to the printed accounts to show that these are derived—with a few exceptions—from a 1938 MS. listing of the Guildhall collection and that the author has assumed that all coins which came Baily's way had a Walbrook provenance, an assumption which the 1870 *J.B.A.A.* shows to be quite unwarranted. In addition at least one Last Small Cross coin may be presumed to have been present in the virtually unpublished hoard from Constantine in Cornwall (Thompson —), and it is conceivable that one or two may have occurred in a far more significant Quatrefoil hoard of the eighteenth century, that from Kingsholm (Thompson —).¹ Further it is possible that there may have been examples in the Stafford hoard of 1800 (Thompson 338), though in this case nobody seems to have considered the possibility that this hoard might in fact have been composed of successive types of Harthacnut and Edward, the 'Cnut' coins belonging to the former and the 'Æthelræd' coins being misread pieces of the latter. However this may be, it is abundantly clear that hoards composed entirely or even preponderantly of Last Small Cross coins of Æthelræd II are so exceptional, at least as regards the British Isles, that we must invoke the almost invariably sound if hackneyed principle that 'thesauri non sunt multiplicandi praeter necessitatem'. Clearly, too, a hoard-provenance attaches to each of the two parcels of Last Small Cross pence, and the greater probability must be that it is the same hoard that is involved in each case.

Corroboration of this line of argument comes from a comparison of the content of the two parcels, though at first sight an analysis by mints may seem far from helpful:

	Parcel A ²	Parcel B
BARNSTAPLE . . .	1	..
CAMBRIDGE . . .	1	..
CHESTER . . .	1	..
EXETER . . .	1	..
IPSWICH . . .	1	..
LINCOLN . . .	2	1
LONDON . . .	18*	19
LYDFORD . . .	1	..
ROCHESTER . . .	2	1
STAMFORD . . .	1	1
WINCHESTER . . .	4	..
Uncertain . . .	1	..
	<u>34</u>	<u>22</u>

* One of the Leofred coins appears to have been counted in twice.

In both parcels, then, coins of London outnumber those of all other mints put together, which is of course consistent with the presumptive London provenance, but in Parcel A the proportion is perhaps only just over 50 per cent. and still under 60 per cent. even if we accept a London provenance for the uncertain fragment—while in Parcel B the proportion is virtually 90 per cent. We must remember, however, the circumstances in which the Baily coins were exhibited in 1870. On that occasion the emphasis was on whole coins,

¹ Cf. *B.N.J.* xxix, i (1958), pp. 77–81.

² Certain attributions have been modified in accordance with the detailed listing published below.

and in unfavourable conditions we might well expect coins which had not been exposed to wide circulation to have a better chance of surviving intact than others which had travelled long distances and been subjected to wear and tear before their burial in the ground.

If it is not asking too much of coincidence anyway to suppose that there should be two small hoards of exactly the same period and of the same range and from the same area—the only hoards of this date from the whole of the British Isles—it seems quite impossible that the two hoards should be dominated by coins of the selfsame moneyer. Yet, in both parcels we find pence of Leofred in proportions that bear no relation whatever to the probable extent of his coin-production as far as this can be gauged from the occurrence of his coins in the great Scandinavian coin-hoards. The figures are as follows:

Parcel A 8 coins (45 per cent. of those of London, 25 per cent. of the whole).

Parcel B 15 coins (75 per cent. of those of London, 70 per cent. of the whole).

However, if we are to judge from the coins recorded in the 1881 edition of B. E. Hildebrand's *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, for this period a very fair sample of the English coinage as a whole, Leofred's output was on so small a scale that it would have been remarkable if either parcel had contained more than a single coin with his name. Moreover, as far as can be estimated, there were in London during the last years of Æthelræd's reign more than two dozen moneyers who struck on a greater scale, and some of these seem to have employed as many as eight times as many dies as would appear ever to have been supplied to Leofred.

All the evidence, then, points to our two parcels being from one and the same hoard, and it is significant that in the case of the twenty-two coins there is a positive association with Baily who is known independently to have exhibited in 1870 a London hoard composed of coins only of Æthelræd II. Any lingering doubts must surely be resolved by the fact that all the fifteen Leofred coins in Parcel B are from the same pair of dies as all eight of his coins in Parcel A.

There is reason, therefore, to think that the 56 coins listed below represent the bulk of a hoard discovered near the church of St. Martin's-le-Grand c. 1870. If our suggestion be accepted that the 22 are survivors of the 25 exhibited in 1870, a few coins seem now to be missing (? disintegrated or given away), and it cannot but be significant that with them the hoard could be made to number exactly 60 coins, i.e. a Saxon round number, the half of a long hundred. Not only do sixty pence constitute five continental shillings—and there is documentary evidence for an English shilling of twelve pennies long before the Conquest—as well as twelve West Saxon shillings and fifteen Mercian shillings, but, and perhaps more significantly, sixty pence represent the double of the next multiple of account, the mancus. Nor can one quite forget on the supposition that one of the coins now missing (? disintegrated) was one of Leofred—as would have been likely on purely statistical grounds—that the most significant element in the hoard also represents a Saxon round number, Leofred's coins totalling twenty-four, the double of the dozen. However, patently it would be unwise to press the point any further, and the only conclusion that perhaps might legitimately be drawn from the available

evidence is that this hoard like so many others in the late Saxon period could be conceived of as a fixed amount put by for a nest-egg and not as a haphazard agglomeration of ready cash hastily concealed at the very moment of danger. Mr. R. Merrifield, however, has the feeling that the coincidence between the 22 coins of Parcel B and the 25 exhibited in 1870 is quite fortuitous, and that Baily recovered some 56 coins from a possibly larger find, 25 of which he picked out for a special exhibit in 1870, while on a later occasion 22 were selected quite independently for exhibition in the Museum. Obviously more than one construction can be placed on the very incomplete evidence now available, and our suggestion that the hoard may have numbered 60 coins is very tentative.

BARNSTAPLE

Huniga

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>Obv.</i> +/EDELRL... .ANGLOR | <i>Rev.</i> +HVNIEANBA.... |
| South-western Style | Die-axis: 270° |
| Cf. Hild. 35 | Parcel A [GM 226] |

CAMBRIDGE

Wulfsige

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 2. <i>Obv.</i> +EDELREDREXAN | <i>Rev.</i> +PVLFSIEMOERAN |
| Eastern Style | Die-axis: 180° |
| Cf. Hild. 1208 | Parcel A [GM 232] |

CHESTER

Ælfnoth

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 3. <i>Obv.</i> EDELREDREX..E | <i>Rev.</i> +/ELFNODONLE |
| London Style | Die-axis: 0° |
| Cf. Hild. 1404 | Parcel A [GM 208] |

EXETER

Isgod

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 4. <i>Obv.</i> +.....EDR.XAN.L | <i>Rev.</i> +..EODON.AXCESTRE |
| South-western Style | Die-axis: 180° |
| Cf. Hild. 556 | Parcel A [GM 213] |

In the 1953 account this very fragmentary coin was attributed to God(a) (cf. Hild. 530) but on a fresh scrutiny the dithematic name seems preferable.

IPSWICH

Leofsige

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 5. <i>Obv.</i> +EDELREDREXA... | <i>Rev.</i> +LEOFZIGEMONGIPE |
| Eastern Style | Die-axis: 270° |
| Cf. Hild. 1060 | Parcel A [GM 218] |

LINCOLN

Boga

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 6. <i>Obv.</i> +..ELR/EDR..... | <i>Rev.</i> +B..E.....NOLN |
| Northern A Style | Die-axis: 270° |
| Cf. Hild. 1675 | Parcel A [GM 215] |

Ulfcetel?

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 7. <i>Obv.</i> +/ED.....N | <i>Rev.</i> ...F.....MOL.. |
| Northern A Style | Die-axis: 180° |
| Cf. Hild. 1951/2 | Parcel A [GM 233] |

LONDON

Ælfget

- 8, 9. *Obv.* +/EDEL R/EDRE.ANGL.R
London Style Cf. Hild. 2043
Rev. .ELFGETM^AONLYNDE
Die-axis: 180° and 0°
Parcel A (2) [GM 231 and 223]

The second coin is the merest fragment.

Æthelric

10. *Obv.* +/EDEL R/EDREXANGL•OR
London Style Cf. Hild. 2154
Rev. +EDELRICM^{ON}ONLYNDEI
Die-axis: 270°
Parcel A [GM 235]

Byrhtwold

11. *Obv.* +/EÐE . R/EDREXANGL
London Style Cf. Hild. 2281
Rev. +BYRHTPOL.MONLVN
Die-axis: 90°
Parcel B [GM 4]

Eadwerd

12. *Obv.* +/EDELREDREXANGLO
Uncertain Style Cf. Hild. 2385
Rev. +EADPERDMONLVN
Die-axis: 0°
Parcel A [GM 227]

Eadwold

13. *Obv.* +/EDELREDREXANGL
London Style Cf. Hild. 2413
Rev. +.A.POLD.ONLVND
Die-axis: 180°
Parcel B [GM 8]

Godere

14. *Obv.* +/EDEL R•/EDREXANGL•
London Style Cf. Hild. 2540
Rev. +GODER/EM.ONLVND
Die-axis: 225°
Parcel A [GM 219]

Godman

- 15, 16. *Obv.* +/EÐ . . RDEREXA . G
London Style Cf. Hild. 2552
Rev. +.OÐMANM^{ON}LVND
Die-axis: 270° (2)
Parcel B (2) [GM 6 and 7]

The obverse die appears to be a3, ir. 17 according to Hildebrand's classification, a combination not recorded for the moneyer.

Godwine

17. *Obv.* +/EDEL R/ED . . XANGLOR
London Style Cf. Hild. 2610
Rev. +GODPINEM . . LVNDEN
Die-axis: 0°
Parcel A [GM 221]

Leofred

- 18-40. *Obv.* +/EDEL R/EDR•EXANGLOR•
London Style Cf. Hild. 2676
Rev. +LEOFR•EDMONLVNDE
Die-axis: 0°, 19; 90°, 3; 180°, 0;
270°, 1.
Parcel A, 8 [GM 207, 209, 210,
212, 228, 229, 234, 236]
Parcel B, 15 [GM 7, 9-22]

Leofwine

41. *Obv.* +.....EDREXANGL
Eastern Style Cf. Hild. 2739
Rev. +LEOFINEONI.....
Die-axis: 0°
Parcel A [GM 217]
42. *Obv.* . /EDEL R/EDRE
London Style Cf. Hild. 2732 &c.
Rev. +LEOFINE
Die-axis: 180°
Parcel A [GM 224]

The attributions to London are based on style, length of ethnic, form of copulative, &c., and may be taken as reasonably certain. In the 1953 account these coins were given to an uncertain Leofwold.

Oswold

43. *Obv.* +/EDELRE/EDREXAN
Northern B Style

Cf. Hild. 2896

Rev. +OΣPOLDONLYV..
Die-axis: 90°
Parcel A [GM 239]

Wulfryd

44. *Obv.* ...ELR/EDREXANGLOR
London Style

Cf. Hild. 2980

Rev. ...VL•FRYDM•ONLYVNDI.
Die-axis: 0°
Parcel A [GM 214]

LYDFORD

Bruna

45. *Obv.* +/EDELRE/EDR/EXANGLOR
South-western Style

Cf. Hild. 3033

Rev. +BRVNAONLYDAFOR
Die-axis: 180°
Parcel A [GM 206]

ROCHESTER

Elfheh

- 46-48. *Obv.* +/EDELREDREXANGLOR:
South-eastern Style

Cf. Hild. 3265

Rev. +/ELFHEH•M•ONROFEE
Die-axis: 0° (3)
Parcels A (2) and B
[GM 3, 211 and 225]

STAMFORD

Swertbrand

49. *Obv.* +/EDELRE/ED...ANGLOR
Northern A Style

Hild. 3540 var.

Rev. +SPERTBRANDMOS
Die-axis: 270°
Parcel B [GM 23]

(Swert)gar

50. *Obv.* +/EDELRE.....O
Northern A Style

Cf. Hild. 3554

Rev.GLARMOSTA..
Die-axis: 90°
Parcel A [GM 237]

WINCHESTER

Elfsige

- 51, 52. *Obv.* +/E..ELR..REXANGLOR
Southern A Style

Cf. Hild. 4040/1

Rev. +/ELFSIG..ONPINCSTR.
Die-axis: 180° (2)
Parcel A (2) [Gm 216 and 238]

53. *Obv.* +..ELR/EDREXANGLOR
Southern A Style

Cf. Hild. 4043

Rev. +/E.....ONPINCSTR
Die-axis: 0°
Parcel A [GM 220]

In the 1953 account this coin was given to Alfwold but this attribution would seem precluded by the initial digraph.

Alfwold

54. *Obv.* . /EDELRE/EDREXAN...
Southern A Style

Cf. Hild. 4091-3

Rev. +A...POLD..NCST:
Die-axis: 180°
Parcel A [GM 230]

UNCERTAIN MINT

(LINCOLN OR YORK?)

55. *Obv.* Illegible
Northern A Style?

Rev.IRN...
Die-axis: 0°
Parcel A [GM 222]

Perhaps a coin of a *-bern* moneyer (Cytelbern, Othbern, or Wulfbern at Lincoln?—no moneyer with this deuthotheme is known at York).

The fifty-five coins identifiable today prove thus to be from no more than twenty-eight pairs of dies. In other words, the hoard is far less representative of the output of the English mint-system than other hoards of the same period, notably that from Shaftesbury (Thompson —), where die-duplicates are the exception rather than the rule. It is indeed unfortunate that the two dozen coins of Leofred should be in such poor condition that no useful purpose could be served by attempting to record their weights. The evidence points to them being part of the same 'batch', and it would indeed have been interesting to discover to what tolerance an Anglo-Saxon moneyer was accustomed to work.

Nor does the comparatively limited range of the moneyers represented in the find make it particularly easy to establish with precision the probable date of deposit. An obvious *terminus post quem* is afforded by the introduction of the Last Small Cross type, an event which there seems good reason to date to Michaelmas 1009. The fact that Helmet coins are entirely absent suggests, too, that the hoard was put together after the expiry of whatever period of grace was allowed for the withdrawal of a demonetized type, and the presumption must be that it is unlikely that the hoard was concealed before the spring of 1010. Corroboration of this may be thought to be supplied by the presence of coins from mints as far away as Lincoln and Stamford in the north, and Barnstaple, Exeter, and Lydford in the west. The obvious *terminus ante quem* is the introduction of the Quatrefoil type of Cnut which is perhaps to be dated to the Michaelmas of 1017.

Of the twenty-five moneyers concerned, eight are known for the whole period *c.* 997–1029. The pattern as regards the remaining seventeen is as follows:

				<i>Long Cross</i>	<i>Helmet</i>	<i>Last Small Cross</i>	<i>Quatrefoil</i>	<i>Pointed Helmet</i>
BARNSTAPLE								
Huni(g)a	.	.	.	+	+	+	—	—
EXETER								
Is(en)god	.	.	.	—	—	+	+	—
IPSWICH								
Leofsige	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	—
LINCOLN								
Bo(i)ga	.	.	.	—	—	+	—	—
LONDON								
Ælfgaet	.	.	.	—	—	+	—	+
Æthelric	.	.	.	—	—	+	—	—
Byrhtwold	.	.	.	—	—	+	+	—
Eadwerd	.	.	.	—	—	+	+	—
Goderæe	.	.	.	—	—	+	+	+
Oswold	.	.	.	—	—	+	—	—
Wulfryd	.	.	.	—	+	+	+	+
LYDFORD								
Bruna	.	.	.	—	+	+	+	—
ROCHESTER								
Ælfheh	.	.	.	—	—	+	?	—
STAMFORD								
Swertbrand	.	.	.	—	—	+	—	—
Swertgar	.	.	.	+	+	+	—	—
WINCHESTER								
Ælfsige	.	.	.	+	—	+	+	+
Alfwold	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	—

The moneyers who principally concern us here are those who appear either to begin or to conclude striking with coins of Last Small Cross type. In the case of those who are not known for Cnut, i.e. Huni(g)a of Barnstaple, Bo(i)ga of Lincoln, Æthelric and Oswold of London, and Swertbrand and Swertgar of Stamford, there is a significant dichotomy between the two who are known in Long Cross and Helmet as well as Last Small Cross, and three of the four who seem to occur only in Last Small Cross. The formers' Last Small Cross output is not significantly smaller than their output in previous types; indeed, in the case of the Stamford moneyer it is considerably larger. In other words, there is no reason to think that they ceased striking at the very outset of the Last Small Cross issue. In marked contrast, the output of three of the four moneyers who begin and end with Last Small Cross seems to have been on an extremely exiguous scale. Æthelric of London, for example, is recorded in Hildebrand for no more than three pairs of dies, while his fellow citizen Oswold is recorded only for one. Also known from a unique pair of dies is the Stamford moneyer Swertbrand—incidentally it is of the greatest interest for the student of the Scandinavian hoards that coins of these exceptionally rare moneyers should have turned up in an English context, and of no less significance that the dies concerned should appear to be the same. This paucity of coins of Æthelric and Oswold of London, and of Swertbrand of Stamford, must surely suggest that the moneyers concerned were not active at the inception of the type—the presumption being that the bulk of any given issue was struck within months at most of the change of type. Already, therefore, there is some indication that some at least of the St. Martin's-le-Grand coins belong late rather than early in the currency of the Last Small Cross type.

In the case of the Stamford mint preliminary work has recently been done which suggests very strongly that coins of 'Northern B' style preceded those of 'Northern A'. Significantly both the Stamford coins from St. Martin's-le-Grand are of 'Northern A'. In the same way, it is now believed that 'Southern B' coins of the Winchester mint precede those of 'Southern A', and all four of the Winchester coins in the find are of 'Southern A'. This, however, is to digress from the purely prosopographical argument which can be reinforced by a consideration of the six moneyers who seem to have begun striking in Last Small Cross and to have continued under Cnut. Is(en)god of Exeter and Ælfgæt, Byrhtwold, Eadwerd, and Goderæ of London seem all to have struck heavily in Last Small Cross, but there is little real significance in this as the normal practice must have been for a moneyer to have sought to date his appointment from the very beginning of a type when he could expect to partake of the fat profits accruing from an initial high level of output of coin. What is important is that Ælfheh should be known at Rochester from no more than one pair of dies, an indication surely that he was not striking at the type's inception.

On balance, therefore, the numismatist prefers to date the St. Martin's-le-Grand hoard at least a year after the introduction of the Last Small Cross type and the apparent nature of the hoard—a round sum—could be used as an argument that the occasion for its deposit may not necessarily have been the same as that for its non-recovery. After 1010 London was directly threatened by the Viking host on a number of occasions, and not least in 1013 when

'Swein came to the borough [and] the citizens would not yield, but resisted with full battle, because King Ethelred was inside and Thorkel with him'. For part at least of 1014 one no more than nominally 'friendly' Viking army lay at Greenwich, but in 1015 the capital does seem to have been spared immediate menace. In 1016, on the other hand, London was the main centre of resistance to the new invasion under Cnut, and after Æthelræd's death the metropolis was twice besieged before opening its gates to Cnut and making a separate peace in accordance with the terms of the accommodation reached at Alney. It is not impossible, therefore, that the St. Martin's-le-Grand hoard had been concealed in prudent anticipation of the events of 1013, and was not recovered because the owner had fallen in battle in 1016, but equally there is in strict logic no reason why it should not have been recovered because of some purely domestic tragedy a year or two earlier. We feel strongly, therefore, that the 1953 dating of the find *c.* 1015 with its implication of a margin of error of two or three years either way is still preferable to the *Inventory's* 'Nov. 1016?'. In particular we would argue that the fact of the non-recovery of the find suggests that it had been concealed before Cnut entered London by somebody who did not live to enjoy the new king's *frith*, and it would be interesting to know why Mr. Thompson should have preferred Cnut's entry as an occasion of deposit to the slaughter of Ashingdon as an occasion of non-recovery.

Our proposal, therefore, is that in a new edition of the *Inventory* the account of the St. Martin's-le-Grand hoard might perhaps be something as follows:

LONDON, St. Martin's-le-Grand, autumn 1870.¹

60 (?) *Æ* Anglo-Saxon pennies (56 listed). Deposit: *c.* 1015 (± 2).

Æthelræd II: *B.M.C.* (A) type i²—*Barnstaple*: Huniga, 1. *Cambridge*: Wulfsige, 1. *Chester*: Ælfnoth, 1. *Exeter*: Isgod, 1. *Ipswich*: Leofsige, 1. *Lincoln*: Boga, 1; Ulfcetel (?), 1. *London*: Ælfget, 2; Æthelric, 1; Byrhtwold, 1; Eadwerd, 1; Eadwold, 1; Goderæ, 1; Godman, 2; Godwine, 1; Leofred, 24; Leofwine, 2; Oswold, 1; Wulfrýd, 1. *Lydford*: Bruna, 1. *Rochester*: Ælfheh, 3. *Stamford*: Swertbrand, 1; Swertgar, 1. *Winchester*: Ælfsige, 3; Alfwold, 1. *Uncertain Mint* (Northern ?): 1. *B.N.J.* xxix (1959), pp. 265–74, cf. *B.N.J.* xxvii (1953), pp. 212–13, and *J.B.A.A.* xxvi (1870), p. 379.

Disposition: Guildhall Museum, London (55 coins—Guildhall registration numbers 3–23 and 206–39). The coins were all in particularly poor condition.

This is not the place to attempt a systematic revision of the *Inventory* account of the Walbrook ('City') hoard of 1872, but we would point out there is one alteration at least that is consequent upon our new reconstruction of the find from St. Martin's-le-Grand. This is the deletion of the twenty *B.M.C.*

¹ A scrutiny of the *J.B.A.A.* for the years around 1870 makes it clear that the discovery of the St. Martin's-le-Grand hoard is most unlikely to have preceded the exhibition on 23 Nov. by more than a very few weeks.

² The *Inventory* describes the coins as of *B.M.C.* (A) type xi (the *Agnus Dei* Last Small Cross mule), presumably because of confusion between Æthelræd's 'last substantive type' and the last of the types as listed by Grueber and Keary. The slip is the more curious because only one coin of *B.M.C.* (A) type xi is known to this day—the unique cut halfpenny of Stamford in Stockholm—and because in the 1953 publication the coins were described, quite correctly, not only as of Nordman's 'Second Small Cross Issue' but also as of 'Brooke, Type 1'.

(A) type I pennies of Æthelræd II by 'illegible moneyers', and probably of the 'uncertain moneyer' Rochester penny of the same type (p. 92). At the same time we would point out that it was Baily and not Willett who was the source of the two hundred or so pennies listed by Mr. Elmore Jones in 1938, and the fact that we have been able to identify one group of coins as definitely from St. Martin's-le-Grand surely indicates that there is little warrant for the assumption that all the Baily collection coins are from the Walbrook ('City') find (p. 99). Indeed, we would be reluctant to assign the 1872 provenance to any specific coin that is not included in Willett's (*not* Willet's) 1876 account, and certainly we would not care to do so without personal inspection of the coins. In conclusion, we would like to express our thanks to Mr. Norman Cook, F.S.A., and to Mr. Ralph Merrifield, F.S.A., who again placed at our disposal all the resources of the Guildhall Museum.

THE MYTH OF A COINAGE OF THE OSTMEN OF DUBLIN IN THE NAME OF TYMME SJÆLLANDSFAR

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

IN his account of a further parcel of coins from the Sand hoard from Stiklestad to the north of Trondheim, the late talented amateur V. Ronander has suggested that we associate with the Danish hero Tymme Sjællandsfar a little group of coins with obverse legend +ÐYMN— which seem to be certainly Irish.¹ The suggestion was a novel one, and scarcely to be taken seriously, and no less an authority than Dr. Georg Galster has as lightly dismissed it with the words 'den Gætning kan vel være ligesaa god som saa mange andre'.² The purpose of this note, however, is not to explain the obverse legend on the Irish coins in question—that is something that awaits a numismatist versed in the niceties of Old Irish and Old Norse—but simply to suggest that there are some purely numismatic considerations which render impossible this attribution to the historical Tymme Sjællandsfar. Incidentally, it should perhaps be put on record at the outset that the suggestion that any coins bear the name of Tymme or were struck by his authority is ignored by the editors of the *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, the appropriate fascicule of which appeared in 1943.

Virtually the sole source of our knowledge concerning Tymme Sjællandsfar is the *History* of Saxo Grammaticus. From this work it is clear that Tymme did not achieve prominence until the war between Cnut and Eadmund Ironside, until, that is, the summer of 1016. In the course of a particularly hard-fought battle—in all probability that fought at Ashingdon on 18 October—he is supposed single-handed to have rallied the Danish line at a critical juncture, and it would seem that his personal gallantry played a decisive role in the ensuing victory. It is natural that a feat of this description should have received a lavish reward, and Cnut himself was not a leader slow to honour a faithful follower, but one cannot help wondering if it is historically very plausible that the hero, a man apparently altogether without experience of authority and still less of diplomacy, should have received, as Ronander suggests, the vice-gerency of the Ostmen of Dublin, a notoriously turbulent race with whom the Danish masters of England appear ever to have been peculiarly chary of becoming embroiled. At this very time, too, it was the House of Munster that was in a position to have imposed a governor upon the Hiberno-Norsemen, but it seems to have been content to have left Dublin to the wily Sihtric III Silkbeard who would not have been likely to go wooing new masters when Brian's heirs had extended such surprising clemency after the débâcle of Clontarf.

In this connexion we should register an emphatic protest at the assump-

¹ V. Ronander, '4de Meddelelse om Myntfundet fra Sand', *Det Kgl. Norske Videnskabers Selskabs Skrifter*, 1922, Nr. 4.

² Georg Galster, 'Møntfundet fra Store Frigaard', *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1929.

tion, by no means confined to Ronander, that the existence of Hiberno-Norse coins with the names of Æthelræd and Cnut, the latter, incidentally, very rare indeed, implies that either king ever claimed, let alone enjoyed, the least degree of sovereignty, albeit nominal, over the Hiberno-Norsemen of Leinster, the Ostmen. To the best of my knowledge no student has ever suggested that Æthelræd the Unready was recognized as, or even claimed to be, overlord of Skåne, and yet Lund coins in his name are far from uncommon. In the same way, coins of the Ostmen with his name and of English type bear witness only to the esteem which the heavier English pence enjoyed among Scandinavian traders generally. In this context, too, we should not lose sight of the fact that the 'Irish type' *par excellence* in the first half of the twelfth as well as throughout the eleventh century was a more or less faithful imitation of the Long Cross type of Æthelræd II, the only English substantive issue after 973 consistently to have been struck on a weight-standard approaching 27 grains (= 1.75 grammes).

This is not the place to essay a full-dress study of the Hiberno-Norse coinage, but it may be as well briefly to indicate the principal outlines as regards the period *c.* 990–1020, the period to which the ðYMN coins must on any telling belong. Such a sketch may seem the more desirable since there is as yet no survey of the Hiberno-Norse coinage which has taken into account the hoards, and perhaps we should also add the circumstance that even before 1750 at least one of the ðYMN coins had been found in Ireland, an example being illustrated as no. 30 on Plate 2 of Simon's *Essay towards an Historical Account of Irish Coins*. The first edition of this work appeared in 1749, before, that is, coins from Scandinavian hoards had begun to find their way into the cabinets of English and Irish collectors, and in passing we may remark that Simon attributed the coin in question to 'one Donald, king of Monaghan', a prince no less shadowy than many others that grace the pages of the history of Ireland's golden age.¹ In 1872 three further coins of ðYMN were found together in a small hoard from Derrymore in Westmeath and the reason for their non-publication would seem to be that no less an authority than Aquilla Smith found their attribution impossible.²

It is now established that the coinage of the Ostmen in Ireland began not later than the middle of the last decade of the tenth century. The first emission seems to have been on quite a considerable scale, and is best known from a large early nineteenth-century find from Clondalkin just outside Dublin. It consists of crude but more or less faithful copies of the Crux issue of Æthelræd II, most of the coins but not all replacing the name of the English king by that of Sihtric, while on some the mints and moneyers of the English prototypes appear in blundered but still recognizable form. There is here, of course, a neglected analogy with the first Sigtuna coinage of Olof Skotkonung, a coinage which I believe to be almost exactly contemporary with the Irish

¹ Op. cit., 1st ed. 1749, p. 5; 2nd ed. 1810, p. 5. The coin appears to be a duplicate of the Stockholm fragment Hild. 14 (*infra*, p. 287, no. 20). This and two more coins (*infra*, pp. 286–7, nos. 10 and 15) appear on the White/Duane Plate dated 1758 which is included in the 1810 edition after the 'Second Additional Plate'. That the coins were found in Ireland is probable, but White's reputation is such that his explicit statement must be taken with caution—hence the (?) after the relevant entries in the 'Check-List'.

² *Infra.*, p. 284.

issues derived from the same prototypes. Most of the Irish coins weigh 1.40 grammes or more, and a very high proportion 1.60 grammes or more, and it is clear that the weight-standard aimed at must have been in the region of 27 grains, higher, that is, than that achieved by the prototypes. Examples in Swedish hoards are very rare indeed, and it is a curious circumstance that the half a dozen specimens that have come to my notice should include two pairs of die-duplicates (Pl. XVII, 1-4), though in one case there has been an alteration to the reverse die. One is indeed tempted to infer that import of coins of this class may have been confined to one or two occasions. There is, incidentally, a remarkable lack of continuity, stylistic, formal, metrological, and prosopographical, as regards this first of the Dublin coinages and the second, but it is impossible to intercalate a numismatic vacuum embracing more than a very few years. The Crux imitations cannot have begun before 992—the English prototypes not having been put into circulation before Michaelmas 991—and there is some reason to think that their issue may have extended over a number of years. The Long Cross imitations which succeeded them, on the other hand, had been put out in considerable quantity by the time that the great hoards from Igelosa, Gaulverjabær, and List were deposited, i.e. by 1005 at the very latest.

To the earliest phase of these Long Cross imitations—probably to be dated not more than a few months after the emission of the English prototypes at Michaelmas 997—would seem to belong a few heavy coins with inscriptions SIHTRIC CUNUNG (Pl. XVII, 5), SISIG (Pl. XVII, 6) and OGSÉN (Pl. XVII, 7), most of which make some attempt to approximate to the 27 grain (1.75 gramme) standard of the prototypes, but the bulk of the coinage consists of slightly lighter coins with legends such as SIHTRC REX and ÆDEL RÆD REX, the final 'X' of the royal title being written almost invariably '+'.¹ Some of these pieces (Pl. XVII, 8) make no attempt to conceal their Irish origin, but others (Pl. XVII, 9) are dangerously close imitations which even deceived authorities of the calibre of Bror Emil Hildebrand. In between come coins in the name of Sihtric which have reverses directly copied from those of English coins (Pl. XVII, 10)—and the students who have postulated an English hegemony over Dublin should surely reflect whether these coins do not demand acceptance of Irish sovereignty over Derby!—and also coins in the name of Æthelræd with the Dublin mint-signature (Pl. XVII, 11).

In England at Michaelmas 1003 the Long Cross pennies were called in, and their place taken by coins of the so-called Helmet type struck on a notably lighter weight-standard. Imitations of these are known from Ireland (Pl. XVII, 12 and 13) but are far from common even in the Scandinavian hoards, and we may suspect that there was prejudice against the new type on account of its inferiority of weight. It is just possible, too, that some of the lighter Long Cross imitations of good workmanship were struck parallel with these, but unfortunately there is not as yet the hoard-evidence that will enable us to establish exactly when these copies began to be 'differenced' by the addition of four pellets to the reverse type. In England at Michaelmas 1009 the

¹ On the importance of this criterion, cf. C. A. Nordman, *Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Finland*, p. 83.

Helmet coins were in turn called in, and an issue began of the so-called Last Small Cross coins. It was doubtless the fact that for a short time these were struck and issued on a 27-grain standard that explains why Irish imitations are relatively common, and again we may distinguish coins in the name of Sihtric struck at Dublin (Pl. XVII, 14), coins purporting to be struck for him at English mints (Pl. XVII, 15), and other 'mules' purporting to be struck for Æthelræd at Dublin (Pl. XVII, 16). From the Tjore find from Norway it is clear that these imitations were struck within a year or two of the English prototypes, and also that parallel with them were issued the 'differenced' copies of the earlier Long Cross coins of Sihtric (Pl. XVII, 17) of reasonably good weight and style.

On 23 April 1014 Hiberno-Norse military supremacy in Ireland, already mauled at Tara in 980 and Glen Mama in 1000, received a crippling blow in the course of the day-long Good Friday fight at Clontarf. Few coins struck by the Ostmen after that date have been found in Scandinavia, although the Irish hoards reveal that Dublin continued to strike coins in very large numbers indeed. The reason for the discrepancy must surely be sought in a drastic reduction of the weight of the Irish penny, a reduction due in part doubtless to the military disasters that clouded the latter part of Sihtric's reign but even more to sharp fluctuations in the weight of the English pennies which still provided one last prototype.¹ A handful of Irish imitations are known of the Quatrefoil issue of Cnut which was probably put into circulation at Michaelmas 1017, and the solitary specimen found in Sweden weighs no more than 13.1 grains (0.84 gramme) and the single specimen from Finland 15.1 grains (0.98 gramme). Such light-weight pieces (Pl. XVII, 18) could not have hoped successfully to compete with English coins of the same period, let alone those of a decade earlier, and in fact the moneyers of Dublin seemed to have preferred striking even more degenerate copies of Sihtric's First Long Cross issue (Pl. XVII, 19–21). Irish finds suggest that these were struck for as much as two decades before being replaced by even lighter coins again 'differenced' by the addition of either one or two 'hands' in opposite quarters on the reverse (Pl. XVII, 22), and not only are the latter completely lacking from Swedish finds, but the few coins of the earlier class found in Sweden seem all to belong to the earliest group, and it is my belief that there has still to be found in Sweden a Hiberno-Norse coin of Dublin struck after 1030 at the very latest.²

It is against this background that we must set the coinage in the name of ðYMN which Ronander has attributed to Tymme Sjællandsfar and dated in consequence to the period after 1015. In an appendix I have sought to list every known die of this coinage, and the principal varieties are illustrated on the accompanying plate (Pl. XVIII). Leaving aside the hoard-evidence—and this as we shall see would be decisive in itself—there seem to me to be two lines of argument which are fatal to the Tymme hypothesis. The first concerns

¹ Recent work has established that the Last Small Cross issue was struck on two weight-standards (? 27 grains and 22.5 grains), and, though it is not yet possible to achieve the same precision, there is reason to think that Quatrefoil was struck in part at least on an 18-grain standard.

² In the Copenhagen collection I have noted two of the 'hand' coins, one from the Sandø hoard from the Faroes, and one from the Stora Taarnby (Vallø) hoard from Sjælland, both hoards to be dated ± 1050 .

the style and the fabric of the coins. All of them are imitations of the Long Cross type, but none appear to be 'differenced' by the addition of pellets to the reverse type, although such a 'difference' would seem to have been an essential of the Sihtric Long Cross coins at least from *c.* 1010 onwards. Moreover, stylistically the ΘYMN coins seem much more closely linked to the early Sihtric coins of the type than to the later issue, and epigraphical arguments appear to point in the same direction.¹ There is, too, the question why the ΘYMN coins struck *c.* 1015 should not only be qualitatively better than, but in the Swedish finds heavily outnumber, the 'sub-Sihtric' coins which Irish hoards suggest were struck in far greater quantity; 'but that is another story', and one that there is no need to go into here at any length.

The metrology of the ΘYMN coins may seem to provide other arguments why they should be dated earlier than is consistent with any attribution to Tymme Sjællandsfar. In Sweden I have noted the weights of twenty specimens, and a frequency-table constructed on this basis has the following pattern:

-0.949	
0.95-1.049	×
1.05-1.149	×
1.15-1.249	×
1.25-1.349	×
1.35-1.449	×
1.45-	

The pattern is not seriously modified if we add the weights of two coins in the British Museum (both found in Ireland?), of five coins in the Royal Coin Cabinet at Copenhagen, of one coin at Oslo (purchased in Sweden), of two coins at Dublin and one at Belfast, of four coins at Schleswig recorded as occurring in the List hoard from Sylt in North Frisia, and of the three coins found at Derrymore which cannot now be traced:

-0.949	
0.95-1.049	×
1.05-1.149	×
1.15-1.249	×
1.25-1.349	×
1.35-1.449	×
1.45-1.549	×
1.55-	

From the above table it would seem that all the ΘYMN coins were struck on an approximation to one weight-standard, and that this last was perhaps as high as 1.45 grammes (or 22.5 grains). In this connexion it will not be forgotten that the Quatrefoil coins of Dublin—the one issue which we can be certain was contemporary with the period of Tymme's alleged vice-gerency—seem to have been struck on a weight-standard that certainly was not in excess of 1.12 grammes (or 18 grains) and may have been appreciably lower.

Prima facie, therefore, the ΘYMN coins are quite appreciably earlier than the fourth lustre of the eleventh century, and in fact metrological arguments reveal their approximate date with rather more precision than might have been

¹ A further point that might be made is that the average diameter of the earlier Long Cross coins is 19 mm. and of the 'differenced' later issue only 18 mm., the 'Tymme' coins approximating much more closely to the former.

expected in the case of an imitative series. The following frequency-tables are based on the Hiberno-Norse coins that I examined in the course of my last visit to Stockholm, the coins in the Systematic collection being supplemented in every case by material from the hoards:

CRUX ('CLONDALKIN') TYPE—ALL BEFORE A.D. 1000?

-1.249	
1.25-1.349	×
1.35-1.449	×
1.45-1.549	×
1.55-1.649	×
1.65-	×

Clearly the weight-standard cannot be postulated on the basis of so few coins, but an analysis of the weights of a number of these coins in the British Museum collection and in the possession of a London dealer enable me to hazard a guess that it was in the neighbourhood of 1.75 grammes (or 27 grains).

LONG CROSS TYPE—ALL BEFORE A.D. 1005?

(a) with obverse legend SISIC...

-1.449	
1.45-1.549	×
1.55-1.649	×
1.65-1.749	×
1.75-	

The recorded weights are too few for statistical purposes but may indicate that these coins come at the head of the series.

(b) with obverse legend OGSIN...

-1.249	
1.25-1.349	×
1.35-1.449	×
1.45-1.549	
1.55-1.649	×
1.65-	

Again the recorded weights are too few although suggesting a comparatively early date for the coins in question.

(c) with obverse legend SIHTR(I)C...

-1.049	
1.05-1.149	×
1.15-1.249	×
1.25-1.349	×
	×
	×
1.35-1.449	×
1.45-1.549	×
1.55-1.649	×
1.65-1.749	×
1.75-	

The pattern suggests that the coins may have been struck over a certain period, and that the weight-standard was reduced—or not very strictly maintained. In this connexion we may note that coins reading SIHTRIC and with the title CUNUNG are generally 'heavy'—and early?

-1.049	
1.05-1.149	×
1.15-1.249	×
1.25-1.349	×
1.35-1.449	×
1.45-1.549	×
1.55-1.649	×
1.65-	

HELMET TYPE—ALL BEFORE A.D. 1010?

-0.949				
0.95-1.049				×
1.05-1.149	×			×
1.15-1.249	×			×
1.25-1.349			×	×
1.35-1.449			×	
1.45-				

SMALL CROSS TYPE—ALL BEFORE A.D. 1015?

-0.949	x x x
0.95-1.049	x x
1.05-1.149	x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x
1.15-1.249	x x x x x x x x x x x x x x
1.25-1.349	x x x x x x x x x x x x
1.35-1.449	x x x x
1.45-1.549	x
1.55-	

-0.949	×	×			
0.95-1.049	×	×	×		
1.05-1.149	×	×	×	×	×
1.15-1.249	×	×	×	×	×
1.25-1.349	×				
1.35-1.449	×				
1.45-					

Both these issues clearly are contemporaneous—and as in the case of the Long Cross imitations already discussed there are reverse dies used with both obverses—and the pattern of the frequency-table may suggest that they were struck on a falling weight-standard. Even at the outset, however, this cannot have been in excess of 1.35 grammes (21.0 grains), and one suspects that it may have been no more than 1.30 grammes (20.1 grains).

'DIFFERENCED' LONG CROSS TYPE—NONE BEFORE A.D. 1010?

(a) reading SIHTR(i)C...

(b) reading ÆTHELRÆD...

(The later coins are progressively more blundered.)

-0.949	
0.95-1.049	×
1.05-1.149	×
1.15-1.249	×
1.25-1.349	×
1.35-1.449	×
1.45-1.549	×
1.55-	

From Irish hoards it is clear that there was a very drastic and apparently progressive fall in the weight-standard throughout the currency of this type, but this does not emerge from a frequency-table constructed on the basis of specimens in the Swedish hoards, probably because the handful of coins concerned seem all to have left Ireland before degeneration became really pronounced.

From the above tables it should be clear that the natural position for the ðYMN coins is one broadly contemporaneous with the main first issue of 'undifferenced' Long Cross imitations in the name of Sihtric and of Æthelræd, an issue which must have begun within a year or two at most of the inception of the English prototype at Michaelmas 997. In other words, their issue may have begun as much as fifteen years before Tymme Sjællandsfar achieved fame overnight by rallying the Danish line when Cnut and Eadmund Ironside disputed the English throne. On any telling, too, they seem to antedate his first recorded appearance in history by more than a decade, and it is particularly satisfactory to be able to point to hoard-evidence which seems once and for all to demolish any association with the hero of Ashington.

The presence of ðYMN coins in hoards deposited in the reign of Cnut or of his successors, for example those from Nesbø¹ and Sand² in Norway, Store Frigaard³ in Denmark, Stige,⁴ Garde,⁵ Botvalde⁶ and Grausne⁷ in Sweden, and from Nousis in Finland,⁸ gives no real indication of date, as in every case there are present in the finds English and German coins going right back to the last quarter of the tenth century, and also others which must be dated well after the normal deadline for the occurrence of Irish coins in Scandinavian hoards. Four hoard-provenances, however, are critical. In the archives of the State Historical Museum at Stockholm there is listed a Swedish find of

¹ G. Gustafson, 'Myntfundet fra Nesbø', *Bergens Museums Årbok*, 1891.

² V. Ronander, op. cit., p. 7, no. 97.

³ G. Galster, op. cit., p. 305.

⁴ Unpublished hoard found in 1903 at Stige in the parish of Indal in Medelpad (SHM Inv. 12079).

⁵ Unpublished hoard found in 1861 at Garde in the parish of Stenkyrka on Gotland (SHM Inv. 3544).

⁶ Unpublished hoard found in 1943 at Botvalde in the parish of Vate on Gotland (SHM Inv. 23228).

⁷ Unpublished hoard found c. 1887 at Grausne in the parish of Stenkyrka on Gotland (SHM Inv. 8214).

⁸ Nordman, op. cit., p. 6.

unusual composition and provenance.¹ The English element comprised 77 pennies of Æthelræd II, 8 belonging to the Crux issue, 49 to the Long Cross issue, and 20 to the Helmet issue. There were present no coins whatever of Hildebrand Type A, and it is clear that the hoard was deposited before 1010, it is just conceivable in 1007 when there is a Saga tradition that Olaf the Saint fought a sea-fight in the vicinity of Stockholm. With the English coins were two Irish ones, a penny of Sihtric and a penny of ðYMN—the last being a die-duplicate of Hild. 1, if not the very coin. Already, therefore, we have one hoard-provenance which places the ðYMN coins at least five years before Ronander's quite hypothetical vice-gerency of Tymme Sjøellandsfar over the Ostmen of Dublin.

In 1924 there was discovered at Igelosa near Lund in Skåne a huge hoard of just over 2,000 coins, the majority (roughly 1,750) of them English.² All these last were of Eadgar, Edward the Martyr, and Æthelræd II, and the latest coins were of Long Cross type which is believed to have been withdrawn from circulation in England at Michaelmas 1003. The Arabic and German coins agree with the English ones, and it is impossible to date this great treasure later than 1005. Among the dozen Irish coins was one of ðYMN, a die-duplicate apparently of Hild. 12, and the weight was as low as 1.26 grammes (19.4 grains). Incidentally, the other Irish Long Cross imitations, all but one in the name of Sihtric, range in weight between 1.33 and 1.64 grammes (20.5 and 25.5 grains) which may seem to bear out my contention that some at least of the 'undifferenced' but 'light' Long Cross coins from Dublin are quite early, and not contemporaneous with later issues which seem to approximate to the same weight-standard. The importance of the Igelosa hoard for the student of the ðYMN coins, however, is that here we have an impeccable indication that one at least of them was struck ten years before Ashingdon and Tymme's legendary exploit. As it happens, too, corroboratory evidence is supplied by yet another hoard, the 1937 List find from the German Frisian island of Sylt.³ Again, English coins predominated in a hoard of close on 850 coins, there being 655 of them, the great majority belonging to the Long Cross issue and none to the Helmet or Last Small Cross types. Accordingly it is almost impossible to date this hoard later than the autumn of 1003, and it may well prove to have been deposited a year or two earlier, though a date before 1000 seems precluded by the range of the Long Cross coins which seem to comprise both 'early' and 'late' varieties of epigraphy, etc. No fewer than 26 of the coins in the hoard were Irish, all of them of Long Cross type. On 19 there appears the name of Sihtric, on 4 that of the mysterious ðYMN, and on 3 that of Æthelræd II. The weights range from 1.61 grammes down to 1.14 grammes (say 25 grains down to 18) with a preponderance at or around 1.30 grammes (say 20 grains). In other words, the date of the ðYMN coins is pinpointed within a year or two at most of the millennium, and it is beyond dispute that they antedate by as much as fifteen

¹ Unpublished hoard found in 1868 at Karlberg in the parish of Solna just outside Stockholm (SHM Inv. 3861).

² SHM Inv. 17532—the hoard is from the actual churchyard.

³ K. Kersten and P. La Baume, *Vorgeschichte der Nordfriesischen Inseln*, Neumünster 1958, pp. 462–76.

years Tymme Sjøallandsfar's alleged rule at Dublin which even on historical grounds is far from plausible.

In 1872 a small hoard was found at Derrymore in Co. Westmeath in Ireland which consisted of two Long Cross pennies of Æthelræd II, four Irish imitations still with his name and a fifth with that of Sihtric, one penny of 'Ogsen' and three of ðYMN.¹ All the coins are described as being in splendid condition, and obviously they were deposited within at most a few years of the introduction of the English prototype represented in the hoard. A date of deposit *c.* 1000–2 thus seems closely indicated, and of course is consistent with the evidence from Igelösa and Sylt. Indeed, that the hoard was a year or two earlier than its continental counterparts may be suggested by the proportions in which the different classes of Irish imitation occur, but this paper is not the place for a discussion of this kind which would have to range over series not strictly relevant to the ðYMN coins as such.

It is not for the numismatist to dabble in historical science, and least of all a student totally unfamiliar with the principles of Old Irish and Old Norse. Consequently, I must decline to advance any positive suggestion as to the identity of this ðYMN beyond hinting that there is a possibility that in fact we are dealing with an anonymous coinage. There is, for example, often a marked resemblance between the initial element of the obverse legend on the ðYMN coins and the version of the Dublin mint-signature which appears on the reverse. Historically there would seem to be a very plausible occasion for such a temporizing coinage at just the right date, the Irish victory at Glen Mama which brought home to the Ostmen of Dublin the bitter realization that it was from despised Munster and not from royal Ulster that the long-delayed liberation of Ireland from the Scandinavian yoke would very soon be achieved. For a few months Brian Borumha's intentions as regards Dublin may have hung in the balance, and pennies such as the ðYMN coins might be supposed to have been struck during such a period of uncertainty. It is not pretended, however, that this theory is more than a working hypothesis, and it may well be that many will echo Dr. Galster's remark that 'den Gætning kan vel være ligesaa god som saa mange andre'. It would be pleasant indeed if some linguist could explain the ðYMN legends which remain baffling, and more pleasant still if some historian could date the coins more narrowly yet. I venture to suggest, though, that the evidence published in this paper makes it unlikely in the extreme that many if any of the ðYMN coins will be found to lie outside the quinquennium *c.* 998–1003.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My warmest thanks are due to my colleagues in the Coin Cabinets at Copenhagen, Dublin, Oslo and Stockholm who have spared themselves no trouble in their efforts to supply all the information and photographs I could conceivably require. Any merit this paper may be thought to possess is due very largely to them, but its faults are of course mine and mine alone.

¹ Manuscript note in the National Museum of Ireland.

APPENDIX A

CHECK-LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL VARIETIES OF
HIBERNO-NORSE COINS WITH OBERSE LEGENDS
BEGINNING ðYMN . . . ETC.¹ (cf. Pl. XVIII)

A. 'CRICKLADE'

- (1) *Obv.* +ðYMNRO/E+MNEM *Rev.* +/Eð|LRN|EM•O|GR O
 ● behind neck
 (a) SHM, 1·38 grammes (a) ? 1868 Karlberg find (Stockholm)
 (b) K, 1·23 „ (b) 1928 Store Frigaard find (Bornholm)
 Hild. 1: Roth 26 (Pl. XVIII, 1)

B. 'DUBLIN'


- (2) *Obv.* +ðYMNROE+MNEð| *Rev.* +FIE|NEMI|NM•O|ðYMI
 ● behind neck
 (a) SHM, 1·38 grammes
 (b) K, 1·37 „
 (c) SHM, 1·29 „
 (d) L, 1·26 „ (d) 1924 Igelosa find (Skåne)
 (e) SHM, 1·23 „
 (f) SHM, 1·20 „
 (g) SHM, 1·15 „
 (h) H, Fragment (h) 1895 Nousis find (Finland)
 (i) ? 1·35 grammes (i) 1872 Derrymore find (Westmeath)
 Hild. 12 (Pl. XVIII, 2)
- (3) From the same *obv.* die as (2) *Rev.* +EMI|RNIE|MI O|MNð
 (a) K, 1·29 grammes
 Hild. — (Pl. XVIII, 3)
- (4) *Obv.* +ðYMNROE+MNEGI *From the same rev. die as (3), (5), and (6)*
 ✕ behind neck
 (a) K, 1·37 grammes
 (b) SHM, 1·34 „
 (c) Schl., 1·32 „ (c) 1937 List find (Sylt)
 Hild. 2: Roth 29 (Pl. XVIII, 4)

¹ The following abbreviations are used to indicate the collections where the specimens are preserved:

B	Belfast Museum
BM	British Museum, London.
BU	University Museum, Bergen.
D	National Museum, Dublin.
G	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.
H	National Museum, Helsinki.
K	Royal Coin Cabinet, Copenhagen.
L	University Coin Cabinet, Lund.
O	University Coin Cabinet, Oslo.
Schl.	Landesmuseum, Schleswig.
SHM	Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm.
T	Historical Museum, Trondheim.

The following abbreviations are used to indicate relevant literature:

Hild.	Bror Emil Hildebrand, <i>Anglosachsiska Mynt</i> , 2nd ed., Stockholm, 1881.
O'Sullivan	William O'Sullivan, 'The Earliest Irish Coinage', <i>J.R.S.A.I.</i> lxxix (1949).
Roth	Bernard Roth, 'The Coins of the Danish Kings of Ireland', <i>B.N.J.</i> vi (1910).
Simon	James Simon, <i>An Essay . . . Irish Coins, &c.</i> , 2nd ed. Dublin, 1810.

- (5) *Obv.* + $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ YMN $\text{\textcircled{R}}$ •E+MNEGHM From the same *rev.* die as (3), (4), and (6)
 ● behind neck
 (a) SHM, 1.40 grammes
 Hild. 3 (Pl. XVIII, 5)
- (6) *Obv.* + $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ YMN $\text{\textcircled{R}}$ • $\text{\textcircled{O}}$ E+MNEGMI From the same *rev.* die as (3), (4), and (5)
 ● behind neck: •• on neck
 (a) SHM, 1.04 grammes
 Hild. 4 (Pl. XVIII, 6)
- (7) From the same *obv.* die as (6) *Rev.* +F•/E|MEN|MN• $\text{\textcircled{O}}$ | $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ DIEM
 (a) SHM, 1.16 grammes
 (b) O, 1.14 „ (b) From a Swedish hoard?
 (c) D, 1.43 „
 Hild. 8 (Pl. XVIII, 7)
- (8) *Obv.* + $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ YMNROE+MNEGMI From the same *rev.* die as (7)
 ✕ behind neck
 (a) D, 1.49 grammes
 (b) SHM, 1.24 „ (b) Grausne find (Gotland)
 Hild.—: O'Sullivan 9 (Pl. XVIII, 8)
- (9) From the same *obv.* die as (6) and (7) *Rev.* +F•/E|MEMI|NM $\text{\textcircled{O}}$ | $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ I FL
 but with symbol behind neck altered Small cross pommée in 1st and 3rd
 to  heraldic quarter.
 (a) Schl., 1.22 grammes (a) 1937 List find (Sylt)
 (b) SHM, 1.21 „
 (c) B, 1.36 „
 Hild. 7: Roth 28 (Pl. XVIII, 9)
- (10) From the same *obv.* die as (9) *Rev.* +F•/E|REMI|NM $\text{\textcircled{O}}$ | $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ Y FL
 (a) Schl., 1.21 grammes (a) 1937 List find (Sylt)
 (b) SHM, 0.97 „
 (c) G, wt. not recorded. (c) 'Found in Ireland'—before 1758 (?)
 Hild. 11: Simon, Duane Pl., 3 (Pl. XVIII, 10)
- (11) *Obv.* + $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ YMN $\text{\textcircled{R}}$ •E+MNEGMI *Rev.* +F•/E|NEMI|NM• $\text{\textcircled{O}}$ | $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ YEN
 ● behind neck
 Small crosses patées on drapery
 (a) SHM, 1.14 grammes
 (b) BU, wt. not recorded (b) 1891 Nesbø find (Cent. Norway)
 Hild. 10 (Pl. XVIII, 11)
- (12) From the same *obv.* die as (11) *Rev.* +F•/E|MENI|MN'• $\text{\textcircled{O}}$ | $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ YEM
 (Bar from $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ erased—die-flaw across
 neck)
 (a) BM, 1.34 grammes
 (b) D, 1.01 „ (chipped)
 Hild. — (Pl. XVIII, 12)
- (13) *Obv.* + $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ YMNROE+MEGISM I *Rev.* +F•/E|MENI|MNO| $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ DIEM
 ● behind neck
 Small crosses patées on neck
 (a) SHM, 1.25 grammes
 Hild. 9 (Pl. XVIII, 13)

- (14) Apparently from the same *obv.* die as (15) Apparently from the same *rev.* die as (11)
 though Aquilla Smith read the last ele-
 ment of the legend as DYFII.

This coin (wt. 1.35 grammes) was in the Derrymore (Westmeath) hoard of 1872 with specimens of nos. 2 and 15 but cannot now be traced in any public collection.

C. 'LONDON'

- (15) *Obv.* +BYMNR•◊/E+MNEGM *Rev.* +EMI|RNIE|MI◊|VND
 ♠ behind neck
 (a) SHM, 1.37 grammes
 (b) K, 1.35 „
 (c) Schl., 1.26 „
 (d) T, broken
 (e) ? 1.24 grammes
 (c) List find (Sylt)
 (d) 1882 Sand find (Cent. Norway)
 (e) 1872 Derrymore find (Westmeath)
 (Pl. XVIII, 15)
 Hild. 5
- (16) From the same *obv.* die as (15) *Rev.* +EMI|RNIE|MI◊|VND
 (? another state of die used for previous
 coin)
 Small cross pommée in 2nd heraldic
 quarter
 (a) BM, 1.26 grammes
 (b) G, wt. not recorded. (b) 'Found in Ireland'—before 1758 (?)
 Hild. —: Roth 27: Simon, Duane Pl., 2. (Pl. XVIII, 16)

D. 'WILTON'

- (17) From the same *obv.* die as (4) *Rev.* +EMI|RNIE|◊MN•◊|YIL
 (a) SHM, 1.14 grammes
 Hild. 6 (Pl. XVIII, 17)

E. 'UNCERTAIN'

- (18) *Obv.* +BYMNR◊E+MNEGM *Rev.* +EML|RNI|◊MIC|◊ENM
 ♠ behind neck
 (a) SHM, 1.22 grammes (a) 1903 Stige find (Cent. Sweden)
 Hild. —: cf. Simon, Add. Pl., 9 (Pl. XVIII, 18)
- (19) *Obv.* +BMNR◊EÐERMN◊ *Rev.* +LEI|FSTE|MN•◊|SEMI
 ♠ behind neck
 (a) SHM, 1.42 grammes (a) 1943 Botvalde find (Gotland)
 (b) SHM, 1.31 „
 (c) SHM, fragment (cut halfpenny?)
 Hild. 13: Roth 30 (Pl. XVIII, 19)
- (20) *Obv.* +BYMI[R◊E+MNEGM] *Rev.* [+◊DI]|VLFE|◊IMF|VYRI
 (a) SHM, fragment (cut farthing?)
 (b) G, wt. not recorded. (b) 'Found in Ireland'—before 1758 (?)
 Hild. 14: Simon Pl. ii. 30; Duane Pl., 1¹ (Pl. XVIII, 20)

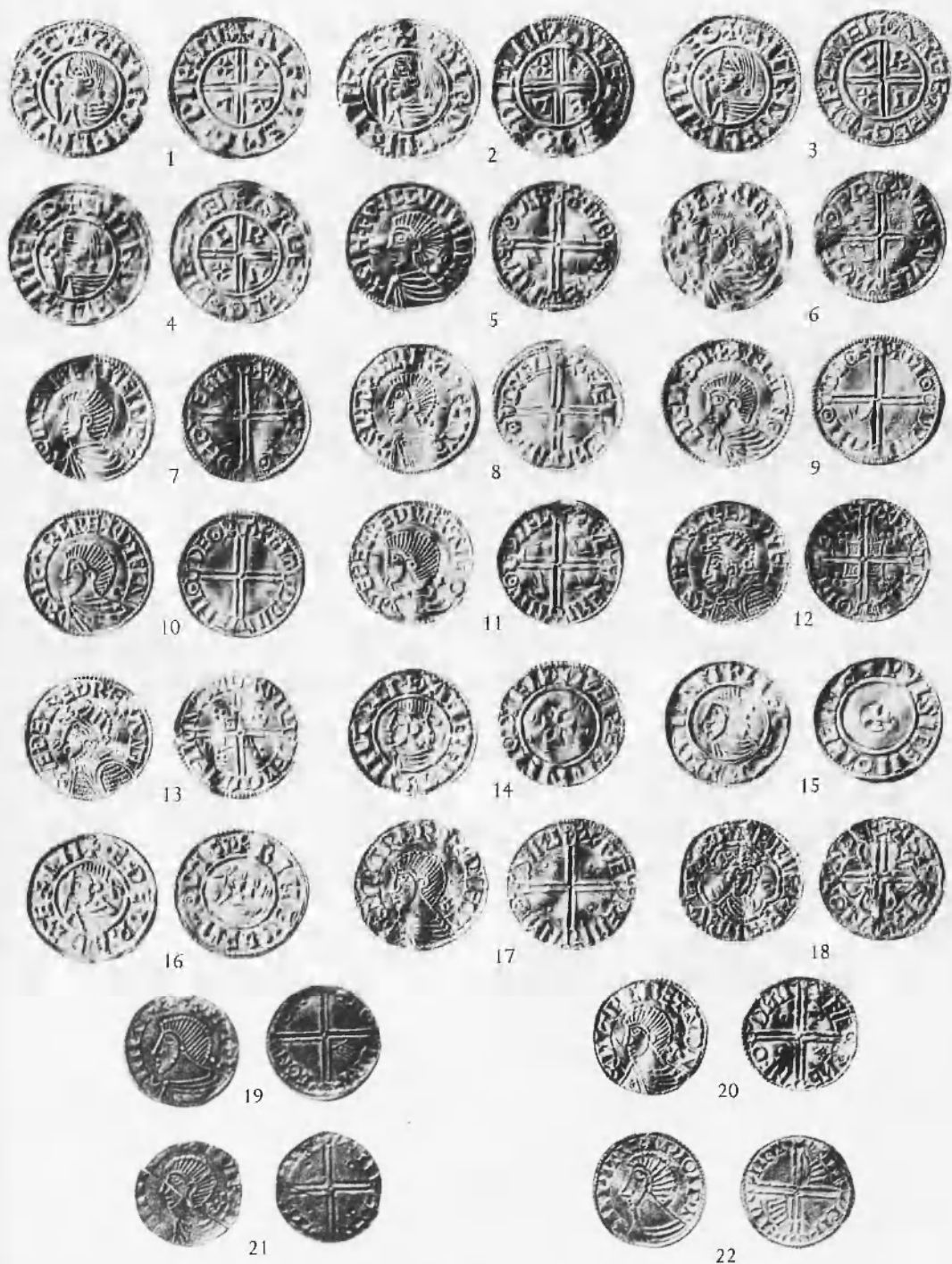
Pl. XVIII, nos. 1, 2, 4–11, 13, 15, 17–19 by courtesy of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet; no. 3, by courtesy of the Royal Danish Coin Cabinet; nos. 12 and 16 by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

¹ On the latter plate with 'normalized' obverse legend.

KEY TO PLATE XVII

1. Dublin penny of Sihtric III ('Silkbeard') c. 995? (From the 1924 Igelosa hoard (Skåne) deposited c. 1004?, and from the same dies as the following coin but before addition of pellet to *rev.* die.)
2. Die-duplicate of the preceding coin from the 1942 Halsarve hoard (Gotland) deposited c. 1120? (Struck after addition of pellet to *rev.* die.)
3. Dublin penny of Sihtric III ('Silkbeard') c. 995? Hild. 10. (From the same dies as the following coin.)
4. Die-duplicate of the preceding coin. Hild. 10 'var'.
5. Dublin penny of Sihtric III ('Silkbeard') c. 1000. Hild. 99. (The prototype is a Winchester penny of Æthelræd, cf. Hild. Æthelræd 4160.)
6. Dublin penny c. 1000 with enigmatic legend SISIG . . . Hild. 3. (The prototype is a York penny of Æthelræd, cf. Hild. Æthelræd 901.)
7. Dublin penny c. 1000 with enigmatic legend OGSEN . . . Hild. 1.
8. Dublin penny of Sihtric III ('Silkbeard') c. 1000. Hild. 24.
9. Dublin penny c. 1000 copied from a Derby penny of Æthelræd II. Hild. Æthelræd 348.
10. Dublin penny of Sihtric III ('Silkbeard') c. 1000. Hild. 1—from the same reverse die as the preceding coin.
11. Dublin penny c. 1000 with the name of Æthelræd II. Hild. Æthelræd 372.
12. Dublin penny of Sihtric III ('Silkbeard') c. 1005. Hild. 12.
13. Dublin penny c. 1005 with the name of Æthelræd II. Hild. Æthelræd 383.
14. Dublin penny of Sihtric III ('Silkbeard') c. 1010. Hild. 25.
15. Dublin penny of Sihtric III ('Silkbeard') c. 1010 with reverse copied from a coin of Æthelræd II of Chester. Hild. 77.
16. Dublin penny c. 1010 with the name of Æthelræd II. Hild. Æthelræd 382.
17. Dublin penny of Sihtric III ('Silkbeard') c. 1010? Hild. 56.
18. Dublin penny of Sihtric III ('Silkbeard') c. 1020? Hild. 101.
19. Dublin penny c. 1025? with naturalistic hand in fourth heraldic quarter.
20. Dublin penny c. 1025? Hild. 62.
21. Dublin penny c. 1030?
22. Dublin penny c. 1040? with formalized 'hands' in second and third heraldic quarters.

Plate XVII, nos. 1–18, and 20 by courtesy of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet; nos. 19, 21, and 22 by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



THE COINAGE OF THE KINGS OF DUBLIN c.995-c.1045

NEW LIGHT ON THE ORDER OF THE
EARLY ISSUES OF
EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

THERE has always been considerable controversy concerning the exact sequence of the first four substantive issues of Edward the Confessor, and the



FIG. a

following table attempts to summarize the position both as regards the principal works of reference and the papers of more recent protagonists. For a full discussion, with bibliographical notes, the reader is referred to Mr. P. J. Seaby's study in the 1955 *British Numismatic Journal*.

	Hawkins 1841	Hild. 1846	B.M.C. 1893	Carlyon Britton 1905	Brooke 1933	King 1941	Seaby 1955
Pax	221	D	IV	V	4	3	1
Radiate/Small Cross	226	A	I	II	2	2	2
Trefoil-Quadrilateral	220	C	III	III	1	1	3
Long Cross	229	B	II	IV	3	4	4

It will be seen at a glance that there is now a measure of agreement that Radiate/Small Cross is the second of Edward's substantive types, but no agreement at all as to which type immediately followed it. Seaby's discussion is by far the most exhaustive, but in the 1956 *British Numismatic Journal*



FIG. *b*

Mr. H. H. King very properly declared himself still unconvinced, and it was only after much heart-searching that the Seaby order of types was adopted by those responsible for the new British Academy *Sylloge* and for the publication of the Swedish coin hoards. It is a matter for deep satisfaction, then, that it should now be possible to point to a piece of evidence which seems conclusively to establish that Trefoil-Quadrilateral is to be placed after Radiate/Small Cross, and almost certainly that it comes immediately after it.

In his far-ranging paper Seaby employed almost every numismatic argument that can be advanced, but he was unable to resort to that which is perhaps the least unequivocal and most immediately convincing of all, an over-strike. Quite by chance, however, I have noticed that a Trefoil-Quadrilateral penny in the Systematic collection at Stockholm is overstruck, obverse on reverse, on a Radiate/Small Cross penny. The coin in question (Hild. 235) is one of the not unprolific Hereford moneyer Earnwig, and is here illustrated (Figs. *a* and *b*) by direct photographs which have been supplied by the kind-

ness of the authorities of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet. At once will be apparent (Fig. *a*) the cross pattée of the reverse of the undertype which is scarcely affected—let alone obliterated—by the superimposition of the king's face, and only less obvious are the traces of an inner circle, a detail not found in the case of the obverse of the overtype.

It could be argued, however, that the undertype is one common to more than one issue in the late Saxon series, and the possibility must not automatically be excluded that the Small Cross coin of the undertype might in fact be one of Æthelræd II. The great City hoard of 1872, for example, is supposed to have contained a small number of pence of Æthelræd II along with coins of William I, though numismatists perhaps have not attached sufficient importance to the possibility that both the earliest and the latest coins in the hoard might very well derive from small parcels concealed on other occasions in the same vicinity. Fortunately, however, sufficient can be seen of the undertype of the reverse of the coin under discussion for one to be certain that the coin is one of the Confessor's (Fig. *b*). To facilitate recognition the photograph of this reverse has been mounted according to the undertype, and I would draw attention to the clear traces of the bust in the left hand of the field, and especially to the very finely engraved hair which is particularly conspicuous in the first heraldic quarter as mounted—the second heraldic quarter of the overtype. This fine treatment of the hair is not found on Small Cross coins of Æthelræd but is quite characteristic of those of the Confessor. Moreover it should further be noted that the mean diameter of Last Small Cross coins is quite other than that of those of the Radiate/Small Cross issue, and that the flan of the undertype in fact is consistent only with an attribution to the latter.

The vital importance of the overstrike, then, is that for the first time there is a telling and immediately tangible argument which can be adduced against two pieces of circumstantial evidence provided by the coins of York and of Steyning. The late Mr. H. A. Parsons noticed that only one type of Edward the Confessor normally omits to include one or sometimes two annulets as an addition to the reverse field. This type is Trefoil-Quadrilateral, and for this reason Parsons suggested that it should be considered the first of the substantive issues of the reign. The argument is not strictly valid—for one thing, the purpose of the annulet is not explained—but its superficial attraction is obvious. In the case of Steyning, King has drawn attention to the fact that a certain Frithewine, who appears to be the only moneyer for the mint under Harold I and Harthacnut and for Trefoil-Quadrilateral and Radiate/Small Cross of the Confessor and is known for Pacx, is followed by a certain Wulfric for Pacx, Long Cross, Expanding Cross, Helmet and Sovereign. On this evidence it has been postulated that Wulfric succeeded Frithewine during the currency of Pacx, and that the latter type was followed immediately by Long Cross, in other words, that Trefoil-Quadrilateral and Radiate/Small Cross are either the first and second or second and first issues of the reign. King in fact was inclined to accept *faute de mieux* the Parsons and Brooke sequence which the new overstrike condemns, but it is only fair to say that this was in any case immaterial to his main argument which was that Pacx is the third type of the reign, and not the fourth nor yet the first.

Even with the new evidence, therefore, it would still just be possible to postulate the sequence Radiate/Small Cross, Trefoil-Quadrilateral, Pacx, and Long Cross, a permutation which until now does not seem to have commended itself to any student, and it may be as well here briefly to adduce a new argument, not available to Seaby at the time when he was writing, which seems to clinch the hoard-evidence that Pacx was the first of the types of Edward the Confessor. The argument is provided by the 1880 hoard from Espinge in Skåne which contained something like 3,000 English coins. Of these some 1,200 were of Cnut. The Jewel Cross issue provided more than 350 coins with the name of Harold and Harthacnut, and the Fleur-de-lis type of the former well over 700. Arm-and-sceptre coins of the latter, more than three-fifths with the legend 'Cnut', totalled just over 300 coins, and it is quite clear that the Espinge find also is the source of a very high proportion of the Confessor coins recorded for the first time in the 1881 edition of *Anglosachsiska Mynt*. Of Edward the Confessor there seem to have been 166 coins, and they are divided between three substantive types as follows:

Pacx	.	.	.	.	.	152
Radiate/Small Cross	.	.	.	.	.	13
Trefoil-Quadrilateral	.	.	.	.	.	1

By itself the argument is not perhaps absolute, but the natural inference must surely be that the sequence of types is Pacx, Radiate/Small Cross, and Trefoil-Quadrilateral, and it would be interesting to learn how any who may still wish to adhere to the 'pre-Seaby' arrangements would propose to explain away such evidence as is provided by the hoards, and notably the English find from Wedmore and the Swedish find from Espinge.

As regards the argument that Steyning was a 'one-moneyer' mint, it must again be pointed out that the period *c.* 1040–50 is not the only one when an embarrassing interloper appears on the scene. Moreover, I feel that there is a real danger in arguing back to the provisions of the Grateley decrees. The main characteristic of Anglo-Saxon administration was its flexibility, and I am reluctant to believe that the needs of the eleventh century would have been allowed for long to be shackled by an instrument of the early tenth century which certainly was local in its application and apparently provisional as well. Concerning the 'evidence' of the annulet at York, it is necessary to remark only that it runs counter to both the new arguments that have been advanced in this note. Even if the Espinge hoard be disregarded—and that is not easy—the fact remains that Hild. 235 of Edward the Confessor is an overstrike of Trefoil-Quadrilateral over Radiate/Small Cross, and it is my belief that the decision of the editors of the British Academy's new *Sylloge* to adopt Seaby's ordering of the types of the Confessor will prove to have been more than justified. It only remains for me once again to extend to the authorities of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet the thanks of all serious students of English numismatics for the facilities which we have received in the course of researches which may be said already to have revolutionized our understanding of the coinage of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

AN UNCERTAIN MINT OF DAVID I

By B. H. I. H. STEWART

BERWICK and Roxburgh, the two border fortresses, are the acknowledged mints for the group I sterlings of David I (those having the characteristic Scottish type of reverse—a cross fleury with a pellet in each angle). Specimens of Berwick are rare, and of Roxburgh very rare, but a sufficient number is known to establish each as a one-moneyer mint. At least four different obverses and four reverses were used by Folpart (= Folcward) at Berwick, and three separate pairs of dies by Hugo at Roxburgh.

Two coins from the Bute hoard, however, do not belong with these; Burns was rightly cautious over their attribution and, although certainty is still impossible, the appearance of two further specimens has somewhat clarified the picture.

The fully legible parts of the inscriptions of the four known pennies suggest a moneyer called Ricart working at a mint or mints not hitherto recorded for this issue. Details of the individual extant specimens are:

Type a: annulet instead of pellet in the second heraldic quarter of the reverse cross, and as lower stop in colon before ON.

1. *Obv.* [DAVIT]: REX:

Rev. [••• ?C?C]ART:ONhA[! ?]

(Pl. XXVIII, 8)

National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

References: J. H. Pollexfen, *P.S.A.S.* v (1865), pp. 215 and 372, and *Num. Chron.* N.S. v. 57.

E. Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland*, i. 6 and 14; fig. 6b.

A. B. Richardson, *Catalogue of Scottish Coins in N.M.A.*, no. 4.

2. Same dies as no. 1.

Obv. [DAVI]T: REX:

Rev. [••••••] ART:ONhA[! ?]

(Pl. XXVIII, 9)

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

References: H. A. Parsons sale 1954, lot 698 (illustrated).

Type b: a cross pommée superimposed on the cross fleury of the reverse.

3. *Obv.* D[AVIT] REX

Rev. [RIC]ART:ON[C?]A[]

(Pl. XXVIII, 10)

National Mus. Ant., Edinburgh.

References: Pollexfen, locc. cit.

Burns, op. cit. i, 6 and 15; fig. 6c.

Richardson, op. cit., no. 5; fig. 2.

4. Same dies as no. 3.

Obv. DAVITR[EX]

Rev. [+?]RICAR[T:ON • A] ?II?:?

(Pl. XXVIII, 11)

Writer's collection = ? Drabble sale, part 1, lot 754.

The reverse inscriptions of these four coins present many problems. No. 2 contributes nothing except to confirm the suspicion from no. 1 that an up-right follows hA in the mint-name. The moneyer's name clearly ends —ART.

Of the mint-name, which appears to consist of three letters, the second is certainly an A on no. 3, the first may be a square C on no. 3, and the third is very corroded on no. 2 but gives the impression of two uprights.

There are two approaches to solving these problems, depending upon whether several small, and in themselves inconclusive, pieces of evidence are in conjunction considered strong enough to suggest that all four coins were struck by the same moneyer at the same mint. If not, little progress can be made, but the apparent possibilities must be stated. They are for *type a*:

Hamilton: this could not be the mint of nos. 1 and 2 since it was the new name given to Cadzow by Charter of James II in 1445.

Hamer: now Whitekirk, an abbey, which was of importance in the twelfth century, could possibly have been the mint of nos. 1 and 2.

Haddington: possible for nos. 1 and 2, but I share Burns's doubt that on no. 1 the third letter could be a D, for the upright does not seem to be followed by a bottom horizontal. (This is the attribution on Parsons's ticket for no. 2.)

Ayr: is found as h ARĒ in the first coinage of Alexander III, and is possible for nos. 1 and 2.

The supposition that *types a* and *b* may contain substantially the same inscription is more profitable. The strongest clue in this direction is the moneyer's name, which the recently discovered coin no. 4 proves to be Ricart. The two doubtful letters of no. 1 have been read in the past as if the name was Folward or some version of it: Richardson confidently reconstructs —LDART in his catalogue, and I followed this before seeing a cast of the coin.¹ They could, however, more probably be read as CC, i.e. [RI]CCART. Richardson's LD seems unlikely in that the bottom of both letters are clear and exactly similar.

One point may be made in connexion with the name of both mint and moneyer. So far, every known coin of this type is clearly from Berwick, moneyer Folward, or from Roxburgh, moneyer Hugo, except for these four coins. The facts that the moneyer of this *type b* is certainly Ricart, while the moneyer of *type a* could plausibly be Ricart as well, and that each mint-name has a second letter A followed by an upright, are, in this context, significant. There seems far less likelihood that Ricart was moneyer at two mints (with only one die at each), than that a third one-moneyer mint should be added to Berwick and Roxburgh. Burns, evidently feeling the difficulty of breaking the pattern of one moneyer per mint, says of *type b* that 'possibly it may belong to the same mint as the preceding (*type a*), the name of the moneyer being apparently the same on both coins'.

The evidence for the mint-name(s) is very defective. *Type a*'s mint-name is to be found from the letters hA followed by an upright not joined at the bottom: hAF, hAh, hAI, hAM, hAN, hAP, hAR—all seem unpromising. *Type b*'s mint-name appears (from no. 3) to begin with a square letter, C; again the A is certain; the third, indistinct through corrosion, is again an upright followed by, perhaps, another: thus the same possibilities are relevant as for the letter after hA. How can C and h ever be equated? In only one way, if h = K. This is not such an improbable hypothesis as it might seem

¹ *The Scottish Coinage*, p. 132.

at first sight. Consider the moneyer Ricart: what do we know of him? He struck (or, at least, someone called —card struck) a coin illustrated by Burns as fig. 27, at a mint Car—.

In type XIV of Henry I of England's coinage, we find a mint in operation at Carlisle, where a bishopric had been established in 1132 and profitable silver mines discovered about the same date. In 1136 Cumberland and Northumberland were seized by David I of Scotland, and in the peace settlement were granted to his son Earl Henry; after the latter's death in 1152, they reverted to David and, on his death the next year, to Malcolm IV, who ceded them in 1157 to Henry II. In a quarter of a century, therefore, Carlisle could have struck coins for Henry I, Stephen, David I, Henry the Earl, Malcolm IV, and Henry II.

Extant coins¹ are:

Henry I	type XIV	moneyer	Durant	(<i>B.M.C.</i> 116)
„	type XV	„	Erebald	
Stephen	type I	„	Erebald	(<i>B.M.C.</i> 17)
„	type I	„	Willem	(<i>B.M.C.</i> 19)
David I	type IV _c	„	Ricard	(<i>B.</i> fig. 27)
„	type IV _b	„	Erebald	(<i>S.</i> fig. 6)
Earl Henry	type II	„	Erebald	(<i>S.</i> fig. 9)
Malcolm IV	No coins recorded of Carlisle			
Henry II	type A, &c.,	moneyer	Willem	(<i>B.M.C.</i> 212–30)

In addition to these, a curious coin² with a bristly sceptre, and three annulets in each angle of the cross fleury, but otherwise of the Scottish type, has been attributed to the Bishop of Carlisle under David I: the moneyer may be Ereballd. Carlisle as an English mint coined throughout the reign of Henry II; was active at some stage, if not continuously, between 1189 and 1205, and participated in the major recoinage of 1205. Its last appearance as a mint was for the recoinage of 1248; John of Oxenides, the chronicler, who lists all the mint-officers of this recoinage, calls Carlisle 'Karlel'.

To return to our enigmatical coins of David I: we have seen that David I himself used the Carlisle mint with two moneyers, Ricard and Ereballd; that Earl Henry used it with Ereballd as moneyer; that it was an active mint throughout this period while the mines were prolific, and that a century later John of Oxenides calls the town Karlel. Now our *type b* coins read RICART: ONC(?)A (11?:); I believe that 11: on no. 4 may be R:, which with the C from no. 3 gives CAR.

Can we attribute *type a* to the same mint? The letter after A in the mint-name could be R, but can h = K be an alternative for C?

We have noticed that John of Oxenides writes Karlel: this is but one of many examples from documents of the period in which K offers an alternative for C, especially in place-names. On coins, there are several instances, both of the substitution of K for C, and of the letter K not always having been correctly identified:

¹ English classified according to types in *British Museum Catalogues*; Scottish as in *The Scottish Coinage*.

² Lockett sale, part v, lot 14: see *B.N.J.* vii, p. 47.

1. In the English coinage.

- (a) Cnut, York, Pointed Helmet type; the moneyer's name *Crucan* is found as CRVRN , i.e. *Cruk(a)n*¹
- (b) Edward the Confessor, Thetford, *B.M.C.* type vii; the moneyer's name *Blacer* is written² BLARERE , i.e. *Blakere*.
- (c) KAN denotes Canterbury on long-cross coins of Henry III, type *Vd*.

2. Roxburgh (*Rocasburg*, *Rokesburg*, &c).

- (a) Late (? posthumous) coinage of William the Lion; $\text{ROh} = \text{ROK}$.³
- (b) Same period; $\text{ROR}\Theta(\text{A}) = \text{ROK}\Theta\text{S}$.⁴
- (c) Alexander III, first coinage; $\text{ROh}\Theta\text{SB} = \text{ROK}\Theta\text{SB}$,⁵ and $\text{ROB} = \text{ROK}$.⁶

3. Other Scottish mints.

- (a) Berwick, Alexander III, first coinage; $\text{B}\Theta\text{RWIh}^7 = \text{B}\Theta\text{RWIK}$.
- (b) KINC ⁸ (moneyer Wilam) and RIN ⁹ (moneyer Walter) in this issue are, I believe, different mints. The initial letters are not the same.¹⁰

From this it appears that there was firstly, some interchangeability between K and C , and secondly, doubt as to how the rarer letter K should be written. It is thus not impossible that the inscription of nos. 1 and 2 should be reconstructed as RICCART:OIKAR . To support this we have *type b*, struck by the same moneyer, probably at Carlisle; the annulet on *type a*, an ornament found on the reverse of the Carlisle coin which has been attributed to the Bishop under David I; and an even greater difficulty if a mint $\text{hA} \dots$ has to be located elsewhere. Hamer (Whitekirk) was Burns's suggestion, but an abbey so far north is much less likely than a border fortress, known to be a mint at the time, which would complete the chain of strategic castles with Roxburgh and Berwick, the two certain mints of this type.

¹ B. E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, 1881, nos. 636-7.

² According to *B.M.C.*, vol. ii (no. 1543).

³ E. Burns, op. cit., figs. 68 and 68A (same reverse die).

⁴ *B.* figs. 67B and 69; the two 'R's are not the same.

⁵ *B.* fig. 126.

⁶ Unpublished.

⁷ e.g. *B.* fig. 140.

⁸ e.g. *B.* fig. 108.

⁹ e.g. *B.* fig. 93B.

¹⁰ See *P.S.A.S.* lxxi, p. 411 and *B.N.J.*, xxix, p. 97.

A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF SOME PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED 'SHORT CROSS' FINDS FROM THE BRITISH ISLES

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

ON p. xxxiii of the Introduction to the recently published *Inventory of British Coin Hoards*, there occur the following remarks:

Out of a total of seventeen Short Cross hoards, nine are concentrated in the South and East of England (one each in Kent and Surrey, two in London, and five from Essex and Suffolk). Of the rest one comes from Lancashire and two others from Yorkshire.

Unfortunately Mr. Thompson does not indicate his canon, but the allusion to a Short Cross hoard from Surrey provides the most obvious clue to the fact that there would seem to be something amiss as well with the arithmetic as with the geography of this particular passage.

If we check through the main body of the *Inventory*, we find that there are some twenty-five hoards which are there described as including one or more Short Cross pence, in some cases admittedly with a query. In the case of five of these hoards, however, namely those from Carrickfergus, Hornchurch, Nuneaton, Steppingly and Tom Fuarraich (nos. 72, 193, 296, 342, and 361), the Short Cross element is confined to the odd penny, and it is perfectly obvious that the finds were concealed long after the Short Cross coinage had been demonetized. So far we would seem to be with the *Inventory*, though it should be noted that not one of the twenty-five hoards is from the modern Surrey. Of the twenty hoards which *prima facie* belong to the Short Cross period properly so called, four should surely be excluded on the grounds of uncertainty. In the case of the Manx hoard from Ballatoes (no. 26) the balance of the evidence must be that the coins read 'Richard', i.e. were not Short Cross pennies at all, and here we should be very careful not to underestimate the magnetism of Cœur-de-Lion in an early nineteenth-century context. Concerning a major eighteenth-century hoard from Cutherstone (no. 113) my colleague Mrs. J. S. Martin has been kind enough to inform me that the sole survivor is in fact a Cross and Crosslets ('Tealby') penny, and that there is no positive evidence of any description that Short Cross coins were present in the find. On the evidence stated, too, we should be very chary of inferring that the rather mysterious find from Hockwold (no. 191) was composed even predominantly of Short Cross pennies, and still if this could be established there would remain the possibility that the 'hoard' is no more than a parcel from the big hoard from Mildenhall (no. 267), a locality topographically not quite so remote as the atlas might suggest. Even more nebulous is a Welsh hoard from Llangurig (no. 237), and Mr. Thompson himself may seem to have hinted at its exclusion from the canon when later on the same page he remarked: 'Wales has not produced any hoards for this period.' Nine, therefore, of the *Inventory's* twenty-five hoards cannot be admitted to a

valid distribution-map, but unfortunately it is not possible to indicate which one of these nine is included in the seventeen which comprise the total in the quotation with which this paper begins.

The sixteen concerning which there would seem to be no disagreement can be listed alphabetically as follows. In the case of English finds the county is given in brackets, and in each case the *Inventory* dating is appended, though it must be emphasized that the accuracy of many of these dates will have to be disputed later in the course of this paper.

No. 94	COLCHESTER	(Essex)	c. 1260
No. 135	DUBLIN	..	c. 1240
No. 152	ECCLES	(Lancashire)	c. 1240-1
No. 155	ENFIELD	(Middlesex)	13th century
No. 166	FRAMLINGHAM	(Suffolk)	13th century
No. 189	HICKLETON	(Yorkshire)	c. 1230
No. 216	KILMAINE	..	Mid or late 13th century
No. 232	LEWINSHOPE	..	13th century
No. 251	ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL	(London)	c. 1190
No. 267	MILDENHALL	(Suffolk)	13th century
No. 285	NEW LUCE	..	13th century
No. 288	NEWRY	..	after 1216?
No. 344	SUDBOURNE	(Suffolk)	c. 1241
No. 354	TESTON	(Kent)	c. 1220
No. 358	TIREE	..	c. 1247
No. 393	'YORKSHIRE'	(Yorkshire)	c. 1248

On the basis of this list the passage in the introduction to the *Inventory* should perhaps be emended as follows:

Out of a total of sixteen Short Cross hoards, seven are concentrated in the South and East of England (one each in Kent, London, Middlesex, and Essex, and three in Suffolk). Of the rest one comes from Lancashire, and two from Yorkshire.

There are, however, at least two important Short Cross hoards which Mr. Thompson has overlooked, and which have formed the subject of recent discussion in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, the Charlton hoard from near Dover in Kent, and the Elton hoard from Nottinghamshire. To these should be added highly significant hoards from Derbyshire and Cheshire which only came to light in 1958 and 1959 respectively, and there may seem room for a brief reconsideration of the general pattern of hoard-evidence from these islands in respect of the Short Cross coinage as a whole, and the more so since new evidence has been discovered concerning the date of the crucial Sudbourne hoard. In addition there is now the possibility of adding very substantially to the published accounts of the finds from Kilmaine and Tiree.

At the very outset, however, one must draw attention to other discrepancies between the text of the introduction of the *Inventory* and the body of the work. Also on p. xxxiii, we are told that two Short Cross finds, London, no. 246, and Framlingham, Suffolk, no. 166, 'include cross and crosslets pennies and were deposited c. 1190-1200'. In the body of the work, however, we find that the London Bridge find is dated c. 1170—which is approximately correct though perhaps a little on the late side—and there is no mention whatever of a Short Cross element. It is in fact a late 'Tealby' find and should not have been

mentioned at all, so that one wonders indeed whether 'no. 246' is not an error for 'no. 251'. As regards the Framlingham hoard, the date of deposit given in the text of the *Inventory* is 'XIIIth Century'—a bracket which seems unnecessarily wide inasmuch as a date after 1250 must be thought highly improbable—and this time there is no mention whatever of a Cross and Crosslets element. Nor can we continue to accept the implication that these two hoards are the only ones from south-eastern England which can be dated before 1240, but this is a question that will have to be discussed later.

Equally we may find it difficult to understand the statement, again on p. xxxiii, concerning 'hoards of this period' [from the context the Short Cross period (1180–1247)] to the effect that 'two deposits are recorded for Ireland and three for Scotland'. Inaccuracies in the index, for example, the citation of p. 55 as a reference for William the Lion, make it difficult to be certain how many hoards in fact fall within the stated period, but even if we confine ourselves to hoards certainly containing substantial numbers of Short Cross pence, Thompson himself has listed at least three hoards from Ireland, those from Dublin, Kilmaine and Newry, and not just two as claimed. Turning to p. xxxiv, we find the following remarkable statement:

The Eccles-Colchester-Sudbourne group has consequently been connected with Pope Gregory IX's levy of 1240–1. These finds, together with another at Teston, Kent (no. 354), show how common [*sic*] Scottish coins had become in England, while the composition of hoards at Newcastleton, Roxburghshire (no. 283), and Dyke, Inverness-shire (no. 150), indicate [*sic*] that Short Cross pennies penetrated to the most remote parts of Scotland.

Figures for Sudbourne are not available—though it is suggestive that no Scots coins were present in the random parcel to be published below—but in the case of the hoards from Colchester, Eccles, and Teston published totals suggest that the proportion of English to Scots coins was of the order of 100 to 1! What is even more disturbing is to find that the two Scots hoards cited as indicative of the penetration to the most remote parts of Scotland of Short Cross pence are not described in the body of the *Inventory* as including such pieces. There Thompson's own estimate of the English element in the Dyke hoard is '“Tealby” type?', though this is almost certainly incorrect, while the Newcastleton hoard is described as having been composed entirely of Long Cross coins, which statement is as accurate as it is inconsistent with the inference drawn therefrom. It is unfortunate, too, that Roxburghshire, far from being one of 'the most remote parts of Scotland', should be one of only three Scots shires which actually march with England! The confusion is the less explicable when we consider that there are in fact hoards from the most remote parts of Scotland where a Short Cross element is well-attested and even recorded as such in the *Inventory*—for example the finds from Tiree in the Hebrides and from New Luce in Wigtownshire (nos. 358 and 285 respectively).

There are, then, the two new hoards included, twenty-one hoards from the British Isles which appear to have contained Short Cross coins in substantial numbers. In the case of six, namely those from Dyke, Enfield, Framlingham, Lewinshope, Mildenhall, and New Luce, evidence for their precise date frankly is not forthcoming at present, but, as already remarked, Thompson's

estimate of 'XIIIth Century' for all but the first of these would seem quite unnecessarily wide. All the evidence is that the Long Cross recoinage of 1247 was successfully accomplished, and there would appear to be no British hoard from the second half of the thirteenth century where Short Cross coins are present in substantial numbers, let alone predominate. Moreover, of the fifteen hoards which can be dated with some precision, only two, those from St. Thomas's Hospital and Aston (Nantwich), would seem to have been deposited before the end of the twelfth century. Six would appear to belong to the troubled years *c.* 1210–*c.* 1215, and seven to the decade *c.* 1235–45. On this evidence therefore it is an eminently reasonable presumption that the six further hoards which happen not to have been described in detail belong to the first half of the thirteenth century unless there should be some very positive indication to the contrary. In no case does this seem to be present, and it is my suggestion that the English finds at least could be dated 'first half of the thirteenth century' with a very considerable degree of confidence.

Thompson sets his eleven hoards capable of being closely dated in the following approximate order, St. Thomas's Hospital ('*c.* 1190'), Newry ('After 1216?'), Teston ('*c.* 1220'), Hickleton ('*c.* 1230'), Dublin ('*c.* 1240'), Eccles ('*c.* 1240–1'), Sudbourne ('*c.* 1241'), Tiree ('*c.* 1247'), 'Yorkshire' ('*c.* 1248'), Colchester ('*c.* 1260'—but '*c.* 1240–1' in the body of the work!) and, finally, Kilmaine ('Mid or late XIIIth Century'). My own arrangement of the finds would be as follows, and in each case I have added a few notes to indicate both when and why I depart from my predecessors' datings. For convenience, too, I add at the appropriate points the four hoards, Charlton, Elton, Aston (Nantwich), and Taddington, which bring the 1960 tally of closely dated Short Cross finds to fifteen.

1. LONDON, St. Thomas's Hospital, 1863. (*Inventory* 251)

The *Inventory* states that there were 28 coins of which '2 described'. Thompson gives, however, the names of 13 of the moneyers of the 26 Short Cross coins. The following table supplies the types which they are recorded as having struck:

			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
CANTERBURY										
Ricard	.	.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LINCOLN										
Lefwine	.	.	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
LONDON										
Davi	.	.	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pieres	.	.	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pieres M	.	.	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Raul	.	.	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ricard	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—
Willelm	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+
WINCHESTER										
Gocelm	.	.	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
Osber(n)	.	.	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
Rodbert	.	.	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
YORK										
Hue (Hugo)	.	.	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—

Ricard at Canterbury remains, of course, a mystery, but the prosopographical evidence for an early date is so strong that the remark 'Perhaps of Lawrence cl. i or ii: described as having "many curls on each side of the head"' seems quite unnecessarily guarded. It will be noticed that the only type struck by all the moneyers is class I, and this is of course entirely consistent with the presence of two 'Tealbies'. On this evidence, therefore, I would be prepared to date the St. Thomas's Hospital hoard nearer the beginning than the end of the penultimate decade of the twelfth century.

2. ASTON, near Nantwich, Cheshire, c. 1939. (*Inventory* —)

Twenty years ago workmen were digging out foundations for a dairy at Newhall, Aston near Nantwich, when they came across a large hoard of silver coins. A number were distributed among the finders, but the bulk of the hoard seems to have been shovelled back into the excavation. The possibility that the hoard might be significant does not appear to have been appreciated, and the concealment from the authorities for the next two decades seems to have stemmed from ignorance and not from malice. In the autumn of 1959 the find came to the notice of Mr. F. H. Thompson, F.S.A., the curator of the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, and a total of 97 coins were readily surrendered to the local Coroner. As far as can be established at this distance of time, the three random parcels which formed the subject of the inquest held in March 1960 amount to not more than 10 per cent. and perhaps no more than 5 per cent. of the hoard as discovered, but the following table ought to show that as a sample they must be considered reasonably representative.

	<i>Parcel 'a'</i>	<i>Parcel 'b'</i>	<i>Parcel 'c'</i>	<i>Total</i>
CANTERBURY . . . . .	..	2	..	2
CARLISLE . . . . .	..	..	2	2
EXETER	1	1	1	3
LINCOLN	2	1	5	8
LONDON	19	11	15	45
NORTHAMPTON	1	..	3	4
NORWICH	2	1	2	5
OXFORD	1	1	1	3
RHUDDLAN	1	1	1	3
WILTON . . . . .	..	1	1	2
WINCHESTER	2	..	9	11
WORCESTER	1	..	2	3
YORK	3	1	2	6

The 93 coins amenable to the Lawrence classification are distributed between the first three of his eight classes as follows:

	<i>Parcel 'a'</i>	<i>Parcel 'b'</i>	<i>Parcel 'c'</i>	<i>Total</i>
Class Ia	1	..	1	2
Ib	26	10	32	68
Ic	3	3	5	11
Class IIa	1	3	3	7
IIb . . . . .	..	..	..	..
Class IIIa	1	2	2	5
IIIb . . . . .	..	..	..	..

It will be noticed at once that very nearly half the coins recovered are of the London mint, and also that two-thirds of the coins recovered are of Lawrence

class Ib. Attention should also be drawn to the circumstances that Lawrence class IIb is lacking, though coins of his class IIIa are present in each of the three parcels.

The coins the subject of the recent inquest may be listed as follows:

MINT OF CANTERBURY

ROBERD

IIa

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-----|---|
| 1. *ROBERD · ON · CÆN | 23·2 <i>grains</i> | (b) | 1 |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-----|---|

ULARD

IIa

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|-----|-----|
| 2. *VLARD · ON · CANT | 22·6 | (b) | 1 |
| | | | — 2 |

MINT OF CARLISLE

ALAIN

Ib

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|-----|-----|
| 3. *ALAIN · ON · CÆRD | 22·8 | (c) | } 2 |
| 4. *ALAIN · ON · CÆRD | 22·1 | (c) | |
| | | | — 2 |

MINT OF EXETER

RICARD

Ib

- | | | | |
|------------------------|------|-----|---|
| 5. *RICARD · ON · E—XÆ | 20·9 | (c) | 1 |
|------------------------|------|-----|---|

ROGER

Ia

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|-----|-----|
| 6. *ROGER · ON · E—ST | 21·2 | (a) | } 2 |
|-----------------------|------|-----|-----|

Ib

- | | | | |
|------------------------|------|-----|-----|
| 7. *ROGER · ON · EXECE | 21·8 | (b) | } 3 |
| | | | |
| | | | — 3 |

MINT OF LINCOLN

LEFWINE

Ib

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|------|-----|-----|
| 8. *LEFWINE · ON · NICO | 21·2 | (b) | } 3 |
| 9. *LEFWINE · ON · NICO | 22·1 | (c) | |
| 10. *LEFWINE · ON · NICO | 22·2 | (c) | |

RODBERT

Ib

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|------|-----|-----|
| 11. *RODBERT · ON · NICO | 21·6 | (a) | } 2 |
| 12. *RODBERT · ON · NICO | 22·6 | (c) | |

WILELM

Ib

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|------|-----------------------|-----|
| 13. *WILELM · ON · NICO | 21·9 | (v. doublestruck) (a) | } 3 |
| 14. *WILELM · ON · NICO | 21·6 | (c) | |
| 15. *WILELM · ON · NICO | 21·9 | (c) | |
| | | | — 8 |

MINT OF LONDON

AIMER

Ic?

16. *AIMER · ON · LVND 21·5 (v. doublestruck) (a) 1

IIIa

17. *AIMER · ON · LVND 21·9 (a)
 18. *AIMER · ON · LVND 23·3 (b)
 19. *AIMER · ON · LVND 21·9 (b)
 20. *AIMER · ON · LVND 21·2 (c) } 4

DAVI

Ib

21. *DAVI · ON · LVND 21·6 (a)
 22. *DAVI · ON · LVNDE 22·1 (b)
 23. *DAVI · ON · LVND 21·5 (b) } 3

Ic

FIL·AIMER

Ib

24. *FIL·AIMER · ON · LVN 22·2 (a)
 25. *FIL·AIMER · ON · LVN 21·9 (c) } 2

GEFREI/IEFREI

Ib

26. *IEFREI · ON · LVND 21·9 (b)
 27. *GEFREI · ON · LVN 21·6 (b) } 2

Ib or c

GODARD

Ib

28. *GODARD · ON · LVND 22·0 (c) 1

IOHAN

Ib

29. *IOHAN · ON · LVNDE 21·8 (a)
 30. *IOHAN · ON · LVND 21·6 (c) } 2

Ic

OSBER

Ib

31. *OSBER · ON · LVN 21·2 (a)
 32. *OSBER · ON · LVND 20·9 (b) } 2

PIERES

Ib

33. *PIERES · ON · LVND 23·0 (a)
 34. *PIERES · ON · LVND 22·1 (a)
 35. *PIERES · ON · LVND 22·1 (a)
 36. *PIERES · ON · LVND 21·7 (a)
 37. *PIERES · ON · LVND 22·1 (a)
 38. *PIERES · ON · LVND 23·3 (a)
 39. *PIERES · ON · LVND 21·9 (b)
 40. *PIERES · ON · LVND 21·3 (c)
 41. *PIERES · ON · LVND 21·3 (c)
 42. *PIERES · ON · LVND 20·4 (c)
 43. *PIERES · ON · LVNDE 21·4 (c)
 44. *PIERES · ON · LVN 21·5 (c) } 12

Ic

PIERES M

Ib

45. *PIERES · M · ON · LVN	22·0	(a)	} 3
46. *PIERES · M · ON · LVN	22·2	(a)	
47. *PIERES · M · ON · LVN	21·7	(c)	

RANDUL

Ib

48. *RÆNDVL · ON · LVND	19·3	(c)	1
-------------------------	------	-----	---

RAUL

Ib

49. *RÆVL · ON · LVND	23·6	(a)	} 9
-----------------------	------	-----	-----

Ic

50. *RÆVL · ON · LVNDE	21·9	(a)
51. *RÆVL · ON · LVND	19·9	(a)
52. *RÆVL · ON · LVND	22·6	(b)
53. *RÆVL · ON · LVNDE	22·7	(b)

IIa

54. *RÆVL · ON · LVND	21·3	(c)	} 5
55. *RÆVL · ON · LVNDE	21·9	(a)	
56. *RÆVL · ON · LVNDE	22·0	(c)	
57. *RÆVL · ON · LVNDE	21·5	(c)	

REINALD

Ib

58. *REINÆLD · ON · LVN	20·6	(a)	1
-------------------------	------	-----	---

RICARD

IIa

59. *RICÆRD · ON · LVN	22·7	(b)	} 2
------------------------	------	-----	-----

IIIa

60. *RICARD · ON · LVN	23·1	(c)
------------------------	------	-----

—45

MINT OF NORTHAMPTON

HUGO

Ib

61. *HVGO · ON · NORHT	19·6	(c)	1
------------------------	------	-----	---

WALTER

Ib

62. *WALTER · ON · NOR	20·4	(c)	} 3
63. *WALTER · ON · NORÆ	21·8	(a)	
64. *WALTER · ON · N——	21·0 (doublestruck)	(c)	

— 4

MINT OF NORWICH

REINALD

Ib

65. *REINÆLD · ON · NOR	21·9	(a)	} 5
66. *REINÆLD · ON · NOR	22·1	(a)	
67. *REINÆLD · ON · NOR	22·1	(b)	
68. *REINÆLD · ON · NOR	21·6	(c)	
69. *REINÆLD · ON · NOR	22·1	(c)	

— 5

MINT OF OXFORD

OWEIN

Ib

70. *OWEIN · ON · —N	22·1	(b)	1
----------------------	------	-----	---

RICARD

Ib

71. *RICARD · ON · OX—	21·9	(a)	} 2
72. *RICARD · ON · OX—	21·8 (doublestruck)	(c)	
			— 3

MINT OF RUDDLAN

HALLI

'Ib'

73. *HALLI · ON · RVLT	21·5	(a)	} 3
74. *HALLI · ON · RVLT	19·9	(b)	
75. *HALLI · ON · RVLT	19·3	(c)	
			— 3

MINT OF WILTON

OSBER

Ib

76. *OSBER · ON · WILT	21·6	(b)	} 2
77. *OSBER · ON · WILT	22·2	(c)	
			— 2

MINT OF WINCHESTER

ADAM

Ib

78. *ADAM · ON · WINC	21·0	(c)	} 6
79. *ADAM · ON · WINC	21·5	(c)	
80. *ADAM · ON · WINC	22·4	(c)	
81. *ADAM · ON · WINC	20·9	(c)	
		Ic	
82. *ADAM · ON · WINC	21·8	(c)	} 2
83. *ADAM · ON · WINC	22·7	(c)	

OSBER

Ib

84. *OSBER · ON · WINC	19·6	(c)	} 3
85. *OSBER · ON · WINC	21·5	(c)	
86. *OSBER · ON · WINCE	21·8	(c)	

REINIER

Ib

87. *REINIER · ON · WINC	19·5	(a)	1
--------------------------	------	-----	---

RODBERT

Ib

88. *RODBERT · ON · WIN	22·1	(a)	1
			— 11

MINT OF WORCESTER

GODWINE

Ib

89. *GODWINE • ON • WIRI	22.4	(a)	} 2
90. *GODWI ————— WIR	14.5	(broken) (c)	

OSBER

Ic

91. *OSBER • ON • W ————— ¹	22.6	(c)	1 — 3
--	------	-----	----------

MINT OF YORK

GERARD

Ib

92. *GERARD • ON • EVER	18.3	(a)	1
-------------------------	------	-----	---

HUGO

Ib

93. *HUGO • ON • EVERW	23.2	(a)	} 2
94. *HUGO • ON • EVERW	20.2	(a)	

ISA(A)C

Ia

95. *ISAC • ON • EVERWI	19.5	(c)	1
-------------------------	------	-----	---

TURKIL

Ib

96. *TVRK • IL • ON EVERI	21.5	(b)	1
---------------------------	------	-----	---

WILLELM

Ib

97. *WILLELM • ON ——— ER	22.7	(c)	1 — 6
--------------------------	------	-----	----------

The date of deposit of the hoard is not too easily established, but the absence of coins of Durham and of Shrewsbury must be significant. The Durham mint had opened by 1196, and there is good though neglected evidence that Shrewsbury was opened in 1194/5. The known Shrewsbury coins, incidentally, are all of classes III and IV and not of his class II, so already the Lawrence classifications and chronology was open to the gravest objection even if the new find had not suggested that class IIIa followed directly after class IIa. It must be remembered, however, that when Lawrence and Brooke were writing, the possibility that the Lichfield coin in the British Museum might not be all that it was claimed to be seems never to have been considered, and there can be no doubt that numismatists generally have been 'hypnotized' by this tooled coin which perhaps no more than happens to coincide too neatly with a piece of documentary evidence to which far more significance has been attached than is historically justified. Especially when it is borne in mind that Shrewsbury is the nearest Short Cross mint to Aston—the distance as the

¹ Obverse die-link with coin in B.M. with mint-signature **WIRIC**.

crow flies is a little under twenty miles—the probability must be that the Aston (Nantwich) hoard was deposited before 1195 at the very latest.

The *terminus post quem* can be determined with equal validity. Present in the parcel of the hoard recovered are two coins of the Canterbury mint which reopened in 1189, and obviously time must be allowed for Canterbury to have struck class IIa before the introduction of Lawrence class IIIa at some uncertain date before 1194. When further it is borne in mind that London coins of class IIIa had reached Cheshire before the concealment of the Aston (Nantwich) find, it is clear that a date much before 1193 is open to objection on more than one ground.

For practical purposes then the Aston (Nantwich) hoard may be dated *c.* 1193±2, and in this context the inclusion of three coins of Rhuddlan assumes almost disproportionate significance. In the past it has usually been argued that none of the Rhuddlan coins are earlier than 1240, though as it happens Carlyon-Britton was prepared to concede a date *c.* 1212, and if numismatists wish to have an object lesson in how not to use documentary evidence they cannot do better than to peruse the various passages in which Andrew, Carlyon-Britton, Parsons and even Lawrence propound their different datings. If we examine, too, the Halli coins that have come down to us, we find that essentially all are crude versions of class Ib, the cross pommée initial-mark so redolent of class Va deriving in fact from a desire for economy which found expression in the use for this purpose of the punches for the quarterings of the reverse type. On the evidence of the Aston (Nantwich) hoard, therefore, it must be conceded that the mint of Rhuddlan was operating—and the castle presumptively in English hands—at some time in the penultimate decade of the twelfth century, but I leave it to the historians to relate this operation to the more conventional historical sources, if they exist. Since, too, the coins of Halli are now seen to be distinct from those of his colleagues, I would like to suggest the possibility that the mint of Rhuddlan struck episodically throughout the Short Cross period, the coins of the other moneys being associated with successive phases of English occupation. I would stress, though, that the impossibility of dating the whole of the output of the Rhuddlan mint as late as 1240 should have been apparent to Lawrence—and Brooke—from the first. Without going beyond the pages of the 1861 *Numismatic Chronicle* we are brought up against the inclusion of at least one Rhuddlan coin in the Newry hoard deposited on any telling not later than *c.* 1215.

3. SUDBOURNE, Suffolk, before 1903. (*Inventory* 344)

Within the last two years much new light has been shed on this hoard by the discovery of a random parcel which had come into the possession of Mr. G. R. Kerry of Hartest who very kindly has given me permission to publish it here. I am also indebted to Mr. C. E. Blunt for giving me the original clue to its existence, and to Mr. A. R. Edwardson of the Bury St. Edmunds Museum who has acted as a most courteous and willing intermediary. The first numismatist to draw attention to the hoard was W. J. Andrew, and his account, which appears in the notorious 'Buried Treasure' paper in the first volume of this *Journal*, is very guarded. There is some reason to think that the date of the discovery was put back as much as a couple of decades—presumably to

dissuade the authorities from taking an interest—and one also wonders whether the suggestion, or rather assumption, that the composition was identical with that of the great finds from Eccles and Colchester may not have been intended to have the same effect. One can well imagine the alarm and despondency that would have been exhibited by Evans and Grueber at the prospect of ‘another Colchester’ within a matter of months. Equally, of course, the assumption that the hoard did include the same types as Eccles and Colchester was most useful for the theory—which can now be shown on other grounds to be improbable—that the three hoards were connected with the Papal levy of 1240/1241. Mr. Kerry, however, is quite specific that his coins were from a very large hoard from Sudbourne church discovered when he was a youth, and I feel that most numismatists will prefer to accept his statements *and* the evidence of the coins to the vague claims of the ‘Buried Treasure’ paper where incidentally the Sudbourne coins are *not* ‘minutely compared’ with those from Eccles and Colchester.

Mr. Kerry’s parcel was found to number 49 coins, survivors of a round fifty, and again it should be emphasized that they represent a random selection made by a non-numismatist at the actual time of the discovery. The composition is as follows:

MINT OF CANTERBURY

ARNAUD		
Class Vb		
1. *ARNAUD · ON · CÆ	<i>grains</i>	23·2
COLDWINE		
Class Vc		
2. *COLDVVINE · ON · CÆ		24·2
IOHAN		
Class Va		
3. *IOHAN · ON · CÆN		22·2
Class Vc		
4. *IOHAN · ON · CÆ		23·8
IOHAN M.		
Class Vc		
5. *IOHAM · M · ON · CÆ		22·7
ROBERD		
Class Vc		
6. *ROBERD · ON · CÆN		24·0
SAMUEL		
Class Vc		
7. *SAMVEL · ON · CÆ		24·2
SIMON		
Class Vc		
8. *SIMON · ON · CÆNT		23·5

MINT OF CHICHESTER

PIERES

Class Vb

grains

- | | |
|--------------------------|------|
| 9. *PIERES · ON · C · CE | 22·4 |
|--------------------------|------|

MINT OF EXETER

IOHAN

Class Vb

- | | |
|------------------------|------|
| 10. *IOHAN · ON · ECCE | 22·3 |
|------------------------|------|

MINT OF IPSWICH

IOHAN

Class Vc

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 11-18. *IOHAN · ON · GIPE | 22·9, 22·8, 22·7, 22·6,
22·3, 22·2, 22·1, 21·2, |
| 19-26. *IOHAN · ON · GIPE | 23·4, 23·1, 22·9, 22·9,
22·8, 22·7, 22·4, 22·1. |

MINT OF LINCOLN

HUE

Class Vb

- | | |
|------------------------|------|
| 27. *HVE · ON · NICOLE | 23·2 |
|------------------------|------|

MINT OF LONDON

ABEL

Class Vc

- | | |
|------------------------|------|
| 28. *ABEL · ON · LVNDE | 22·7 |
| 29. *ABEL · ON · LVN | 23·0 |

BENEIT

Class Vb or c

- | | |
|-----------------------|------|
| 30. BENEIT · ON · LVN | 23·8 |
|-----------------------|------|

ILGER

Class Vb

- | | |
|-------------------------|------|
| 31. *ILGER · ON · LVNDE | 23·0 |
| 32. *ILGER · ON · LVND | 22·9 |
| 33. *ILGER · ON · LVND | 22·9 |
| 34. *ILGER · ON · LVN | 21·8 |

Class Vc

- | | |
|-------------------------|------|
| 35. *ILGER · ON · LVNDE | 23·2 |
|-------------------------|------|

RAUF

Class Vc

- | | |
|------------------------|------|
| 36. *RAUF · ON · LVNDE | 22·9 |
| 37. *RAUF · ON · LVNDE | 22·8 |
| 38. *RAUF · ON · LVND | 23 0 |

RICARD B.

Class Vb

- | | |
|---------------------------|------|
| 39. *RICARD · B · ON · LV | 23·3 |
|---------------------------|------|

WALTER		
Class Vc		<i>grains</i>
40.	*VVÆLTER • ON • LVN •	23·1
41.	*VVÆLTER • ON • LVN	22·8
42.	*VVÆLTER • ON • LVN	22·5
43.	*VVÆLTER • ON • LVN	22·2
44.	*VVÆLTER • ON • LVN	21·9
45.	*VVÆLTER • ON • LV	23·1
46.	*VVÆLTER • ON • LV	22·7
47.	*VVÆLTER • ON • LV	22·2

MINT OF WINCHESTER

LUKAS		
Class Vb		
48.	*LVRAꝢ • ON • VVIN	22·0
RICARD		
Class Vb		
49.	*RICARD • ON • VVIN	23·4

The list may be summarized in table form as follows:

	<i>Class Va</i>	<i>Class Vb</i>	<i>Class Vc</i>
CANTERBURY	1	1	6
CHICHESTER . . . .	..	1	..
EXETER . . . . .	..	1	..
IPSWICH . . . . .	..	..	16
LINCOLN . . . . .	..	1	..
LONDON . . . . .	..	6 (5?)	14 (15?)
WINCHESTER . . . .	..	2	..
	—	—	—
	1	12 (11?)	36 (37?)
	—	—	—

On this evidence there can be little doubt that the Sudbourne hoard is to be dated before the introduction of class VI in 1218. How much before is another question. More than two-thirds of the coins are of Lawrence class Vc, and on the evidence of the Durham mint this variety was introduced shortly before 1208, and seems still to have been in production in 1210, when the dies for the Irish coinage were ordered, but there is absolutely no reason to suppose that coins of this type continued to be struck right down to the recoinage of 1218. Medieval coinage, we do well to remember, was always essentially episodic. As will have been noticed from the above list, the sixteen Ipswich coins are all of the one variety and of the one moneyer. Moreover all are from the same obverse die, and from only two reverse dies. Inevitably one recalls Mr. Blunt's remark concerning the Erconwald tremisses in the Crondall hoard 'The inference seems inescapable that all these coins that are so strongly die-linked can only recently have left their place(s) of issue'. On this telling one is tempted to push back the date of the Sudbourne hoard to *c.* 1210, and a further argument in support of the view that the class V coins it contains had not been in currency for any great period is provided by the good weight of virtually every penny. It may indeed be thought that the weights are suspiciously high, but even if there were a constant error on the part of the scales

used the fact would still remain that all the weights but one fall within a bracket of 3 grains, and there form a neat and convincing frequency-peak. This is in marked contrast to the picture presented by the coins in the Nantwich parcel where one coin in seven falls outside the 3-grain bracket, and there is a notable falling-away in the case of the older coins. In the same way we have to remark the absence of coins of Bury St. Edmunds, class V, coins of which by the moneyer Fulke are by no means rare, and it is difficult to postulate any dating of the Sudbourne hoard which would place it as late as the very end of the issue of Lawrence class Vc. As we have seen this *terminus ante quem* cannot be established as yet with precision, but the fact that Fulke is no longer the Bury St. Edmunds moneyer in class VI suggests that Lawrence class Vc at that mint did not run on into class VI. In other words, the presumptive date of the Sudbourne find is before c. 1215, and I myself feel that a date nearer 1210 might be preferable on the evidence at present available.

In the *British Numismatic Journal* paper already mentioned Andrew claimed that there were also Scots coins in the Sudbourne find, and on the analogy of the Teston and Elton finds we may accept that there were quite probably a very few, despite their omission from the parcel listed above.

4. NEWRY, Ireland, c. 1857. (*Inventory* 288)

Unfortunately the *Inventory* has overlooked one highly significant primary source, the 1861 *Numismatic Chronicle*, where Sainthill listed forty-three coins from the hoard which were 'new' to him. As suggested by me in the 1954 *British Numismatic Journal* we cannot ignore the fact that not one of the moneyers concerned is known in classes VII and VIII, and indeed the great majority are not known after class IV. A Chichester coin of class V, however, places the deposit after 1205, and corroboration of this comes from the presence of a few Lawrence class Va coins of other mints. Perhaps, too, we may accept that class V coins were under-represented in Sainthill's selection—the type was already present in fair numbers in English cabinets as a result of finds such as those from Charlton, Elton, and Teston. Nevertheless, Thompson's dating 'after 1216?' seems unduly on the late side, though the Irish coins give a *terminus post quem* of 1210, and the balance of the evidence must surely favour the view that the hoard was concealed not later than 1215 and perhaps a year or two earlier.

5. TESTON, Kent, 1845. (*Inventory* 354)

Again it is instructive to plot the different types for which the recorded moneyers are known, and I think it will be agreed that the pattern is one that is significant in the extreme.

				I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
CANTERBURY											
Goldwine	—	+	+	+	—	—	—
Iohan	—	—	+	+	+	+	+
Iohan B	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Iohan M	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Meinir	—	+	+	—	—	—	—
Samuel	—	—	+	+	+	+	—
B 8835						Y					

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
CHICHESTER								
Willelm	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
DURHAM								
Pieres	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	—
LINCOLN								
Hue	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
LONDON								
Abel	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Fulke	—	—	+	+	+	—	—	—
Ilger	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—
Rauf	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Walter	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—
Willem T	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
NORWICH								
Renaud	+	—	—	+	+	—	—	—
WINCHESTER								
Lukas	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
YORK								
Nicole	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—

Obviously the Teston hoard was deposited after the virtual recoinage of 1205 which is represented by class V, but the establishment of the probable *terminus ante quem* will have to be arrived at by a slightly different process of reasoning.

A systematic analysis of the printed reports of the great hoards from Eccles and from Colchester suggests that the following moneyers who are not known in class V struck class VI on a very substantial scale:

CANTERBURY	'Arnold'. ¹ Henri, Roger, Tomas
BURY ST. EDMUNDS	Rauf

In the case of 'Arnold', moreover, coins of class VII are unknown, and so there cannot be any reasonable doubt but that all the coins attributed to him are of class VI. In the same way, the following moneyers who did not begin striking until class VII are represented by so many coins in the two finds in question that it may safely be assumed that their output in class VII was very considerable indeed:

LONDON	Elis, Gefrei, Ledulf, Terri
CANTERBURY	Ioan Chic, Ioan Fr, Osmund, Roger of R, Salemun, Willem, Willem Ta
BURY ST. EDMUNDS	Norman, Simund

Since, too, class VIII was certainly absent from both these hoards, all coins by these moneyers must have been of class VII. If, therefore, a hoard of substantial size contains no London coins by Elis, Gefrei, Ledulf, or Terri, no Canterbury coins by Ioan Chic, Ioan Fr, Osmund, Roger of R, Salemun, Willem, or Willem Ta, and no Bury coins by Norman or Simund, it is a very fair presumption that it was concealed before the introduction of class VII. In the same way the absence of coins of these moneyers taken in conjunction with the absence of Canterbury coins of 'Arnold', Henri, Roger, and Tomas and of Bury coins of Rauf must surely mean that the hoard was buried before the issue of class VI. Nobody should be more suspicious of the *argumentum*

¹ Presumptively the same man as Arnaud in class V, but the spelling distinction which is consistent is a most convenient criterion for our present purpose.

e silentio than the numismatist, but on the other hand the absence of all coins by all these moneyers takes on a cumulative force that it would be quite unscientific to disregard. The argument is no more than slightly weakened if it is conceded that not all moneyers striking for the first time in a given type necessarily had done so from that type's inception.

Applying this test to the Kentish hoard from near Maidstone we find that it contained no coins by moneyers who seem to have begun operating in class VI (nor for that matter in class VII). Only in five cases were there present coins which *could* have been later than class V, and as it happens they are by moneyers whom we know to have been prolific in class V. It is my submission, therefore, that we are dealing with a hoard where there exists at least a *prima facie* case that it had been buried during the issue of class V, and a date *c.* 1210–*c.* 1215 is also one that is very plausible for a hoard from this area for reasons that are purely historical. If, on the other hand, we date the hoard with Thompson after the accession of Henry III, that obvious historical explanation is no longer forthcoming—admittedly not in itself by any means a fatal objection—and we have also to explain the presumptive absence of class VI which would seem to have been struck in quite substantial quantities within a very few months of its introduction in or about the year 1218.

6. CHARLTON, near Dover, Kent, 1765. (*Inventory* —)

In a paper in the 1957 *Numismatic Chronicle* Dr. D. M. Metcalf has set out in detail our reasons for regarding this hoard as another class V find of very much the same general composition as the Teston hoard from the same county. Again a date of deposit *c.* 1210–*c.* 1215 would be appropriate both on historical and purely numismatic grounds, and once more a date as late as *c.* 1220 would run contrary to the apparent total absence of class VI.

7. ELTON, Nottinghamshire, 1780. (*Inventory* —)

This hoard was discussed at some length in the 1956 *Numismatic Chronicle*, and a date suggested 'nearer 1220 than 1210'. At that time I had not drawn up a list of the prolific moneyers who appear to have *begun* striking in class VI, and on reflection I am inclined to think that I may have attached too much weight to the proportion of moneyers who *continued* to strike in class VI. In each case they had been prolific in class V, and I now see no reason at all to suppose that the hoard was concealed after the 'reform' of 1218. On the other hand, the hoard contained a number of pence that cannot have been earlier than Lawrence Vc, for example the illustrated London coin of Walter, and a date *c.* 1210–*c.* 1215 must seem extremely plausible, and the more so when the hoard is set against the background of the history of John's last years.

8. 'YORKSHIRE', near Doncaster?, 1861. (*Inventory* 393)

Again it is instructive to set out the recorded moneyers with the types that they are known to have struck:

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
CANTERBURY								
Arnaud	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Goldwine	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	—
Hue	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—
Iohan	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
CANTERBURY (<i>cont.</i>)								
Iohan B	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Iohan M	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Robert	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	—
Samuel	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	—
Simon	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	—
CARLISLE								
Tomas	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
CHICHESTER								
Pieres	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Rauf	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Willelm	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
DURHAM								
Pieres	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	—
EXETER								
Gileberd	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Iohan	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
LINCOLN								
Hue	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Rauf	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Ricard	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
LONDON								
Abel	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—
Adam	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	—
Beneit	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Fulke	—	—	+	+	+	—	—	—
Ilger	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—
Rauf	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—
Rener	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—
Ricard	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—
Walter	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—
Willelm	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—
Willelm B	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Willelm L	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Willelm T	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
LYNN								
Nicole	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Willelm	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
NORTHAMPTON								
Adam	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
NORWICH								
Giffrei	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Iohan	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—
Renaud	+	—	—	+	+	—	—	—
OXFORD								
Ailwine	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Henri	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
ROCHESTER								
Alisandre	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
WINCHESTER								
Adam	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Andreu	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Bartelme	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Iohan	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—
Lukas	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
Miles	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—

					I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
YORK												
Davi	—	—	—	+	+	—	—
Nicole	—	—	—	+	+	—	—
Renaud	—	—	—	—	+	—	—

It will be noticed that every moneyer recorded is known for class V, and also that representation of moneyers who *begin* striking in class V is very pronounced. At once, therefore, we may put the Yorkshire hoard after 1205, and the probability must be that it belongs to the same quinquennium *c.* 1210–15 as the finds from Sudbourne, Newry, Teston, Charlton, and Elton which have already been the subject of discussion. There is of course the possibility that it could have been deposited after the new coinage of 1218—a few of the moneyers represented are also known in class VI and one or two in class VII as well—but on reflection the possibility must be considered remote indeed. To begin with, there are no coins of the five prolific moneyers ('Arnold', Henri, Roger, and Tomas of Canterbury, and Rauf of Bury St. Edmunds) who begin striking in class VI. Only less significant is the absence of coins of Bury St. Edmunds—an absence paralleled, as we have seen, at Sudbourne. Also we may note that the York coins in this Yorkshire find are none of them later than class V, though if any coins in the hoard were to be of class VI we might have expected them to be from the York mint where four moneyers struck the type in question. It is also to be remarked that the moneyers represented in the find who are known in class VI all had struck in class V on a considerable scale—at least to judge from the number of specimens in the British Museum trays, a fairly good index of comparative rarity as regards classes V–VII. On balance, therefore, the evidence is almost conclusive that the 'Yorkshire' hoard was deposited before *c.* 1215, a far cry from the '*c.* 1248' of the *Inventory* and a modification that is the more important because the other hoard from the same neighbourhood is 'late', i.e. includes coins certainly of classes VI and VII.

9. HICKLETON, Yorkshire, 1946. (*Inventory* 189)

In the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum there is preserved a copy of Lawrence's 1914 Short Cross paper with a number of marginal annotations by the late Dr. G. C. Brooke. On p. 36 against the name of Nichole appears the following:

in 1237 obtained an agreement with the king concerning the dies of London and Canterbury

No authority is given but I am grateful to my friend the Reverend K. Tibbo, M.A., for the information that this note is based on an entry in the relevant King's Remembrancer Roll. There are, moreover, other documentary references which suggest that Lawrence class VII may have come to an end rather earlier than has usually been supposed. Certainly class VIIc would seem to have been in issue *c.* 1237, and very probably by *c.* 1235. It is indeed to be hoped that Mr. Tibbo's researches will soon be published, and in the meantime the student is referred to the copy of his M.A. thesis deposited in the University Library at Reading. For our present purpose, however, it is sufficient to note that there is a definite presumption that a hoard containing

Nichole coins of both London and Canterbury is to be dated after *c.* 1237, and also that a hoard that ends with coins of class VIIb belongs to the fourth decade of the thirteenth century.

In his summary account of the Hickleton hoard in the 1946 *Numismatic Chronicle* Mr. N. Smedley did not attempt to break down the class VII coins into the three varieties distinguished by the 1914 *British Numismatic Journal*. Nevertheless, it is possible to infer from the *Inventory* summary that the hoard ran at least as late as Lawrence class VIIb—one of the moneyers represented, the London moneyer Terri, is known for class VIIb and c but not for class VIIa. Certainty is of course impossible, but on the present evidence it is not impossible that the find belongs to the wider grouping dominated by the great hoards from Eccles and from Colchester. Perhaps, then, *c.* 1235 would be preferable for a tentative dating to the *Inventory's* *c.* 1230 which must surely seem a little on the early side. It is to be hoped, however, a detailed republication of the find will be given priority by Yorkshire numismatists.

10. ECCLES, Lancashire, 1864. (*Inventory* 152)

There are notable parallels between the composition of this hoard and that of the even larger treasure from Colchester. On the other hand, there are little points of difference. For example, Lawrence was in error when he claimed that both finds contained Nichole coins from London and from Canterbury. Unfortunately, until we know for certain the date of the introduction of class VIII, we have no secure *terminus ante quem* from which we can reckon backwards on the basis of the proportion occurring of class VIIc coins of Nichole, which are much more common than the presence in the Colchester find of single specimens from each mint might lead one to suppose. Since Eccles is rather more remote from London and Canterbury than is Colchester, however, it could be argued that the two hoards are in fact exactly the same date in which case we would have to suppose that they were deposited almost immediately after Nichole's 1237 appointment. This would not accord too well with Andrew's suggestion that the two hoards were connected with a Papal levy of 1240/1241, but, as we have seen, one link in his chain of 'evidence' has vanished with the new—and solidly based—dating now available for the Sudbourne find (*supra*, p. 311). Perhaps it is safer for the present to confine ourselves to a broad estimate, and I myself feel that a dating *c.* 1240 is the most that can be attempted pending Mr. Tibbo's detailed review of the literary evidence.

11. COLCHESTER, Essex, 1902. (*Inventory* 94)

A discrepancy between the *Inventory* datings on p. xxxiv and p. 33 has already been noted (*supra*, p. 300). As in the case of the Eccles hoard a dating *c.* 1240 seems the most that can be attempted in the present state of our knowledge, and the numismatist would probably be wise to avoid committing himself to acceptance of the 'Buried Treasure' theory as it stands. It must be remembered that the numismatist has only one class VIII coin from a hoard from these islands, and that the Continental hoards which contain late Short Cross coins (e.g. those from Brussels, Norrbys in Gotland and Hildesheim) are all deposited at least a year or two after the introduction of

the Long Cross penny. They do suggest, however, that the issue of Lawrence class VIII may have been on a more substantial scale than hitherto has been suspected, and the fact that extant specimens of this class in English cabinets betray comparatively few die-identities might well be thought to bear this out. In other words, to date the introduction of class VIII to 1242 would raise no numismatic problems, and, as we shall see, there is some reason to think that Nichole may have been striking class VIIc for some time after other class VIIc moneyers had ceased to operate.

12. TADDINGTON, Derbyshire, 1958. (*Inventory* —)

Early in June 1958 the discovery of four silver pennies by a schoolboy was reported to the Director of the Sheffield Museum. The find had been made by chance at a spot in a hillside field at Top Farm, Taddington, a village between Bakewell and Buxton in Derbyshire, and the four coins had been picked up over a period of eighteen months. They are marked (a) in the list that follows. The next day the Director visited the site, and two further coins, marked (b) in the list, were recovered. The find was duly reported to the local Coroner who communicated with the British Museum. A few days later the boy found two more coins, marked (c) in the list that follows, but after that the most diligent search failed to produce further specimens. It would seem, therefore, that we are dealing with a small find and not with strays from a major hoard, though of course the latter possibility still cannot be absolutely precluded. At the ensuing inquest the jury, perhaps rather surprisingly, returned a verdict that the coins were not treasure trove, and it is only possible to publish an account of them here because of detailed notes taken when the coins were first submitted for report before the inquest. It is understood, though, that some of the coins concerned may since have been acquired by a museum, and it is indeed to be hoped that this may have been the case.

The coins may be listed as follows:

Class IV.

LONDON

Stivene

- | | | | |
|------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|----------|
| 1. *STIVENE · ON · LVN | (a) | Doublestruck
Die-axis 270° | 20·7 gr. |
|------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|----------|

Class VIIb

CANTERBURY

Ioan

- | | | | |
|----------------|-----|---------------|----------|
| 2. *IOANONCANT | (c) | Die-axis 250° | 22·8 gr. |
|----------------|-----|---------------|----------|

Willem

- | | | | |
|------------------|-----|--------------|----------|
| 3. *VVILLEMONCAN | (a) | Die-axis 90° | 21·3 gr. |
|------------------|-----|--------------|----------|

LONDON

Nichole

- | | | | |
|------------------|-----|--------------|----------|
| 4. *NICOLEONLVND | (b) | Die-axis 30° | 21·9 gr. |
|------------------|-----|--------------|----------|

Raulf

- | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|---------------|----------|
| 5. *RAVLFONLVND | (a) | Die-axis 180° | 21·9 gr. |
|-----------------|-----|---------------|----------|

<i>Class VIIc</i>			
CANTERBURY			
Ioan Chic.			
6. *IOANC—ONCÆN	(c)	Die-axis 150°	21·7 gr.
LONDON			
Nichole			
7. *NICHOLU — NIUVN	(a)	Die-axis 315°	22·4 gr.
8. *NICHOLGEONIVN	(b)	Die-axis 160°	21·4 gr.

Clearly the hoard is slightly later in date than the great hoards from Eccles and Colchester—the presence of the three coins of Nichole seems to guarantee this if nothing else. On the other hand there is no coin of Lawrence class VIII, and I would be reluctant to date the hoard later than 1242 when I believe that the last of the eight Short Cross classes was introduced (cf. Mr. Elmore Jones's very pertinent remarks in *B.N.J.* xxv. iii (1948), pp. 286–90). All in all, then, a date c. 1240 may seem acceptable on the present evidence, and this would seem to be the latest Short Cross find from England that has been recorded to date.

13. TIREE, Hebrides, 1787. (*Inventory* 358)

Mrs. J. S. Martin's recent researches into the Ruding MSS. preserved in the British Museum enable much to be added to Lindsay's brief mention. On the basis of a transcript of the Reverend Richard Southgate's almost contemporary listing of a portion of the hoard presented to the British Museum, the date of discovery can be moved back a year, and we now know that both this hoard and the 1782 find of tenth-century pence had been concealed in pottery containers buried between two and three feet of the surface. The find-spots of both hoards are indicated, and that of the Short Cross hoard is given as the immediate vicinity of Dun Hiadin. More important still, Mrs. Martin has been able to identify no fewer than forty coins in the British Museum as being from this hoard, and we can now be reasonably certain that this hoard follows the same general pattern as those from Eccles and Colchester. Once again, too, Lawrence class VIII seems to have been completely absent.

Class Ia	
EXETER, Iordan	
Class Ib	
WINCHESTER, Gocelm	
Class III	
CANTERBURY, Ulard	
Class IV	
LONDON, Fulke: NORWICH, Iohan	
Class Va	
CANTERBURY, Hue: LONDON, Ricard: YORK, Davi	
Class Vb	
CANTERBURY, Arnaud; Robert; Simon: IPSWICH, Alisandre; Iohan: LINCOLN, Andreu; Hue: LONDON, Beneit: WINCHESTER, Andreu	

Class Vc

CANTERBURY, Iohan M: LONDON, Adam; Rauf; Walter

Class VI

BURY ST. EDMUNDS, Rauf: CANTERBURY, Hiun; Roger

Class VII

BURY ST. EDMUNDS, Norman; Simun; Willem: CANTERBURY, Ioan Fr.; Iun; Osmund; Salemun; Tomas; Willem: LONDON, Elis; Giffrei; Ledulf; Nichole; Raulf; Terri

Anomalous

'Goldvine on Eisi'

Two further coins are listed but cannot now be traced. The moneyers are 'Reinard' (= Reinaud) of Canterbury who struck Lawrence classes II, III, and IV, and Walter of Canterbury who struck classes V, VI, and VII.

The class VII coins include all three varieties distinguished in Lawrence's 1914 paper, and it is clear that the hoard was deposited towards the end of the currency of class VIIc—it will be noticed that the six London coins include all four of the class VII 'new' moneyers whom the Eccles and Colchester hoards suggest to have struck on a quite exceptional scale.

There is, thus, no reason to disassociate the Tiree hoard from the same general grouping as the English finds from Eccles and Colchester, and one cannot help wondering how Andrew would have woven it into his 'Buried Treasure' paper had he been aware of its composition. The *Inventory* dating c. 1247 seems too late, even for a find from outside England, and again a dating c. 1240 seems as much as can be hazarded on the present evidence.

14. KILMAINE, Co. Mayo, 1946. (*Inventory* 216)

During my too brief visit to Dublin last autumn, Dr. Liam O'Sullivan very kindly allowed me to make quick notes from the National Museum's beautifully laid out and meticulously accurate registers concerning this important but still unpublished hoard. Brief as are these notes they enable the *Inventory* account to be modified in several important respects, and not least as regards the dating 'Mid or late XIIIth century' which it must be confessed was never very plausible. There was not time to break down the class VII coins into the three Lawrence varieties, but fortunately a number of the moneyers represented in the find struck only class VIIc, and so we can be certain that this hoard also belongs to the same grouping as those from Eccles, Colchester, and Tiree. If anything it may be slightly later, and here we may note not only the inclusion of Nichole coins both of London and of Canterbury but also the presence of a Ioan coin from Bury St. Edmunds. Were the hoard from England one would have little hesitation in dating it from the period immediately preceding the introduction of class VIII, and my own view is that the same dating is still valid despite the Irish provenance. Again, therefore, I would date the hoard c. 1240, but this time with a slight prejudice in favour of the possibility that the hoard is a year or two after rather than before that suggested. The list of the hoard is as follows:

Class I

LONDON, Willelm: NORTHAMPTON, Rauf; Simund: NORWICH, Reinald: OXFORD, Ricard: WINCHESTER, Adam; Rodbert

Class II

LONDON, Aimer; Pieres; Raul (2)

Class III

WINCHESTER, Osbern

Class IV

CANTERBURY, Goldwine; Iohan; Meinir; Reinaud; Samuel; Ulard (2): DURHAM, Alein:
LONDON, Henri; Richard (2); Stephen (2); Willelm (2)

Class V

CANTERBURY, Arnaud; Goldwine; Hiun; Iohan (4); Rauf; Samuel; Walter: EXETER,
Ricard: LINCOLN, Hue; Ricard: LONDON, Arnaud; Beneit; Fulke; Ilger (3); Rauf (4);
Ricard; Walter (3); Willelm (3): NORWICH, Gefrei (2): WINCHESTER, Iohan; Lukas; Rauf:
YORK, Nicole; Tomas

Class VI

BURY ST. EDMUNDS, Rauf (2): CANTERBURY, Henri (2); Samuel (2): LONDON, Abel (5);
Ilger (3); Walter

Class VII

BURY ST. EDMUNDS, Ioan; Norman (3); Simund (3); Willelm (2): CANTERBURY, Henri (4);
(H)iun (5); Ioan (7); Ioan Chic. (3); Nichole; Osmund (2); Roger (6); Roger R.; Salemun
(3); Samuel (3); Simon (3); Tomas (7); Willem (2); Willem Ta (2); +1 *doublestruck*.
LONDON, Adam (4); Elis (3); Giffrei (3); Ilger (4); Ioan; Ledulf (3); Nichole (2); Raulf (3);
Ricard (7); Terri (2)

Also recorded in the National Museum archives are 7 'irregular' pennies apparently early, 10 Irish pennies of John as King, and 10 Scots pennies, 9 of William the Lion and 1 of Alexander II.

15. DUBLIN, neighbourhood, 1853. (*Inventory* 135)

Only two of the English coins are described in the 1855 *Numismatic Chronicle* account in any detail, and at first sight we are given no more than the names of the moneyers. However, this meagre information is sufficient for us to be able to hazard a very fair guess at the approximate date of the hoard. Arnaud is a Canterbury moneyer only in class V, while Nichole strikes at the same mint only in Lawrence class VIIc and class VIII. Thus the second coin at once provides a presumptive *terminus post quem* of 1237. Moreover, it is a fact overlooked by the *Inventory* that Hoare selected these for special mention because they were the only coins with initial cross pommée, and we can now be certain that the hoard ended with one coin of class VIII and so is slightly later than the Eccles-Colchester-Taddington-Tiree-Kilmaine grouping with its presumptive *terminus ante quem* of 1242. The *Inventory* estimate of *c.* 1240 must be too early as all the evidence is that class VIII began in 1242, and should be modified accordingly to *c.* 1245.

In the foregoing pages I have tried to set out reasoned datings for no fewer than fifteen hoards deposited in the period *c.* 1180–1247. In almost every case I have felt compelled to depart more or less widely from the suggestions of my predecessors, with results that may be summarized as follows:

	<i>Inventory</i>	<i>Present paper</i>
LONDON, St. Thomas's Hospital	c. 1190	c. 1185±3
ASTON, Cheshire . . . . .	..	c. 1193±2
SUDBOURNE, Suffolk	c. 1241	c. 1210-c. 1215
NEWRY, Down	After 1216	c. 1210-c. 1215
TESTON, Kent	c. 1220	c. 1210-c. 1215
CHARLTON, Kent . . . . .	..	c. 1210-c. 1215
ELTON, Nottinghamshire . . . . .	..	c. 1210-c. 1215
'YORKSHIRE'	c. 1248	c. 1210-c. 1215
HICKLETON, Yorkshire	c. 1230	c. 1235±5
ECCLES, Lancashire	c. 1240-1	c. 1240±5
COLCHESTER, Essex	c. 1240-1	c. 1240±5
TADDINGTON, Derbyshire . . . . .	..	c. 1240±5
TIREE, Hebrides	c. 1247	c. 1240±5
KILMAINE, Mayo	Mid or late 13th century	c. 1240±5
'DUBLIN'	c. 1240	c. 1245±2

As already remarked there is a marked tendency for the hoards to bunch around two dates, and there can be little doubt that the Barons' War is the explanation of the c. 1210-c. 1215 grouping. It is tempting, too, to associate with these finds those from Enfield, Framlingham, and Mildenhall about which virtually nothing is known, and to postulate as the occasion of them all the military operations connected with the French invasion of 1216. However, the numismatist must here issue a warning with special reference to the Sudbourne find which has a general application as well. If Brooke is right that Lawrence class Vc began before 1208, and the evidence of the Durham mint is not easily controverted, then it is not impossible that some at least of the hoards of this grouping belong before c. 1210, i.e. a whole quinquennium before the arrival of Louis. Less obviously explicable is the grouping c. 1240 to which one is entitled to expect that the virtually unpublished finds from Dyke, Lewinshope, and New Luce will be found also to belong. If one thing seems certain it is that these hoards are not connected with the recoinage of 1247—the absence from all but one of class VIII must surely be decisive. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the last stages of the Long Cross coinage also are characterized by a comparable 'bunching' of hoards about a decade before the great recoinage of 1279 (cf. *N.C.* 1958, pp. 121-2). Equally in the case of the Coventry, London (Tower Hill) and Steppingley hoards which I have tried to show were deposited c. 1270 there is no obvious reason for their deposit, and one wonders whether there may not one day be found some common explanation. The problem is one that should be pondered as much by the historian as by the numismatist, and it is hoped that this paper may be thought to have supplied in an acceptable form the evidence that such a problem really does exist.

THE XVd DURHAM PENNIES OF EDWARD III

By P. FRANK PURVEY

IN the 1913 volume of this *Journal* appeared the last part of the Fox brothers' great work on the pennies of Edward I, II, and III, and it may then have seemed that their attribution to Bishop Richard de Bury of the coins classified by them as type XVd and having a crown in the centre of the reverse would never be questioned. They say, 'Richard de Bury, son of Sir Richard Aungervill, took his name from his birthplace, Bury St. Edmunds. What could be more natural than that, when seeking a personal mark to distinguish the coins issued by him as Bishop of Durham, he should take it from the arms of the famous abbey which had been so intimately associated with his earlier life? Those arms were, azure, three crowns or.'

However, despite the Foxes' reasons for placing these coins to de Bury, Brooke in his *English Coins* says regarding the attribution, 'We know that an order was given for penny dies to be sent to the Bishop of Durham in 1336, and that a new die was granted to the abbot of St. Edmund in 1340, but it is hardly possible that they can have coined pennies while small coins of 10 oz. silver were being issued. It is therefore probable that the Durham penny with a crown in the centre of the reverse, which has been assigned to Bishop de Bury, was struck before 1333 by Bishop Beaumont.'

This element of doubt in Brooke's mind regarding the Fox attribution of these coins to de Bury has recently caused me to re-examine the available evidence.

First of all, and assuming that logic enters into the question, it would be difficult to imagine why, after apparently deciding on, and using, a lion rampant and lis on the obverse of his coins, Bishop Beaumont should suddenly change to a crown in the centre of the reverse. One assumes that the choosing of a personal mark, especially for such a purpose as this, is not arrived at lightly, and, having decided on such a mark (as opposed to a general ecclesiastical mark), one would not change it without a fairly good reason.

Before looking at the coins themselves it might perhaps be appropriate to quote a few passages from Mark Noble's *Two Dissertations upon the Mint and Coins of the Episcopal Palatines of Durham* published in 1780.

It appears that great honour was done to de Bury at his consecration inasmuch as the king, the queen, the queen mother, the king of the Scots, 'and a great number of dignified clergy, nobility, and gentry' were present. Also an 'infinite concourse of the common people, all of whom he sumptuously entertained'. The consecration itself was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury.

It is recorded also that before Edward III was crowned de Bury had lent him money when in Gascony, and on this being discovered he had to flee to Paris apparently at the peril of his life.

Richard de Bury's career was a distinguished one, beginning as cofferer, then treasurer of the wardrobe, then Clerk to the Privy Seal (during which

time he was twice sent as ambassador to Pope John). In the year of his consecration he was made treasurer, and later became Chancellor of England. If indeed the evidence of Noble is correct, de Bury must have wielded very great power; a brilliant scholar (he was the king's tutor) he was after his consecration twice used as ambassador by the king. 'His charity and munificence were unbounded' and it is said that before his consecration he 'held preferments to the annual value of five thousand marks'.

These extracts show something of the man himself and do, I think, indicate that had de Bury wished to strike coins from newly delivered dies (albeit unrecorded in the Rolls) he could easily have authorized the striking of a considerable issue for his own pleasure and suffered any loss involved without counting the cost.

This, however, would have been unnecessary as de Bury was consecrated on 19 December 1333, and the order for small coins of 10 oz. silver did not come into force until some time in 1335. There is therefore a period of a full year and perhaps a few odd months during which, even appreciating the general shortage of silver, de Bury could have struck quite a considerable quantity of coins. It may well be that Brooke overlooked or forgot this important fact, and that this prompted his doubts on the de Bury attribution by the Foxes.

To turn now to the evidence of the coins themselves. The Foxes' (*B.N.J.* 1913, p. 107) say, 'A rare variety of the penny of Bishop Beaumont, though having the Roman form of "N", and therefore classed under XV_c (Plate XII, fig. 16), shows on the obverse small oval stops, which connect it with the first penny of Bishop Richard de Bury, and was doubtless issued between 1327 and Beaumont's death in 1333 (Pl. XXVII, a). The Sede Vacante coin which follows (Plate XII, fig. 17) is struck from a die made with the same irons (Pl. XXVII, b). Then, still from the same irons, except for the letter N, come the coins of XV_d (Plate XII, fig. 18).' (Pl. XXVII, c.)

On the face of it, this evidence is surely enough to uphold the Foxes' attribution, but should further evidence be necessary to show that coins were struck at Durham after the Sede Vacante period and therefore attributable to Bishop de Bury, I think that a coin in the collection of Mr. F. Elmore Jones (and reproduced here with his kind permission) should provide conclusive evidence.

To go back first to the XV_c pennies. These read on the reverse CIVI/TAS/DVN/ELM̄, and the rare coin of the Foxes' Pl. xii, 16 shows on the obverse the oval stops referred to above and has the lion rampant i.m. of Bishop Beaumont. The next coin is in all respects similar except that the stops on the obverse are omitted and the i.m. is a cross pattée. Certainly it appears as if the same irons were used for both coins, and I think that there is no reason to doubt that this latter is a true Sede Vacante coin struck between 26 September and 7 December 1333, or perhaps a little later, until the dies for de Bury were delivered.

The next coin, type XV_d, is similar to the Sede Vacante coin except that the letter 'N' on the obverse is Lombardic instead of Roman and the reverse reads CIVI/TAS/DVNE/LMI with a crown in the centre. There is no contraction mark over the last 'M'.

The small oval stops are again apparent both in the Fox coin (Pl. XXVII, c)

and on a coin formerly in the Carlyon-Britton collection (Pl. XXVII, d). The 'M' takes up more space on these XV^d coins and is doubtless a new iron, but the other letters are very similar and could well be from identical irons as Fox, plate xii, 16 and 17 (Pl. XXVII, a and b).

Not so, however, in the case of Pl. XXVII, e (Mr. F. Elmore Jones's coin). The stops here are perfectly round pellets and few of the letters, if any, appear to be from irons used for the previous four coins. This, I think, is the last in the chain of XV^d coins of Durham and could be dated immediately prior to the introduction of small coins of 10 oz. silver, when the manufacture of pennies would most certainly have been carried on at a loss.

The fact that the four specimens of type XV^d that I have examined (and more probably exist) have all been struck from different pairs of dies seems to indicate that the issue was more considerable than the few surviving specimens might indicate. As mentioned above, de Bury had a year and perhaps a few odd months at his disposal and, considering the acute shortage of silver, it is perhaps remarkable that any coins at all of this period have survived. It is not unreasonable to think that de Bury's own wealth may account for the existence of these coins in the first place, for it is certain that London and Canterbury had ceased work long before 1333, and it is more than likely that nothing was coined at York after this date.

If it is now accepted that the coins of Bishop Beaumont and Bishop de Bury may be separated by dividing those coins with the lion rampant and lis i.m. from those coins with a crown in the centre of the reverse, it raises the question whether the Foxes' were correct in placing, however tentatively, the 'florin' penny of Durham reading EDWARDVS REX AIN as the last coin of de Bury before his death on 14 April 1345. This coin does not have a crown in the centre of the reverse but has one of the limbs of the long cross turned to form a crozier.

If I am correct in my surmise that personal marks were carefully chosen, one would certainly not expect a change of mark at this time if the coin was in fact struck by de Bury, and it does, I think, indicate that the EDWARDVS REX AIN coin is wrongly placed as the first of the 'florin' coins of Durham. A much more reasonable place has now been found for this coin which seems to preclude any possibility of it being other than a penny of Bishop Hatfield. (See the paper by Mr. F. Elmore Jones, p. 326.)

Since going to press I have discovered an article in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xv, 3rd ser., 1895, pp. 290–300, by H. Montagu, entitled 'Further Notes Concerning Bishop de Bury and the Durham Coinage'.

As well as publishing the incomplete mandate dated 27 November 1336 which was later listed by the Fox brothers in the appendix of their work on the coins of Edward I, II, and III, Montagu also publishes a second mandate and a letter which I think are extremely relevant to my article above.

The mandate of 1336, according to Montagu, was probably never acted upon as no mention was made of the number of dies to be delivered. The second mandate is dated 'Westminster 16 October' but the year is not given. Montagu, however, says '... apparently granted in 1344'. The third item is

a letter, also unfortunately undated, which was written by de Bury to a friend in London, asking him, with other friends, to enquire secretly the reason for the detention of his dies by the Mint Officers, which had been sent there '... to be corrected according to the usual custom'.

Montagu's theories in the light of this letter and of the mandate which he thought was granted in 1344 are briefly as follows:

(a) The dies which de Bury refers to are either Bishop Beaumont's old ones or else they are dies made for de Bury (according to a mandate which was not entered in the Rolls) which, for some reason, contained an irregularity and had to be returned to London. Whichever is the case, the dies were detained for a considerable period in London.

(b) The letter which de Bury wrote to his friend in London was acted upon and the mandate which Montagu believed was written in 1344, and which granted him *tres cuneos* was the result.

(c) That de Bury was at all times anxious to strike coins but the circumstances given above prevented his doing so until the last few months of his incumbency at Durham, which explains the rarity of his coins.

Although the main purpose of my article has been to show that I think the coins with a crown in the centre of the reverse were struck by Bishop de Bury, and not to place too fine a point on when he might have struck them, in the light of Montagu's paper I feel that I should like to make a final observation.

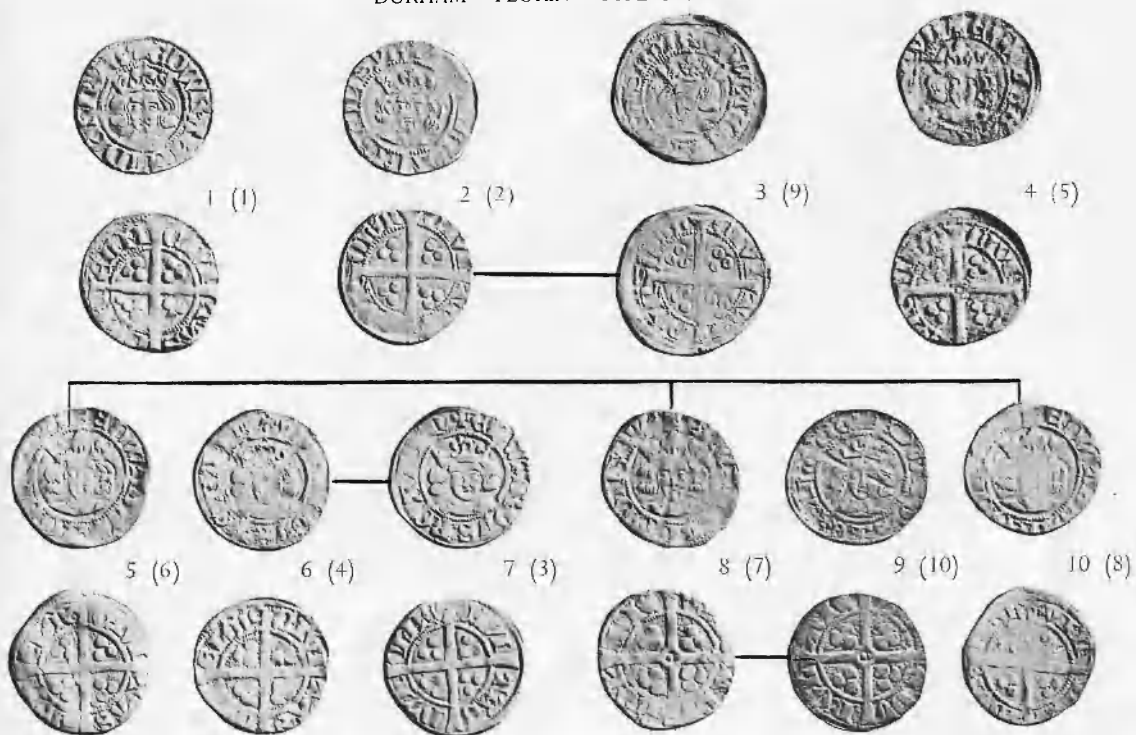
With regard to the letter, it is a great pity that it is not dated, as otherwise it might have proved my surmise that de Bury could have struck coins at any time if he had so wished, irrespective of the cost. It must of course be remembered that at the time Montagu was writing no coins were known which could be attributed to de Bury, nor was the existence of the order for small coins of 10 oz. silver then known, although I stand to be corrected on this latter point. If he had known these two things, he may well have looked at the evidence in a different light.

I still think that the close affinity in lettering and stops between my first two illustrations of XVd coins (Pl. XXVII, c and d) with those of XVc (Pl. XXVII, a and b) points to their being struck fairly early in the incumbency of de Bury. The obvious differences seen in Mr. F. Elmore Jones's coin of XVd (Pl. XXVII, e) could indicate that it was struck at a later date.

The explanation may lie in the fact that a complete mandate giving de Bury a certain number of dies was in fact acted upon shortly after his translation but did not find its way into the Rolls. For some unknown reason perhaps the dies were returned to London after only a short while and were then detained, and that the coin of XVd with letters from new punches and showing round instead of oval stops (Pl. XXVII, e) is the sole survivor of de Bury's dies when they had eventually been returned to him after 'correction'.



DURHAM "FLORIN" TYPE PENNIES



SUPPLEMENTARY COINS



‘EDWARDVS REX AIN’

de Bury or Hatfield?—A New Approach to an Old Problem

By F. ELMORE JONES

THE paper by Shirley-Fox, published in 1928, ‘The Pennies and Halfpennies of 1344–1351’ (*Num. Chron.* 1928, pp. 16–46 and pls. iii and iv) is still the standard classification of the silver coins of Edward III’s ‘Florin’ type.

It is a work of the highest merit¹ but, as the author himself admits, it has one failing. Shirley-Fox was baffled by the problem of finding a satisfactory sequence for the all-important episcopal coins of the Durham Mint and admitted that he did not find it possible to arrange them in any order which could be regarded as wholly convincing.

The principal reason for this was that no place could be found for the very rare coins, quite different in style and lettering to any other ‘Florin’ pennies,² with the strange obverse reading +EDWARDVS REX AIN, afterwards in this paper referred to as Rex Ain.

Some half-dozen or so of these rare coins are known. They are all struck from the same obverse die but this is combined with two reverse dies both having the episcopal mark of a crozier (only), the one die reading CIVITAS DVROUHE and the other CIVITAS DVROUON. It is important that the absence of the chevron-barred ‘A’ on the latter should be noted because this can only mean that the coin is a mule.

As Shirley-Fox remarks these Rex Ain coins *must* be put somewhere in the series, and presumably at one end or the other, but whether they come first and should therefore be attributed to Bishop de Bury (1333–45), or last and be attributed to his successor Bishop Hatfield (1345–81), has long been a matter of much controversy.

That these Rex Ain coins stand alone in the series was very apparent to Shirley-Fox’s artistic eye—he underlines the points of difference and illustrates the distinctive form of the crown from his own drawing. He does not fail to record that the chevron-barred ‘A’ also occurs on one other die in the series and, so far as is known, one die only.

This is the all important reverse die with the equally strange reading of VILL DVROUONIE (hereinafter referred to as the Villa Die) and the episcopal marks of *both* a large pellet in the centre and a crozier and which is unquestionably the last of the series, since it is muled with an obverse die of the recoinage of 1351.

¹ In many ways though it is an infuriating paper to have to study closely. The subject is made even more complex than it actually is by the order of the types ‘B’ and ‘C’ being transposed as between the text (p. 26) and the plate, and the numbering of the Durham coins on pl. iv does not follow that on pp. 33 and 34. All references to these latter herein are to the *plate* numbers. Further, the description of the reverse die of no. 8 on the plate (pl. iv) on p. 34 does not tally with that on p. 44. The latter is correct but the die described on p. 34 does exist. It is the die of the B.M. specimen and of Lawrence Sale, lot 513. The die of the coin of Fox’s plate (which is now in Mr. Blunt’s collection) is the same as that of the Balcombe find specimen (*Num. Chron.* 1898, pl. iv, no. 10).

² It should be made clear that this does not apply to the halfpennies and farthings, since these are not classified and they do not conform to the types of the pennies.

Two Villa Dies are known; there are two die duplicate specimens of the 1351/Villa Die mule in the British Museum and a few others in private collections. My specimen (ex Raymond Carlyon-Britton) is from a different reverse die to the B.M. examples.

The counter mule, ‘Florin’/1351, is also known and it will be noted that the 1351 coinage repeats the Villa reading and continues the same episcopal markings of both a pellet in centre and a crozier head.

Although Shirley-Fox made a point of noting the chevron-barred ‘A’ on the Villa Die, I do not think he does anything like sufficient justice to the other points of similarity between the lettering of the Rex Ain obverse die and the Villa reverse die. These similarities are very marked; nor, apparently, did Shirley-Fox appreciate the significance of the fact that no ‘true’ obverse die can be assigned to the Villa Die unless it is the Rex Ain die itself, or another similar.

The Villa Die coins are all mules, either with a later (1351) obverse die or with an obverse die of what is quite a uniform little group of Florin pennies with the unusual obverse inscription +EDWTR RTRNG DNS hVB and which, it is here submitted, almost certainly preceded Rex Ain and which for convenience and brevity is afterwards here referred to as the ‘Edwar Group’.

It is not my submission that Rex Ain is in fact the ‘true’ obverse of the Villa Die but for the purpose of my classification it is necessary to emphasize that we have here a reverse die of which the true obverse is not known to exist. All the coins produced from it, and they are fairly plentiful, are mules.

This must also apply to one or other of the two Rex Ain reverse dies, presumably the die of No. 4 on Shirley-Fox’s plate which is the one *without* the chevron-barred ‘A’ (Pl. XXVII, 6). The coins from this reverse die must also be mules, but this die is combined with only one obverse die (the Rex Ain die)¹ whereas the Villa Die is combined with both an Edwar Group obverse die and a die of the 1351 recoinage. Such extensive muling can only indicate a shortage of obverse dies at the episcopal mint just at a time when they were most needed.

In any case it is certain that no classification of the coins is possible without distinguishing between those which are ‘true’ die combinations and those which are mules. It is my submission that this can be done with tolerable certainty and that the overall picture which results is overwhelmingly in favour of Rex Ain coming last, or at any rate very nearly last, in the classification.

For reasons to be given later it is my contention that the coins with no episcopal mark (the so-called Sede Vacante coins) can be shown to be the earliest of the ‘Florin’ series and therefore that the whole of the ‘marked’ coins, i.e. those with (1) a pellet in the centre, (2) with a crozier head and (3) with those two marks combined should all, in that chronological order, be attributed to Bishop Hatfield.

Brooke took the opposite view and favoured the attribution of the Rex Ain coins to de Bury and decided that the coins of the Edwar Group with the crozier (only) as episcopal mark must go with them.

¹ Its combination with a second obverse die has only recently come to light and is referred to in the postscript to this paper.

That is his attribution in *English Coins* and the Florin type pennies in the British Museum are arranged in accordance with it.

The remaining coins with an episcopal mark, i.e. those with a pellet in the centre and a pellet and crozier combined, are assigned by Brooke to Bishop Hatfield and the B.M. arrangement follows that attribution.

The result of this is that the quite well-defined Edwar Group of coins with the two episcopal markings of (1) a crozier only and (2) a pellet in centre only is split into two; also that the coins with no episcopal mark, a large issue and with only one notable exception all of completely uniform normal Fox Type 4 style and distinctive lettering, are put *between* the coins of the two parts into which the Edwar Group is divided.

Further, too, the coins with the chevron-barred 'A' are separated and put at the extreme ends of the classification.

In my opinion these anomalies are absolutely fatal to a de Bury attribution of Rex Ain and that they are anomalies can be proved from die-links which have not hitherto been noticed.

Shirley-Fox notes that nos. 7 and 10 on his plate (**Pl. XXVII, 8 and 9**) are from the same reverse die (the Villa Die) and also that the obverse die (an Edwar Group die) of nos. 7 and 8 is the same (**Pl. XXVII, 8 and 10**).

He did not, however, notice two further die-links between the coins which he illustrated and which, in conjunction with those mentioned above, undoubtedly provide the solution to part at least of the problem of Rex Ain, viz. the position in the series of the *whole* of the Edwar Group including those which, in common with Rex Ain, have the episcopal mark of a crozier (only) on the reverse.

These two further die-links are:

1. *The obverse die of his no. 5 (**Pl. XXVII, 5**) is the same as that of his nos. 7 and 8 (**Pl. XXVII, 8 and 10**).*

It has only been possible to establish this die-link with certainty by an examination of other specimens, particularly those in Mr. Blunt's collection, in the B.M. and in the Lockett collection but actually one such further specimen, a die duplicate in the B.M. of no. 5 on the plate, must have been seen by Shirley-Fox in 1928 as it was then in the Lawrence collection.

2. *The reverse die of Fox's no. 9 (**Pl. XXVII, 3**) is the same as that of Fox's no. 2 (**Pl. XXVII, 2**).*

No. 9 on Fox's plate is the principal stumbling block to any arrangement which does not bring the whole of the Edwar Group together and is the coin which he found so difficult to fit into place anywhere.

The recognition of these die-links goes a long way to fulfilling Shirley-Fox's wish that his bringing together of all the coins on one plate might eventually result in a convincing classification being evolved.

The only possible conclusions to be drawn from these further die-links are (1) that all the coins of the Edwar Group with the three different episcopal marks (and these form the whole of the group) must be classified together as one group and assigned to Bishop Hatfield because at least two of the obverse dies are still in use in 1351 and (2) that the Edwar Group immediately followed the Sede Vacante coinage because that most significant coin no. 9 on Fox's

plate (which is now in Mr. Blunt's collection) is in effect a mule between the *Sede Vacante* and the episcopal coinages.

From this and from what I have said previously with regard to the two reverse dies with which the Rex Ain obverse die is used, it will be apparent that no less than five of the ten coins on Shirley-Fox's plate are mules, viz. his nos. 4, 7, 8, 9, and 10.

The Rex Ain coin no. 4 on Fox's plate must be a mule because the 'A' on the reverse is not chevron-barred and neither of the reverses of Fox nos. 7 and 8 (the former with the chevron-barred 'A' and the latter a die of 1351) could possibly be a true reverse for the obverse of no. 5 on the Fox plate; therefore the latter must itself be the 'true' die combination.

The Rex Ain coin no. 3 on the Fox plate does have the chevron-barred 'A' on both sides and so can be assumed to be a 'true' coin.

Thus there are two reverse dies on the Fox plate to which it is at present impossible for any 'true' obverse to be assigned, viz. the Villa Die of Fox's nos. 7 and 10 *with* its chevron-barred 'A' (Pl. XXVII, 8 and 9) and the die of no. 4 *without* the chevron-barred letter (Pl. XXVII, 6).

The possibility exists that the true obverse die of the latter might prove to be that of Fox's plate no. 9 as that coin has an obverse die which cannot be associated with any reverse, but an examination of all the relevant coins in the B.M. and in the private collections¹ most likely to furnish new material has failed to produce any additional die combinations. That being so it would seem that Shirley-Fox was quite justified in saying that he had brought together on the plate all the coins of the Durham mint.

Until such time as further die combinations come to light (if any exist), it is not possible to claim that the problem of Rex Ain has actually been resolved.

However, I think it is fair to say that the finding of a satisfactory place in the series for the whole of the Edwar Group coins (and therefore a place for all the episcopal coins with the single exception of Rex Ain) and the attribution of the whole of the Edwar Group coins to Bishop Hatfield has resulted in a classification which at least is convincing and which has by implication virtually resolved the problem of Rex Ain as well.

It is unthinkable that Rex Ain could be separated from the other episcopal coins and still be assigned to de Bury by itself. To do so would mean that it would be necessary to account for the anachronism of one chevron-barred 'A' coin (Rex Ain) being dated to 1345 and the other (the Villa Die) to 1351 or, assuming it might be argued that the Villa Die was a survival of 1345 which had lain dormant at the mint for the intervening six years (a very unlikely hypothesis considering the output from the mint during that period), the greater anomaly that two dies, one for Bishop de Bury in 1345 and another for Bishop Hatfield in 1351, would both reproduce exactly the same episcopal marks in conjunction with the same extraordinary title for Durham of Villa instead of Civitas.

It is only on the Villa Die and on the coinage of 1351 that this quite unprecedented reading is found.

In the main, therefore, my case for the attribution of Rex Ain to Bishop

¹ With the exception of Mr. Fred Baldwin's collection which unfortunately was not available at the time this paper was written (see Postscript).

Hatfield must rest on the epigraphical evidence in conjunction with the overall picture which the series now presents and especially the consideration that this is the only possible classification of the Durham 'Florin' coinage which gives continuity in the sequence of the episcopal marks.

The letter forms on the Rex Ain die and those on the Villa Die which is still in use in 1351 are so similar to each other and so different to those on any other 'Florin' pennies (as distinct from the halfpennies, a distinction which is most important) that they must belong to the same issue.

Shirley-Fox also remarks on the affinity of the Rex Ain lettering with that of the gold noble of 1346, a feature which by itself is almost sufficient to invalidate the de Bury attribution.

The mint-name **DVROUHE** on one of the two Rex Ain reverses is a most extraordinary one,¹ and the reason for the change from **CIVITAS** to **VILLIA** at the end of the 'Florin' coinage is as great a mystery today as it was to Shirley-Fox in 1928.

Before summarizing my conclusions on the rearrangement of the episcopal coins it remains for me to discuss quite briefly the relative position of the Sede Vacante coins in the overall picture and the question of their dating. This is necessary not only because their present allocation to the Sede Vacante period of April–July 1345 is vital to the chronology of one of Shirley-Fox's main Florin types, i.e. type 4, but also because it is now necessary to show that they come first in the Durham sequence.

It is a well-known fact that these Sede Vacante coins are far less rare than are the episcopal ones and that, with the single exception of the B.M. coin which is no. 2 on Shirley-Fox's plate (**Pl. XXVII, 2**) and which can safely be assumed to be later than any others because it is muled with the obverse of Fox no. 9 (**Pl. XXVII, 3**), they all conform exactly to Fox type 4. All the evidence goes to show that this type probably comprised the major part of the huge recoinage of 1344–5 the volume of which, from London alone, is apparent from the figures extracted from the mint accounts which Shirley-Fox records on page 20 of his paper. Further, all the evidence goes to show that Fox type 4 is in fact the latest of his four types and it may well be the case that Shirley-Fox is absolutely right in dating its inception, at any rate so far as the ecclesiastical mints are concerned, to this exact period of the Sede Vacante at Durham on the death of Bishop de Bury. This is not in conflict with the figures of the London mint accounts and is borne out by the evidence of the coins of the other two ecclesiastical mints of York and Reading, both of which, like Durham, had been inactive for many years previously and both of which are only known in this one type.

¹ The correction of Shirley-Fox's reading of **DVROUHE** (which Brooke repeats in *English Coins*, p. 125) should be noted. This correction is possible from a die-duplicate specimen in the B.M., ex Evans collection (**Pl. XXVII, 7A**), on which the reading is perfectly clear, as is also the crozier. The use of the letter form 'H' for 'M' is a most extraordinary reversion to a peculiarity of earlier pennies of the Durham mint—as is also the presence of the contraction mark (⸱) above it. The former occurs in Fox type X of Edward I (and I think in that type only) and the latter is in general use with the spelling **DVNEUM** throughout the types of Edward II but it is not found with the spelling **DVNEUMI** in type XVd.

Prima facie these two strange features are indicative of an early dating for Rex Ain but against that are the considerations of the chevron-barred 'A', the letter forms generally, and the other factors brought out in this paper, all of which point conclusively in the opposite direction.

Presumably type 4 continued to be struck spasmodically at London down to as late as May 1348 since there is a further £9,000 of London pennies to be accounted for in the mint accounts for the period from June 1345 to that date and this is the period into which the Edwar Group of Durham coins must fit.

Why the obverse legend should have been slightly varied for the episcopal coins of Durham is inexplicable but is typical of the background of the Durham mint throughout the Edwardian period.

I cannot avoid being tempted to postulate that Rex Ain might conceivably be the Durham counterpart of the 'missing' London penny of June 1349–April 1350, a period when the infinitesimal quantity of £47 of pennies were struck at London and to which it is impossible for any known coin to be assigned. The possibility exists but to do more than simply hint at it would be to embark upon the realm of fantasy.

On the other hand, one cannot but be struck by the superficial resemblance of Rex Ain to some of the halfpennies (all of which incidentally were struck after de Bury's death) on which the obverse inscription is invariably EDWARDVS REX or EDWARDVS REX AN and in particular to the resemblance of some of the letter forms.

The Edwar Group/1351 mules and the counter-mules with the Villa Die reverse can only be accounted for by conditions of urgency and confusion obtaining at the episcopal mint immediately prior to the inception of the 1351 recoinage.

One Edwar Group die (that of Fox plate nos. 5, 7, and 8) is also used with two other reverse dies making five in all. This could mean that in order to meet an immediate urgency old dies were brought back into service and used in haphazard order with the results apparent from nos. 7, 8 and 10 on Fox's plate.

To sum up, the evidence of the Durham 'Florin' coins as a whole points conclusively to the Sede Vacante coins being the earliest of the series and to Rex Ain being virtually the last and that is the basis of my reclassification.

For this I have adopted the Shirley-Fox basis of classification by the obverse inscriptions and these I put in the following chronological order:

Readings peculiar to Durham	{	Group 'A'	+EDW R ANGL DNS hVB	Numerous dies, all of normal Type 4 work.
		„ 'B'	+EDW R ANGL DNS VB	A die on its own.
		„ 'C'	+EDWTR R ANG DNS hVB	Four (or possibly five) dies known and used in combi- nation with 8 reverse dies of which only three repre- sent 'true' die combinations.
		„ 'D'	+EDWARDVS REX AIN	A die on its own.

A table of the reverse readings with the sequence of the ecclesiastical marks in chronological order makes the classification easier to understand and gives a better perspective of the overall picture.

The following Table records all the known reverse readings and the position of the coin on the plate (**Pl. XXVII, 1-10**). This is a reproduction of the Fox plate with the same coins rearranged in the sequence of the table. The Fox plate numbers are added in brackets and the die-links are indicated.

Ref. No.	Episcopal marks	Reverse inscription	Associated obv. group		Fox plate IV no.	Plate XXVII no.
			True coins	Mules		
1.	None	QIVITAS DVNELM (or DVNELM)	A	..	1	1
2.	{ None	QIVITAS DVROLM	B	..	2	2
3.		Same die as no. 2	..	C	9	3
4.	Pellet in centre	QIVITAS DVROLM	C	..	6	4
5.	Crozier	QIVITAS DVNELM	C	..	5	5
6.	Do.	QIVITAS DVNELM (Different die to no. 5)	Not known to exist	D (Rex Ain)	4	6
7.	Do.	QIVITAS DVROLHE (Chevron-barred 'A')	D (Rex Ain)	..	3	7
8.	{ Crozier and pellet	VILÆ DVROLMIÆ (Chevron-barred 'A')	Not known to exist	C	7	8
9.		Same die as no. 8	..	A die of 1351	10	9
10.	Do.	A die of 1351	..	C	8	10

Three supplementary coins are figured on the plate, viz. no. 7A, the B.M. ex Evans collection die duplicate of no. 7 which is referred to earlier in this paper, no. 6A, a fine die duplicate of no. 6 (ex Lawrence sale, lot 510) and no. 5A, the coin in Mr. Fred Baldwin's collection which is referred to in the postscript to this paper and which combines the obverse die of nos. 5, 8 and 10 with the reverse die of no. 6.

It will be apparent from this table that no new material whatsoever has come to light since Shirley-Fox wrote his paper in 1928 and that his hope that a reclassification might be made from 'all the known coins brought together on the plate' has, I submit, now been fulfilled.

It will now be seen that the revised sequence of Fox's plate is 1, 2, 9, 6, 5, 4, 3, 7, 10, and 8 and that **Pl. XXVII** does, in fact, cover the whole series.

It is apparent that my table contains one anomaly, and one which Shirley-Fox himself wished to avoid, viz. fluctuating spellings of the mint-name, but this seems to me to be an insignificant factor in relation to the removal of the anomalies which are inherent in any other classification; further, it is typical of the Durham mint throughout the Edwardian period.

If the reattribution of all these 'Florin' coins to Bishop Hatfield is accepted another revision of Brooke's classification of the pennies of Edward III in his standard work *English Coins* is called for. The 'Crown in centre' coins of Durham which form Edward III's first coinage (Fox Type Xvd) should now be attributed to Bishop de Bury instead of Bishop Beaumont, thus leaving the 'Lion and Lis' of Fox types XIII to XVc as the latter's sole episcopal marking.

This is a reattribution which I do not think is likely to cause controversy and is one which is discussed elsewhere in this *Journal*.

POSTSCRIPT

Since this paper was written I have seen the Durham 'Florin' pennies in Mr. Fred Baldwin's collection and one of these, a 'new' die combination, proves to be a key coin in the solution of the Rex Ain problem.

It is a coin which combines the DVNÆUΩ reverse die of the Rex Ain coin no. 6 on the plate (Fox plate no. 4) with the obverse die of no. 5 on the plate (Fox plate no. 5). It is therefore comparable in every way with the latter coin, of which there are several other die duplicate specimens in existence, but to the best of my knowledge Mr. Baldwin's coin is the only one which is actually from the same die as that of the Rex Ain coins with the DVNÆUΩ reverse. It is the only instance I have been able to find of die-linking between Rex Ain and any other coin.

Its significance from the point of view of the dating of Rex Ain lies in these two factors: (1) Mr. Baldwin's coin with its Edwar Group obverse is undoubtedly an earlier striking than any of the Rex Ain coins from this same reverse die, and (2) its obverse die (the same die as nos. 8 and 10 on the plate as well as no. 5 and for which this coin now makes a *sixth* reverse die) is a die which was still in use in 1351.

The coin is therefore strong evidence in support of the conclusions set out in my paper and I am very grateful to Mr. Baldwin for his permission to publish and illustrate it here (Pl. XXVII, 5A).

Whilst I feel that the vexed problem of de Bury or Hatfield may now have been resolved once and for all, I should make it clear that I make no claim to have written anything like the last word on the subject of the whole of this fascinating little group of coins, which have no counterpart at London or any other mint, the Durham episcopal 'Florin' pennies.

Other puzzling features remain to be cleared up such as the reason for the change from CIVITAS to VILUÆ at the end of the type and the strange feature (which opens up interesting possibilities) that, whilst there is die-linking between the coins with the two ecclesiastical marks by themselves and the coins with the two marks combined, there is apparently no die-linking between the coins with the crozier head only and those with the pellet in centre only.

These are matters which must wait for the present; I feel that I have taken the subject as far as is possible in the light of our present knowledge of the coins.

THE SILVER COINAGES OF RICHARD II, HENRY IV, AND HENRY V

By W. J. W. POTTER

INTRODUCTION

THE coins of these reigns, nearly all scarce or rare, present many very interesting features and problems, covering as they do a period of transition from the early style of Edward III to the typical late medieval coinage of Henry VI.

Very little if anything has been written on the first two reigns since the series of articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle* by F. A. Walters from 1902 to 1906. The coinage of Henry V was dealt with at some length by Dr. Brooke in his 'Privy Marks of Henry V', published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1930, but as might be gathered from the title, this was written from a somewhat circumscribed viewpoint.

I have thought, therefore, that it might be opportune to re-examine these coinages with the evidence now available, and try to provide workable classifications and descriptions for the use of the student, collector and specialist, and also a new approach to some of the outstanding problems.

It may be wondered why I have not included the gold coinages in my survey. I certainly hope to be able to cover these in later articles, but I would say here that I think there are advantages to be gained in dealing with the two metals separately. While there are naturally many points of correspondence in the two series, it has been my experience that to try to force them into a single classification inevitably leads to errors.

I have also left out of these articles the ecclesiastical issues of small silver from York and Durham, which in this case will probably be covered by a more competent hand than mine.

Among much help received from various sources I am especially indebted to Mr. E. J. Winstanley for the use of his unrivalled collection of casts of groats and halves, without which it would have been impossible to cover the field adequately.

1. RICHARD II

Richard II was only eleven years old when he succeeded his grandfather in June 1377. He inherited an impoverished treasury, ruinous expenses of mis-managed wars, and minting conditions which made a healthy coinage virtually impossible. Merchants continually complained that the realm was being denuded of its gold and silver, making internal trade most difficult, while the low price offered by the mint for the precious metals made it unprofitable for them to bring bullion to be coined. The fact is that the world price of silver had risen in terms of produce, and only a reduction in the weight of the penny would have eased the situation. This, however, was prohibited by law and was not considered during this reign.

The actual state of the silver coinage in 1377 is more difficult to determine. Copious issues of groats and halves had been made during the ten years following the introduction of these two coins in 1351, but thereafter there was a rapid fall in silver output, and in 1377 it was running at about 1,000 lb. per annum against 32,000 lb. in 1351–61. It is reasonable to think that an adequate supply of the larger coins, more or less worn, was still in circulation, but the position as to the small change, the pennies, halfpennies, and farthings needed by the public for day-to-day purchases, was very different.

During almost the whole reign of Edward III very few of these small pieces had been issued—except perhaps for the period 1335–51—and they are very scarce today. Mr. Stride in his series of articles on the Mint, published in Seaby's *Coin and Medal Bulletin*, quotes indentures of 1356 and 1357 laying down that 1/30th of the silver coined should be struck into halfpennies, but it seems unlikely that even this small percentage was actually provided. The mint-masters were always reluctant to strike these small pieces, which were most difficult to handle and provided inadequate profit. We find petition after petition being presented to Parliament in the years from 1377 to 1390 asking that the king should compel the mint-masters to strike some small money.

To provide a general picture of the silver issues of the reign, I propose first to give the figures for bullion dealt with, as published by Miss E. Stokes in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1929. For this reign they are given in £. s. d. of money coined, and not in lb. oz. and dwts. of bullion purchased as for all later reigns.

1.	20.9.77–29.9.84	7 years	£7,079		
	29.9.84–29.9.87	3 "	2,618	£9,697	
2.	19.1.88–29.9.89	2 "	283	283	
3.	29.9.89–29.9.90	1 "	1,795		
	29.9.90–29.9.91	1 "	2,188	3,983	
4.	29.9.91–9.12.92	1 "	328		
	9.12.92–29.9.93	1 "	178		
	29.9.93–29.9.95	2 "	294		
	29.9.95–29.9.96	1 "	169	969	
5.	29.9.96–29.9.98	2 "	1,175		
	29.9.98–15.10.99	1 "	1,145	2,320	£17,252

I have divided the figures into five periods of varying activity which, in fact, coincide with similar periods in the political and economic history of the reign. The first ten years are those of the king's minority, when others ruled in his name, and an output of about £1,000 of silver per annum was maintained as in the last years of Edward's reign. This period ended with Richard's first assumption of personal power, but this was almost immediately checked by the Appellants, who controlled the country for the next two years, and mint activity in silver fell almost to zero. We have already seen that it was during these twelve years that Parliament was continually being petitioned for the issue of small change, and the silver of the period therefore most probably comprised the scarce early groats (my type I), and the bulk of the commoner 'middle period' groats and halves (my type II).

The king's resumption of power in the spring of 1389 was the signal for a great increase in mint output; in fact, the following two mint years from Michaelmas 1389 to Michaelmas 1391 provided the largest annual production of silver coin of the reign. I have read, though I cannot now trace the reference,

that the king at this time supplied a large amount of bullion from his own treasury for the striking of small silver. At all events 'middle-period' half-pennies are quite common today, and I think it reasonable to assume that the bulk of the issue of these two years did in fact consist of the small silver so desperately needed. At any rate we have the surviving coins, and the petitions to Parliament apparently ceased for a time after 1390.

It was in this short period also that the king was able to reverse the anti-French policy which had existed since his minority as a legacy from his grandfather, and finally to conclude a short-lived truce with France. This may well explain the first omission of the French title on some dies of all denominations but the groats, which may not have been struck at all at this time.

After this burst of activity there followed five years of very poor issues of silver, barely reaching £200 in any year, due to the renewal of the war with France and its gross mismanagement, which caused serious economic difficulties in the country. All this was brought to an end by the king's French marriage, followed by the last four years of the reign, a period of improved trade and finance, when Richard again asserted his personal power. The result was increased activity at the mint once more and the yearly output rose steadily to exceed the £1,000 mark. To this period we can certainly ascribe the late coinage with the new busts and lettering (my type III), as well as the second appearance of coins of all denominations except the groat without the French title.

What happened at the mint after the tragic events of August, September, and October 1399 will never be known. Henry's mint-master and warden took over on 15 October, and it may well be that they found that Richard's warden had removed most of his dies and punches. We can only guess from the meagre evidence left us the expedients which were adopted to satisfy the new king's need for immediate cash, and these will be discussed when we come to the few coins which have survived from this period.

Groats. The coins left to us fall very naturally into four classes, distinguished by differences of lettering and bust. The earliest groats are almost exact copies of the late Post-Treaty groats of Edward III, having the same bust with smallish oval face, round eyes, and broad nose, and the same rather irregular lettering, especially distinguished on the obverse by the copula \mathfrak{A} , and on the reverse by the small 'M' (M1). These groats of type I are rare. I have traced about twenty specimens from four obverse dies.

The next and most common group, while preserving the bust of type I, is immediately distinguished by the change of copula to the form Σ . At the same time the outer circle lettering was made regular in size by the replacement of the large letters with others of slightly smaller size, except for the reverse 'M', which had to be made somewhat larger and of better form (M2). On the reverses the inner circle lettering, after a period of experiment in shapes, settled down to a distinctive form with long, pointed serifs. On these type II groats a remarkable uniformity was preserved over a considerable number of dies, with a high standard of workmanship. These are the common groats of Richard II, and I have noted about fifty specimens from perhaps twenty obverse dies.

I have suggested that these coins of type II were struck prior to 1391. In the

latter year, according to Ruding, Walter de Bardi, the Florentine, who had held the mastership of the mint since 1363, died or retired, and the long series of groats with the old familiar bust and lettering, starting in the Treaty period of Edward III, and continuing through the Post-Treaty, came to an end.

During the following four years of very limited silver issues we do not know the name of the master, but it is possible that the transitional dies with the new waisted lettering with rounded serifs appeared during this period. In 1395 we get the first mention of a new master, Malakine or Mullekyn, and this date coinciding with a renewal of activity at the mint was probably the starting point for the final series with the new busts, distinguished by the punches for the hair, especially that on the left of the head, being set at an angle so as to leave a space by the cheek. These groats constitute type III, and are difficult to find in good condition. I know of about twenty-five specimens from seven obverse dies.

Finally, to provide a nice problem for the numismatist, there are the rare groats with crescent on the breast, and the dies with the English title only which were not used in Richard's reign but kept to be altered for Henry IV's light coinage in 1412. Of the former there are four coins from two obverse dies, and of the latter I know of seven coins from three obverse dies.

Here is a summary of the groats of my four types:

Type I. Obv. Bust and lettering as Edward III Post-Treaty, copula **ꝛ**. *Rev.* M1 as Edward III.

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| (a) Die 1— FRANCIEꝛD . | <i>Rev.</i> I, IIb, IIc. |
| (b) Die 2— FRANCIE (One pellet over crown?) | <i>Rev.</i> I, II <i>d</i> . |
| (c) Die 3— FRANCꝛ . | <i>Rev.</i> I, IIa, IIc. |
| (d) Die 4— FRANCꝛ . | <i>Rev.</i> I, II <i>f</i> . |

Type II. Obv. Bust as I, new regular letters with copula **Σ**, **RICHARDꝛDI**. *Rev.* M2.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) FRANCꝛ , 3 pellets over crown (1 die). | <i>Rev.</i> I, IIa, IIb, IIc. |
| (b) FRANCꝛ , no pellets (5 dies). | <i>Rev.</i> IIc, II <i>d</i> , IIe, II <i>f</i> . |
| (c) FRANCIE (11 dies). | <i>Rev.</i> I, IIa, II <i>d</i> , IIe, II <i>f</i> , IIIa, IIIb. |
| (d) FRANC (1 die). | <i>Rev.</i> II <i>f</i> . |
| (e) FRANCꝛ (1 die). | <i>Rev.</i> II <i>f</i> , IIIa, IIIb. |

Type III. Obv. New busts with hair wide at left or both sides, new waisted lettering with curved serifs. *Rev.* M2, lettering as *obv.* except IIIc which has M1 and small letters.

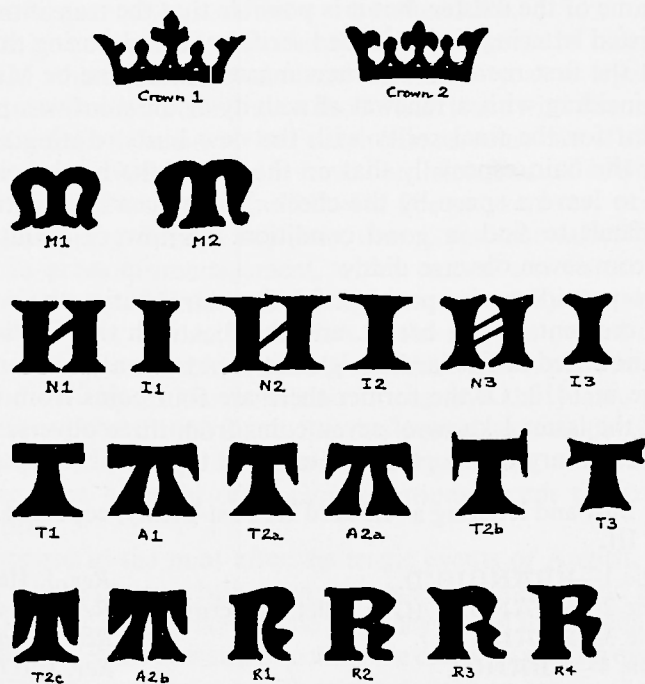
- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| (a) FRANC , bust and crown as I, RICHARDꝛDI (1 die). | <i>Rev.</i> I, II <i>f</i> , IIIb. |
| (b) FRANCI , bust no. 2, crown as I, RICHARDꝛDEI (1 die). | <i>Rev.</i> IIIa, IIIb. |
| (c) FRANC , bust no. 3, crown no. 2, RICHARDꝛDEI (5 dies). | <i>Rev.</i> II <i>f</i> , IIIb, IIIc. |

Type IV. New style bust and crown, **RICHARDꝛDI**, crescent on breast instead of fleur, **FRANCIE**. New style lettering.

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| (a) Die 1—elaborate fleurs, drapery line. | <i>Rev.</i> 1 and 2. |
| (b) Die 2—normal fleurs, no drapery. | <i>Rev.</i> 3 and 4. |

To discuss these four types in detail, in type I as can be seen, it is possible to list each obverse die, distinguished by the ending of the legend. It is probable that these dies were in use simultaneously, as all are found with reverses

of type II. However, while the reverses found with dies 1, 2, and 3 are of the earlier styles, the three I have noted with die 4 are of the normal or later style of type II. Furthermore, die 1 is the only one of the four to have the peculiar form of 'R' with the short leg (R1) found on all the Post-Treaty groats of



Edward III. The order in which I have placed them is therefore probably that of their production. Die 1 (Pl. XIX, 1), incidentally, is unique in showing part of the Irish title, but I do not think that any particular significance is to be attached to this.

Die 2 (Pl. XIX, 2) presents a problem in having what looks like a pellet over the central lis, as on some late Edward III groats. I have examined the three known coins from this die and none shows a clear separation of the pellet, but I think from the position of the BM specimen in the tray (incorrectly placed in type II next to the coins with three pellets), that this was the coin which Whitton had in mind when he mentioned the existence of a Richard II groat with one pellet above the crown in his supplement to the 1950 edition of Brooke's *English Coins*. There is a half-groat with a similar extension to the central lis.

The reverses of type I are distinguished, as already mentioned, by the small 'M' (M1) and also by the plain, straight-sided inner circle lettering of which the 'N', 'I', 'T', and 'A' are typical (see illustration). For convenience of reference I have lettered the nine known dies I have noted: A-H and J (see list at end). These reverses have a greater similarity to the Post-Treaty groats of Edward III than have the obverses, as seven of the dies have R1 in **ÆDICTOR**, and only two have the new R2 as found on three of the four

obverses. There are, however, no die identities or links between the coins of the two reigns in all those I have examined.

Though the outer circle lettering of both the Edward and Richard reverses was probably struck from the same punches in most cases, new, taller, and slightly different letters were used for the Richard II inner circles. The stopping also is different. All the Richard dies have the usual outer legend reading: ***POSVI/DEVM:Æ/DIVTOR/EM:MÆV**, except D, which probably has a saltire after **POSVI**, and F, which has a saltire after **MÆV**, but H, with a saltire before **UON**, is the only die with stops in the inner circle, whereas the Edward III reverses all have two or three saltires therein.

The obverse dies of type II are much more numerous than those of type I, but, as will be seen, there are still only four forms of legend ending. So far I have identified seven dies of (*a/b*) and eleven of (*c*), but only one each of (*d*) and (*e*). The close resemblance one to the other of the dies with the first two forms of legend makes it very difficult to distinguish them, the only exception being the single die of (*a*), which has three pellets above the crown, one over the central lis and one over each of the two small intermediary jewels (Pl. XIX, 3). This die was probably the first of type II to be produced, as, of the eight specimens I have noted, three have reverses of type I while the other five all have early reverses of type II, whereas I know of only one other II/I mule, a coin in my collection with obverse **FRANCIA**, die 1 (Pl. XIX, 4).

The dies of forms (*b*) and (*c*) probably appeared more or less in the order shown on the list of known specimens, prepared in accordance with the reverses found with them, but it is not to be assumed that all the **FRANC** dies appeared first, to be followed by all with **FRANCIA**. On the contrary, the two forms seem to have been used concurrently, as is proved by the fact that certain unusual forms of letter, such as the small 'A', are to be found on dies of both forms. Furthermore, different dies of (*c*) are found with reverses of both types I and III, so that they must have been in use both at the beginning and end of the currency of type II. It is to be doubted, therefore, whether the form of legend ending had any chronological significance.

The solitary die I have found with the ending **FRANC** is represented by two identical coins with a normal reverse (II*f*), one in the B.M. collection and one in my own. Of the die with the ending **FRANC**, however, I have found six examples, only one with the normal type II reverse, the rest being early or transitional reverses of type III (Pl. XIX, 5). This, therefore, was probably the last of the type II dies to be produced, and it was apparently used in a rusty or damaged state, as there are large flaws in the field to the left of the bust. This may be due to a delay between its production in 1391 and its use perhaps in 1395, if this interim period saw the issue of small coins only.

The reverses of type II are of special interest and complexity by reason of the fact that they show various stages in the development of the standard form of lettering for the inner circle. I have listed six forms, on reverses which are all, of course, distinguished from those of type I by having M2 in the outer circle, i.e.:

II*a*—is as type I, i.e. N1, I1, T1, A1.

II*b*—has N1, I1, and A1, but T with small pointed serifs, T2*a*.

IIc—has N1 and I1, and A2a matching T2a in shape of serifs.

IId—has new forms of N and I with long pointed serifs, N2, I2, but the original plain T, T1, and A1.

IIE—has N2 and I2 with either T2a and A1, T2a and A2a or a new form of T with thin pointed serifs extending above and below the crossbar (T2b) with A1.

IIf—the standard form, has N2 and I2 with T and A both having very long, thick, pointed serifs, T2c and A2b.

Most of the reverse dies have the normal legend as type I, but two of the three known dies of IId and die IIbA have double saltires before CIVI, implying a close connexion between them, while the die IIdB has POSVI*. Die IIdC has the inner circle legend misplaced, with TAS instead of CIVI coming beneath POSVI. One die of IIf also has this misplacement and is further distinguished by double saltires after POSVI.

One cannot be certain of the order in which the first five forms of lettering appeared, but that shown is reasonable. Of the first four there were probably only three dies of each, of which I have already noted all but two of IIc. These are the only type II reverses I have found with the first three obverses of type I and this would confirm their early character and relationship. Because of the varied lettering I have included in form IIE, groats of this class are more common and I have noted eleven dies, while of IIf the dies are so numerous and so much alike that I have not distinguished them.

With type III we enter upon the most interesting of the periods, and one about which there has been a certain amount of misunderstanding. This has been due in large part to the scarcity of available coins in reasonable condition. When Walters wrote his articles he had apparently been able to find only two poor specimens after much searching. In the BM collection there are five, three from the same obverse die, while in the two Lockett sales there were only three examples of this type (1349, 3057, and 3058). I have been fortunate in having been able to study the casts of twenty-one different coins collected together by Mr. Winstanley and the late Mr. Whitton. As a result of this study the following facts emerge:

Type III coins are distinguishable from the earlier groats by the lettering alone on the first die, and then by the lettering and the bust. The chief characteristics of the new lettering are the waisted uprights and the rounded and concave serifs, particularly noticed in such letters as the 'I' in the outer circles and the 'N' and 'I' in the inner circle on the reverses (N3, I3). It is often called 'fish-tail', but I do not think this a very happy description, as fishes' tails are usually pointed. The 'N's in LONDON are often double-barred, which may be some form of privy-mark, and the final 'N' no longer carries the contraction mark.

As to the busts, the old standard bust, which had hitherto served since the time of Edward III with no stylistic change, was abandoned and we find several slightly different versions of a new style bust, all but the first distinguished also by a new type of crown (see illus.). The characteristic of these busts which has been most remarked is the hair. On the old standard bust both curl punches were positioned close to the cheeks with the left one slightly lower than the other. On these new busts either the left-hand punch alone or both punches are set at an angle, leaving a gap by the cheeks in a way recalling

some of the light groats of Henry IV, and bringing the ends of the two sets of curls level.

The misunderstanding regarding these busts which is mentioned above concerns this resemblance to the groats of Henry IV, as in many cases the wrong type of groat has been described as being 'like Henry IV'. Even Walters was guilty of this in one instance, while another example which might be quoted is lot 1384 of the Grantley sale. This mule groat of types II/III, with a perfectly normal type II bust, is described as having a 'late type bust like Henry IV', and the note beneath says: 'Both Lord Grantley and F. A. Walters considered these heavy groats to belong to Henry IV.' This last comment is totally wrong, and I do not think such a suggestion has ever been made.

The changes in bust and lettering which constitute type III were not made simultaneously. In fact, the new lettering first appeared on the reverses found with the last obverse dies of type II, as already mentioned. These reverses I have called type IIIa, and they can also be termed 'transitional', as they show intermediate stages in the form of the ending of the outer-circle legend between that used on the reverses of types I and II and that finally adopted for the standard type III reverses, which I have called IIIb, i.e.:

I and II—**MĒV**

IIIaA—**MĒV**‡

IIIb—**MĒV**'

IIIaB, C, D—**MĒV***

IIIaE—**MĒV**

The five transitional reverse dies I have noted are found as follows:

IIIaA with a type II **FRANCIE** obverse,

IIIaB, C, D with the type II obverse die ending **FRANC**‡,

IIIaE with the second of the two transitional obverse dies now to be described.

What is obviously the first of the new obverse dies has the new lettering but the old bust and crown, with the king's name spelt **RICARDVS** as before and legend ending **FRANC**. This transitional die has other interesting features. Firstly, the arches of the tressure are irregular and ten instead of nine fleurs have been put in, there being an extra one to the left of the crown. Secondly, a really extraordinary feature is the **R** in **FRANC**, for which, apparently, no punch was available, as it has been made up by using the **I** punch and adding the down-stroke and a double crossbar with a graver. I know of no similar occurrence, except the equivalent half-groat die which will be described later, the lettering of which was struck from the same punches. Even when all letters were not struck with single punches, i.e. prior to 1355, they were still made up by the use of punches and not with a graver.

This by no means exhausts the interest of this particular die, for I have in my collection three coins from it with reverses of types I, II, and III (Pl. XIX, 6, 7, 8). Here again I can recall no really comparable instance. It is, of course, the use of the type I reverse which is most curious, and I can advance no reasonable explanation, beyond the old excuse of a mint error, which I always distrust. Incidentally, I know of only one other coin from this die. It has a type II reverse and is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The second transitional die mentioned is that ending **FRANCI** with a malformed 'I'. This has a new style bust with youthful face and round chin, and

new curl punches set rather wide at the left side, but retains the old style crown. It has the new lettering, of course, and the king's name is now written **RICARD • DEI** as on the definitive dies of type III. I have found four coins from this die, two with a reverse from die IIIaE (**Pl. XIX, 9**), and two from reverse die IIIbE. Finally, we have the normal type III obverses, with the new style bust, but also a new style crown and the king's name **RICARD • DEI**, of which I have noted five dies, each with a slightly different bust (**Pl. XIX, 10**).

The reverses found with these regular type III obverses are, with two exceptions, of the normal type IIIb, with double or single-barred 'N's and the outer legend reading **MÆV'**. The exceptions are a type II*f* reverse found with die 3, and an unusual style reverse which I have listed as IIIcA, found with an obverse from die 6. This reverse has a normal inner circle with single-barred 'N's, but the punches used for the outer circle are smaller than usual and include M1. Identical lettering is to be found on reverses of rare type III half-groats.

Finally, we come to type IV, the very curious and rare groats with a crescent on the breast. When Walters wrote originally on the silver of this reign one specimen only was known, in the hands of a Mr. Green of Dublin and illustrated on pl. xix, 15 of his article. This is now in my collection (**Pl. XIX, 11**). A second one from the same obverse die (no. 1) came subsequently into his possession, was sold in his 1913 sale (Lot 219) and passed to the BM collection. More recently, two further specimens have turned up from a second obverse die (no. 2), one of which is now in the collection of Mr. Mangakis and the other in mine (**Pl. XIX, 12**).

The two obverse dies are very similar, having certainly been prepared from the same letter and bust punches. They differ only in that no. 1 lacks a fleur on the left shoulder, while no. 2 lacks the normal drapery line at the bottom of the bust. The reverses are from four different dies, but here again the same letter punches have almost certainly been used for them all, and, in the case of the outer circles, the same punches as for the obverse lettering, notably the 'I' and the small 'A'. As in the case of the obverses, however, differences of detail are to be found. On two of the dies (1 and 3) the 'N's in **LONDON** are unbarred, while the endings of the outer circle legends read as follows: 1 and 3—**M:MÆVʹ**, 2—**AM:MÆVʹ**, 4—**AM:MÆV**.

The groats of types I, II and III have represented a continuous series, linked by the various mules. The crescent groats, however, are in many respects an isolated unit. Though in general style they resemble the groats of type III, there are many points of difference in the bust and lettering. Nevertheless, if the general picture be taken, the indications are that they were contemporary with the early or transitional groats of type III, and the evidence for this, when summarized, is in fact quite impressive.

First, there is the ending of the reverse legends. We have already seen that what I have called the transitional reverses of type III (IIIa), found with the late type II and early type III obverses, have the endings: **MÆVʹ**, **MÆV***, and **MÆV**, as compared with the normal type II ending **MÆV** and the type III **MÆV'**. Three of the crescent groat reverses take the first-mentioned transitional form and the fourth the last-mentioned. Then we have the beginning of the obverse legend, which on both dies takes the form **RICARD • DI**,

as found on the earlier groats up to and including the first of the transitional type III dies, after which it became **RICHARDꝰDEI**.

Another indication is to be found in the busts. These, as already stated, are quite different from any normal die in face and crown, but while the curls have been struck from the punches used for the **FRANC** die and all later dies, they have been placed exactly as found on the earlier dies up to and including this **FRANC** die,—that is, fairly close to the cheek with the left one ending slightly lower than the right, and entirely different from the later type III form farther away from the cheek on the left with the right one slightly lower than the left. In other words, they could be contemporary with the **FRANC** die.

The lettering admittedly is a puzzle. The majority of the letters on both sides are undoubtedly from the normal type III punches, but others, such as the 'I' and 'A' on the obverse and the 'I', 'A', 'M', and 'T' in the reverse outer circle, are very distinctive in style, and I have been unable to find them on any normal Richard II die. This, however, merely emphasizes the isolated nature of this issue.

I have already suggested the possibility that the transitional dies did not appear until 1395, with the advent of the new mint-master, and if this was so the crescent groats might well have been produced about the time of the king's French marriage in November of that year. Unfortunately I cannot offer any suggestions as to the significance of the crescent in this connexion, nor any reason why a special issue made at that time should not have been produced with the same punches as the normal dies.

I think I should now deal with the theory that these coins represent the missing heavy groats of Henry IV. This theory was first advanced by Walters, and, according to a note beneath the BM specimen, it was also the view of Mr. Whitton. In support of his views Walters made the following points:

1. The crescent was a personal emblem of Henry IV and it occurs elsewhere at this time only on the heavy noble and quarter-noble of Henry IV.
2. As regards the unbarred 'N's in **LONDON**, which appeared on the reverse of his coin, Walters says: 'It resembles the heavy half-groats of Henry IV . . ., the only example of this peculiarity of which I am aware', and also
3. 'The reverse pellets are large and joined together in a form which I have only noticed on the light groats of Henry IV.'

As to the crescent being a personal emblem of Henry IV, Walters quotes Holinshed's Chronicle to the following effect:

King Henry IV having notice of the conspiracy of the Earl of Kent, retired from Windsor Castle, upon which the Earl went to Sunnings and declared that Henry of Lancaster was fled, and that King Richard was at Pomfret with 100,000 men. To cause his speech the better to be believed, he took away the King's cognizances from them that wore the same, as the collars from their necks and the badges of *Crescents* from the sleeves of the servants of the household, and throwing them away, said that such cognizances were no longer to be borne.

This latter certainly seems to show that the crescent was a cognizance of Henry IV, but, on the other hand, it is quite incorrect to say that it occurs

elsewhere only on Henry IV gold. It is also found on the nobles of Edward III and Richard II. The unbarred 'N's, too, are also found on late half-groats of Richard II, while the large pellets are in fact on Henry V and not Henry IV reverses, so that none of these points carries much weight. In heraldry, the crescent is the mark of the second son, and Richard was certainly the second son of the Black Prince, his elder brother having died in infancy. Further, the only other monarch on whose coins the crescent appears on the breast, Edward IV, was also a second son.

The real crux of the problem is, I think, who was responsible for the issue? If it was Richard, to whom all the evidence of style seems to point, then it is difficult to suggest why the crescent was used, and why the issue was so completely isolated from the normal coinage. If, on the other hand, it was Henry IV, then there are two possibilities, both assuming a special issue during the interim period after Henry had taken over but before Richard's murder, but certainly not referring to the regular coinage struck by Henry after his coronation, which we know was in his own name.

The first possibility is that, by marking it with a crescent, Henry wished to show that, though the coinage was in Richard's name, he was in fact the power behind the throne. This assumes that the crescent was Henry's mark. The second is that Henry might have wished to draw attention to the very doubtful claim to the throne which he intended to make. This was simply that he himself was descended from Henry III's first-born son Edmund, who, because he was a cripple, had been passed over in favour of Edward I, from whom Richard claimed descent, and who was therefore really the second son. Hence the crescent to indicate Richard's secondary position.

There remains one other set of groat dies of Richard II which have not yet been described, namely the three with the English titles only, which were apparently not used in Richard's reign but were preserved to be employed for Henry's light issue of 1412, with his name struck over **RICHARD**. Two of these are similar in style of bust and lettering to the late type III coins with the new bust, though identity of punches cannot be traced. The third (Grueber 310) is of entirely different style, approximating more to some light groats of Henry IV both in bust and lettering. Neither of the first two bears any resemblance to the crescent groats, but the lettering on the reverse of the third, as also the legend ending **EM:MEV**, does certainly recall the crescent reverses, especially no. 4. These **ANGLIE** groats will be described fully in the article on Henry IV.

Half-groats. It is probably true to say that, in some reigns, the half-groats are of lesser interest than the groats, being but smaller versions of the large coins with many gaps in the series. In the case of Richard II, however, though the halves, as usual, are scarcer than the groats, they are of equal importance and significance, while presenting problems of their own the solution of which helps to confirm some doubtful points which arise with the groats.

I have been able to examine in all some fifty different halves in coin and cast form, but have noted only eight obverse dies used in their striking. Of these five resemble the early type II groats and one the Transitional groat III-1, while the remaining two, each known only by a single coin in the BM collection, are of special character not represented in the groats.

The five type II obverse dies (Pl. XX, 1-5) are certainly closely connected. All the busts have been struck from the same crown and face punches, closely resembling those used for the last two Edward III Post-Treaty halves (LAL 19, 23), and almost all the letters on each are identical, one exception being the small 'A' which appears on one die. All these letters, in fact, can be found on type II groat dies 1 and 2 with the **FRANCIÆ** legend and die 1 of **FRANCO** with the three pellets above the crown. It should be mentioned that the same punches were usually employed for the outer-circle lettering on both groats and halves, but different ones were required for the reverse inner circles.

Another indication of the connexion between these five dies and the earliest type II groats is the pellets which appear over the crown on three of the dies. Two of these show three pellets as on the groats and the other one above the central lis. Incidentally, I originally listed one of the former dies as having two pellets only, but the central lis has a definite prolongation on all specimens I have seen and I think it reasonable to conclude that this is a third pellet.

There is one puzzling difference between these halves and the groats, and that is that three of the five obverses have the English title only while the other two show the French title as well. In this instance, however, I do not think we can look for any political reason for the variation, in view of the probability that the five dies were produced during a fairly short period, and, as will shortly appear, with the three having only the English title separating the two showing also the French title.

The number of reverse dies found with these type II obverses is about the expected figure of 15, and they show little more diversity than the obverses. However, though they all have M1, two of the fifteen have R1 and one R2, and these earlier reverses I have classified as Ia and Ib respectively. All the rest have R3 as on the obverses, and these I have designated type II. The normal form of this latter type (9 dies) has the ending **AM:MEV** with no stops in the inner circle, and I have called it IIa, but there are three abnormal dies, as follows:

IIb—ends **RE:MEV**, with saltire in place of the initial cross,

IIc—has **QIVI**,

II d—has ***QIVI**.

There is no question that any of these are Edward III Post-Treaty dies, and that the coins struck from them are really mules with the previous reign. The normal late Edward III reverses all have R1 and saltire or pellet stops in the inner circle, though none is known with saltires before **QIVI**. It is true that two have no stops in the inner circle (LAL 16, 20), but there is no die-link between these and the only two known Richard dies with R1.

The attempt to place the first five obverse dies in order of production is fraught with some difficulty, as the three obvious factors on which to rely, that is, the form of legend, the occurrence of the pellets and the types of reverse, are not easy to reconcile. I can only suggest the following arrangement as being what I think the most satisfactory in all the circumstances:

Die 1— D·G·RÆX·ANGL·S·FR	—3 pellets over crown.	Rev. Ia, Ib, IIa.
„ 2— DI·GRÆ·RÆX·ANGLIÆ	—1 pellet.	Rev. Ia, IIa, IIb.
„ 3—	„ —3 pellets.	Rev. IIa.
„ 4—	„ —no pellet.	Rev. IIa, IIc.
„ 5— DI·G·RÆX·ANG·S·FRANCO	—no pellet.	Rev. IIa, II d.

I think it reasonable to place the RR die with three pellets first, as it is known with two of the three early reverses. The ANGLIE die also with three pellets could follow, but I prefer to place that with one pellet next, as it is the only other known with an early reverse. The other three dies with and without pellets could have appeared in any order, as there are reverse die-links between 3/4, 3/5, and 4/5, but I have thought it reasonable to put the two without pellets together, with the second die having the French title last, as die no. 6 has a similar legend. It is unfortunate that none of the obverses is known with a later reverse as found with dies 6-8, but this merely emphasizes the probability that the five dies were a separate and fairly early issue.

The next die, no. 6, has a bust from the same punches as nos. 1-5, but the lettering is that used on the Transitional groat die III-1, even to the curious 'F' made up from the 'I' punch and strokes from a graver. It has the French title in the form: D • G • REX • ANGL • S • RRA, and is without pellets over the crown. The transitional character of the die is confirmed by the reverses found with it. Of the six specimens I have noted, one in my collection is unique in having a normal type II reverse (IIa), while the other five have reverses from three different late-type dies.

Two of these dies have outer circles struck from the same punches as the obverse lettering, and slightly larger letters in the inner circles which bear more resemblance to type II than III. The legend ends GM • MGV with M2. I have called these type IIIa. (See Walters sale 1913, 206.) The third reverse die is of a new style which presents some very curious features. The outer legend has several letters similar to those of the other two dies, but others are of the irregular early style found on the Edward III Post-Treaty halves, notably R1, M1, and the E. The inner circle lettering, on the other hand, recalls type III of the groats. The outer circle legend in this case ends M • MGV—the only example of this ending I have found on the halves. I have called this type IIIb (see Pl. XX, 6, 7, 8).

This leads on to a consideration of obverse dies 7 and 8, the lettering of which has much in common with that of this reverse, type IIIb. As already stated, there are two coins only known from these dies, both in the BM collection (Pl. XX, 9, 10). They each have a reverse of type IIIb, but there is no die-link between them nor with the reverse of this type found with die no. 6. On these two reverses, incidentally, the outer legend ends GM • MGV as usual.

These obverses are quite different in style from anything that has gone before. The busts have been struck from the same punches, having a rather childish, oval face, but the crowns differ considerably, that of no. 7 being disproportionately wide and almost of a size large enough for a groat die (10 mm.). Neither has the French title but the legend endings are different, viz.

No. 7—RICARD • DEI • GRA • REX • ANGLIE,

No. 8—RICARD • DEI • GRA • REX • ANGL.

The lettering, as already stated, resembles that of the reverses type IIIb, that is, some of the Edward III Post-Treaty punches have apparently been used, particularly the R's, which are all R1 except for the first R in RICARD on die no. 7, which is R2.

There are two points which should be mentioned regarding die no. 8 (illustrated Walters sale 1913, 220), which is probably the later of the two. Firstly, where the breast fleur usually appears there is a large worn mark bearing some resemblance to a crescent, and this, therefore, must be the coin to which Whitton refers in the supplement to Brooke's *English Coins*, as the half-groat with crescent on the breast. Although the mark looks most unlike a fleur, it will be necessary to wait until a less worn specimen turns up before a definite pronouncement can be made.

The second point concerns the name **RICHARD**. When this coin was sold in Walters' sale (1913), the following note appeared in the catalogue: 'The name officially altered and partially mutilated.' I do not think that this can be maintained. The lettering is certainly rough in appearance, but this is mostly due to damage and wear on the edge of the coin. Letters that are clear, such as the two 'R's (R1), the 'C' and 'A', seem to me to be perfectly normal.

We now come to one of the most extraordinary problems I have yet encountered in the hammered series, more puzzling even than the crescent groats, and that is the existence of half-groats with obverses of Edward III, i.e. the Lawrence dies 19 and 23 already mentioned, and reverses of Richard II types IIIa and IIIb. Both these obverses, incidentally, are known with quite normal Edward III reverses, so that they were originally used in his reign. Here is a list of the halves concerned as far as I have been able to trace them:

Obv. 1: EDWARDVS · REX · ANGL · ꝥ · RRAC

- Rev. 1*—Edward III Post-Treaty, pellets before CIVI and LON (WJP)
 „ 2— „ „ „ no stops in i/circle (Lockett sale 1322)
 „ 3—Richard II type IIIa (as reverse with die 6) BM, Fitz., GVD)
 „ 4— „ „ type IIIb (Lawrence pl. ix. 1) (BM) (Pl. XX, 11–13)

Obv. 2: EDWARDVS · REX · ANGL · ꝥ · RRANC

- Rev. 1*—Edward III Post-Treaty, pellets before CIVI, LON (WJP)
 „ 2—Richard II, type IIIa (WJP), (GVD)
 „ 3— „ „ type IIIb (WJP), (EJW) (Pl. XX, 14, 15)

Once more I have found no die-links between the type IIIb reverses found with these Edward obverses and those already noted, so that probably six of them were made, i.e. the normal number for two obverse dies. The IIIa reverse noted with obverse no. 1 is, however, the same as that found with one of the halves from die 6. The two Edward III reverses with pellet stops are also from different dies. The Edward III reverse die without stops differs from the single example listed by Lawrence with another Edward III obverse in having no mark of contraction over the second 'N' of LONDON which is a feature of all the normal Post-Treaty reverses, so that this die is definitely abnormal.

As to where these Edward/Richard mules fit into the picture, it seems probable from the foregoing that they were contemporary with the late Richard II dies nos. 6, 7, and 8, and were certainly produced towards or at the end of Richard's reign. Mr. Blunt¹ is of the opinion that they were used by Henry IV and not by Richard at all, and certainly I cannot conceive of any normal

¹ *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, London, 1936.

conditions in which Richard would have found the need to use twenty-year-old dies to strike his own coinage. With Henry IV, however, the case is different. When his warden took over the mint in October 1399, with, we may be sure, orders to produce an immediate coinage, the discovery of the two Edward half-groat dies in good condition would have been a godsend. The use of the late Richard reverses with these would, of course, have been quite in order. Whether also Richard's obverse die no. 8 was used with the name partially obliterated, which Mr. Blunt thinks was the case, must for me remain doubtful for reasons already mentioned. It is very unfortunate indeed that we should have only one coin from each of dies 7 and 8, as the existence of further specimens might well throw more light on the many puzzling features of these late coins.

Small silver. I will conclude with a provisional description only of the pennies, halfpennies, and farthings. This section of Richard's coinage is being thoroughly studied by Mr. Frank Purvey, and it is to be hoped that an article from his pen will soon be available in the *Journal*.

London pennies are very rare. Perhaps a score of specimens, mostly worn, are known. A much greater coinage of this denomination was issued from the ecclesiastical mint of York, both from dies made at the Tower and dies of local manufacture, and a few specimens are also known from Durham. Many of the Tower penny dies were prepared from the half-groat bust punches with the tressure omitted to give the necessary room, while the standard letter punches as used on the groat and half-groat obverses were also employed.

Halfpennies were the common small coin of the reign and some two or three hundred of these have survived. Their size and the condition of the average specimen is such, however, that they are very difficult to classify. For these, new bust punches had to be made, but the standard letter punches were still employed.

The farthings are probably rarer than the pennies, and there is very little that can be said about these very tiny but usually very well-made little pieces.

The surviving pennies may be divided simply into three classes:

- | | |
|--|---|
| I. With English title only, king's name RICHARDVS | } <i>Rev.</i> • CIVITAS
• LONDON • |
| II. With French title, with or without lis on breast. (The latter was reported by Walters, but I have not seen this coin.) | |
| III. With English title only, king's name RICHARD . <i>Rev.</i> • CIVITAS • LONDON | |

These three types correspond fairly well with the half-groats. Nearly all the busts and lettering on dies of nos. I and II were quite certainly prepared from the punches used for the half-groat dies 1/5, including the penny with lis on the breast. In the BM collection, however, there is a penny of type I with the legend: **RICHARDVS • REX • ANGLIE**, having a smaller bust with a different crown and R2 instead of R3 in **RICHARDVS**. This may be from the earliest penny die. All the reverses of these first two types which I have seen have Roman 'N's in **LONDON** and saltire before **CIVI**. If this latter is a privy mark, it is curious that it is found only on one of the half-groat reverses.

The rare pennies of type III which I have traced are from two obverse dies, probably prepared from the punches used for the half-groat die no. 8, in-

cluding R1. They both have the legend: **RICHARD • REX • ANGLIA**, but one has a quatrefoil after the last word (die 2). The reverses have Lombardic 'N's in **LONDON** and no stops. That these were the last penny dies to be prepared and used has been demonstrated by Mr. Blunt in his article above-mentioned, and in a particularly conclusive manner. He instances the following coins:

1. *Obv.* Type III, die 2, quatrefoil after **ANGLIA**. *Rev.* Richard II late letters with Lombardic 'N's in **LONDON** (BM).

2. *Obv.* Same die as 1, but **RICHARD** cut through on the coin, not in the die. *Rev.* Henry IV lettering and extra pellet in one quarter (Fitzwilliam Museum).

3. *Obv.* Henry IV heavy die. *Rev.* Same die as 2 (Walters sale 1913, 234).

This Richard II/Henry IV mule is of the greatest interest because of the undoubted mutilation which the name **RICHARD** has suffered. Unfortunately, we cannot say whether this was officially done or not, because the cut has been made on the coin and not on the die. It does, however, add a little more weight to the suggestion that the king's name was mutilated on the half-groat from die 8.

In the late Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection there was also a most interesting mule pair of Richard II and Henry IV pennies having reverses from the same late Richard II die with Lombardic 'N's in **LONDON**. These are a Richard II penny with obverse of type III die 1, without the quatrefoil after **ANGLIA**, and a Henry IV heavy penny from obverse die 1. These links between the small silver of the two reigns will be further discussed when writing of Henry IV.

All but a very few of the halfpennies have the English title only, in the form: **RICHARD • REX • ANGL**, differing only in the stops which may be single or double saltires or single or double pellets. A few rare dies have annulet or quatrefoil on the breast. The latter is sometimes called a slipped trefoil, but it appears to have been made with a saltire punch. It is among the dies with the late type of bust and lettering that we find the rare halfpennies with the French title: **REX • ANGL • F**. Other late dies have **ANGL**, **ANGLI**, and **ANGLIA**, but all are scarce. The earliest reverses are probably those with Roman 'N's and saltire before **QIVI** as on the pennies, but the great majority, whether early or late, have Lombardic 'N's in **LONDON**.

The tiny, neat farthings, which, however essential for the public, were such a nuisance to make and handle, are not known with the French title. The obverses usually have double pellet stops but examples are known with a rose after **REX**. All the reverses have Lombardic 'N's in **LONDON** and some rare specimens have roses instead of pellets in the angles of the cross to match the obverses.

To be continued

LIST OF KNOWN RICHARD II GROATS WITH DIE COMBINATIONS

TYPE I

Die 1— FRANCIA • D	<i>Rev.</i> IA	(WJP)
	„ IB	(BM)
	„ IF (MEV*)	(CEB)

		Rev. IH (*LION)	(RCB ex Roth, Grantley)
		„ IIbA (ΣCIVI)	(WJP ex RCL 1347)
		„ IIbB (POSVI*)	(DM)
		„ IIcA	(BM)
		„ IIcA	(EJW)
Die 2—FRANCIE		Rev. IA	(WJP)
		„ IC	(EJW)
		„ IIdA	(BM)
Die 3—FRANCIE		Rev. ID (POSVI*)	(BM)
		„ IE	(BM)
		„ IIaA (ΣCIVI)	(BM)
		„ IIaC	(WJP)
		„ IIcA	(BM)
Die 4—FRANCIE		Rev. IE	(BM)
		„ IE	(Ash.)
		„ II ^f	(RCL 3055)
		„ II ^f	(WJP)
		„ II ^f	(AHB)

TYPE II

(a) FRANCIE, 3 pellets over crown

Die 1		Rev. IA	(EJW)
		„ IB	(Fitz.)
		„ IF (MEV*)	(WJP ex RCL 1345)
		„ IIaB (ΣCIVI)	(ECL)
		„ IIbC	(BM)
		„ IIcA	(WJP ex RCB)
		„ IIeA	(BM)
		„ IIeB	(DM)

(b) FRANCIE, no pellets

Die 2		Rev. IIdB	(BM)
		„ IIeC	(EJW)
Die 3 (Small 'A' and sloping 'C')		Rev. IIeD	(BM)
		„ IIeF	(RCL 1348)
		„ IIeF	(RCB)
Die 4		Rev. II ^f	(WJP)
Die 5		Rev. II ^f	(BM)
Die 6 (Large 'C' in FRANCIE)		Rev. II ^f	(WJP)
		„ II ^f	(BM-3)
		„ IIb	(WJP)

(c) FRANCIE

Die 1 (Small 'A', normal initial cross)		Rev. IG	(WJP)
		„ IIaB (ΣCIVI)	(BM)
		„ IIeG	(RCB)
		„ II ^f	(BM)
Die 2 (Small 'A', large i. cross, inner circle cut away)		Rev. IIdC	(WJP ex HAP)
		„ IIdC	(BM)
		„ IIeH	(WJP)
		„ IIeI	(BM)
		„ IIeJ	(BM)
Die 3		Rev. IIdC	..
Die 4 (Stroke to left of breast fleur)		Rev. IIeH	(RCB)

		<i>Rev.</i> IIeK	(BM)
		„ II <i>f</i>	(RCB)
		„ II <i>f</i>	(BM)
Die 5	<i>Rev.</i> II <i>f</i>	(Webb)	
	„ II <i>f</i>	(RCL 3056)	
Die 6	<i>Rev.</i> II <i>f</i>	(BM)	
Die 7	<i>Rev.</i> II <i>f</i>	(RCL 1346)	
Die 8	<i>Rev.</i> II <i>f</i> (POSVI [×])	(WJP)	
Die 9	<i>Rev.</i> II <i>f</i>	(WJP)	
	„ IIIaA (MEV [×])	..	
Die 10	<i>Rev.</i> IIIbA	(BM)	
Die 11	<i>Rev.</i> IIIbB	..	

(d) **FRANC**

Die 1	<i>Rev.</i> II <i>f</i>	(BM)
	„ II <i>f</i>	(WJP)
	„ II <i>f</i>	(BAS)

(e) **FRANC^z**

Die 1	<i>Rev.</i> II <i>f</i>	(AHB?)
	„ IIIaB (MEV [×])	(BM)
	„ IIIaC	(BAS)
	(MEV [×] , POSVI [×])	
	„ IIIaD „ „	(WJP)
	„ IIIbC	..

TYPE III

(a) **FRANC**, bust 1, crown 1, **DI**, 10 fleurs

Die 1	<i>Rev.</i> IJ	(WJP)
	„ II <i>f</i>	(WJP)
	„ II <i>f</i>	(Ash.)
	„ IIIbD	(WJP)

(b) **FRANCI**, bust 2, crown 1, **DEI**

Die 2	<i>Rev.</i> IIIaE	(BM)
	„ IIIaE	(WJP ex RCL 1349)
	„ IIIbE	(FAW XIX 13)
	„ IIIbE	(EJW)

(c) **FRANCI^E**, bust 3, crown 2, **DEI**

Die 3 (Broken arch by right-hand fleur over crown)	<i>Rev.</i> II <i>f</i>	(CEB)
	„ IIIbF	(WJP)
	„ IIIbG	(BM)
Die 4 (Single arch to left of crown)	<i>Rev.</i> IIIbG	(BM)
	„ IIIbG	(CEB)
	„ IIIbH	(CEB)
	„ IIIbI	(BM)
	„ IIIbJ	(DM)
Die 5 (Flaw by right-hand end crownband)	<i>Rev.</i> IIIbE	..
	„ IIIbK	(WJP ex RCL 3057)
Die 6 (Sagging arch at bottom right)	<i>Rev.</i> IIIbL	(WJP ex RCL 3058)
	„ IIIbM	(CEB)

	Rev. IIIbN	(CEB)
	„ IIIcA	..
Die 7 (Single arches at bottom)	Rev. IIIbO	(WJP)

The following abbreviations are used throughout:

Ash. = Ashmolean Museum, Oxford	ECL = E. C. Linton
AHB = A. H. Baldwin	RCL = R. C. Lockett, dec.
CEB = C. E. Blunt	BM = British Museum
RCB = R. Carlyon-Britton, dec.	DM = D. Mangakis
GVD = G. V. Doubleday	HAP = H. A. Parsons, dec.
Fitz. = Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	WJP = W. J. Potter
LAL = L. A. Lawrence, dec.	BAS = B. A. Seaby Ltd.
	FAW = F. A. Walters, dec.
	Webb = Webb sale
	E.J.W. = E. J. Winstanley

LIST OF COINS ILLUSTRATED

(All are in my collection unless otherwise stated)

PLATE XIX

1. Groat, type I—~~FRANCIE~~ (Die 1); Rev. I A. (Irish title).
2. Groat, type I—~~FRANCIE~~ (Die 2); Rev. from same die as 1.
3. Groat, type II/I—~~FRANC~~ (Die 1, 3 pellets over crown); Rev. IF.
4. Groat, type II—~~FRANCIE~~ (Die 2); Rev. II dC.
5. Groat, type II/III—~~FRANC~~ (Die 1); Rev. III aD.
6. Groat, type III/I—~~FRANC~~ (Die 1); Rev. I J.
7. Groat, type III/II—Same obv. die as 6; Rev. II f.
8. Groat, type III—Same obv. die as 6; Rev. III bD.
9. Groat, type III—~~FRANCI~~ (Die 2); Rev. III aE.
10. Groat, type III—~~FRANCIE~~ (Die 3); Rev. III bF.
11. Groat, type IV (Crescent on breast, die 1); Rev. 1.
12. Groat, type IV (Crescent on breast, die 2); Rev. 4.

PLATE XX

13. Half-groat, type II, die 1—~~ANGLU · S · FR~~; Rev. Ib.
14. Half-groat, type II, die 2—~~ANGLIE~~ 1 pellet; Rev. II b (BM).
15. Half-groat, type II, die 3—~~ANGLIE~~ 3 pellets; Rev. II a.
16. Half-groat, type II, die 4—~~ANGLIE~~ no pellet; Rev. II a (BM).
17. Half-groat, type II, die 5—~~ANGLU · S · FRANC~~; Rev. II a.
18. Half-groat, type III/II, die 6—~~ANGLU · S · FR~~; Rev. II a.
19. Half-groat, type III, die 6; Rev. III a.
20. Half-groat, type III, die 6; Rev. III b.
21. Half-groat, *Obv.* Edward III, die 8; Rev. Edward III.
22. Half-groat, *Obv.* same die as 21; Rev. III a (BM).
23. Half-groat, *Obv.* same die as 21; Rev. III a (BM).
24. Half-groat, *Obv.* Edward III, die 9; Rev. Edward III.
25. Half-groat, *Obv.* same die as 24; Rev. III b.
26. Penny, type I—~~RICHARDVS · REX · ANGLIE~~; Rev. CIVITAS · LONDON (BM).
27. Penny, type II—~~RICHARD · REX · ANGLU · S · FRANC~~; Rev. as 26. (Bas).
28. Penny, type III—~~RICHARD · REX · ANGLIE~~; Rev. CIVITAS · LONDON (BM).
29. Halfpenny, early—~~RICHARD · REX · ANGLU~~; Rev. CIVITAS · LONDON (BM).
30. Halfpenny, late—~~RICHARD · REX · ANGLU~~; Rev. CIVITAS · LONDON (BM).



L-1



L-2



IIa-1



IIc-2



1A

1



1A

2



1F

3



IIaC

4



IIe-1



III-1



III-1



III-1



IIIaD

5



1J

6



1H

7



IIIbD

8



III-2



III-3



IV-1



IV-2



IIIaE

9



IIIbF

10



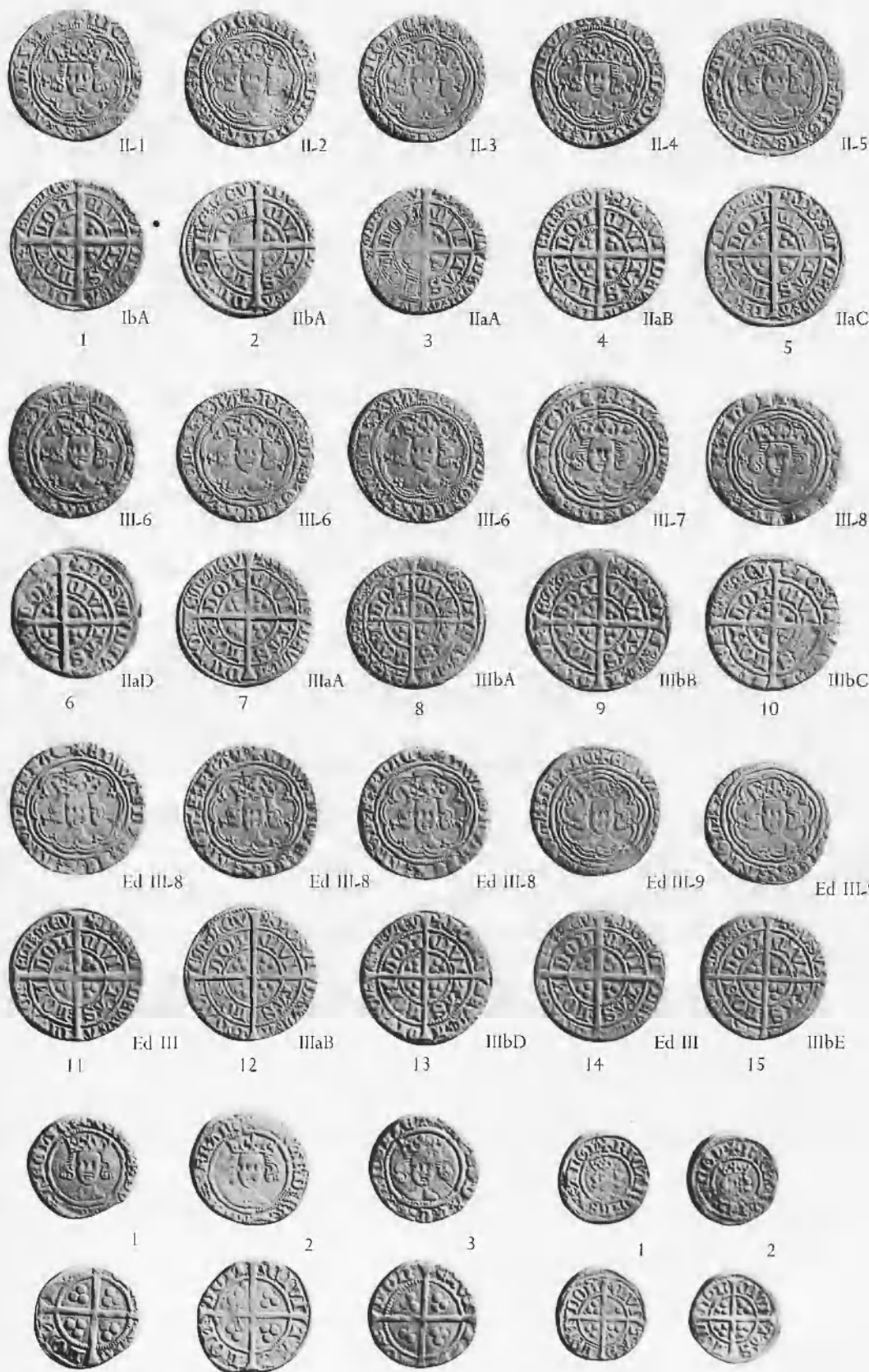
IV-1

11



IV-4

12



THREE EARLY DISCOVERIES OF 'LEATHER MONEY'

By D. M. METCALF and C. E. BLUNT

GRANLUND, in his survey of the evidence for the use of leather as money and as coinage,¹ dismisses a number of alleged medieval instances as mythical. Although no 'leather money' is to be found in collections in this country, there are records which speak of its discovery. Three such find-records are discussed here.

The Launceston hoard, discovered about 1540, is one of the earliest antiquarian descriptions of a find of medieval coinage, if the leather objects of which it was made up were in fact money. It was published at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Carew, who wrote, 'About sixty years past there were found certain leather coins in the castle wall, whose fair stamp and strong substance had till then resisted the assault of time, as they would now of covetousness.'² Polwhele, the nineteenth-century historian of Cornwall, mentioned Carew's note, and added the interpretation which Granlund has generally attacked;³ the main interest of his account is its early date. He said, 'They [i.e. the leather coins] were French. Philip de Comines informs us, that for a long time after king John of France was taken prisoner, the current coin of that kingdom, was nothing but bits of leather, with a silver nail in the middle of them. Probably, these were some of the sort.'

Sixty years is a long interval between the event and the record, and Carew does not say where his information came from. A clue to the circumstances of the discovery is offered by another, almost contemporary, source. Leland's itinerary took him to Launceston, probably in 1542. 'The large and auncient Castelle of *Launstun*', he remarked, 'stondith on the Knappe of the Hiille by South a litle from the Paroche Chirch. much of this Castel yet stondith.' He also noted that the parish church had lately been 're-edified'.⁴ One may guess that the ruins of the castle were used as a quarry in repairing the church nearby, and that the 'leather coins' were discovered as stones were being pulled from the wall.

The value of the find-record is dependent on Carew's reliability, so that it is worth mentioning another example of his interest in the discovery of coin-hoards. He gives a pleasing vignette of a search for hidden treasure near Fowey:

Not many years sithence, a gentleman dwelling not far off was perswaded by some information or imagination that treasure lay hidden under this stone. Wherefore, in a fair moonshine night, thither with certain good fellows he hieth to dig it up; a working they fall, their labour shorteneth, their hope increaseth, a pot of gold is the least of their expectation. But see the chance; in the midst of their toiling, the sky gathereth clouds, the moonlight is overcast with darkness, down falls a mighty shower, up riseth a blustering tempest, the thunder cracketh, the lightning

¹ J. Granlund, 'Pecunia Coriaria', *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1947, 1-26.

² R. Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall*, 1602, f. 116.

³ P. Polwhele, *The Histories of Cornwall*, iii (1816), p. 24.

⁴ J. Leland, *Itinerary*, ed. T. Hearne, Oxford, 1711, f. 70.

flasheth; in conclusion, our money-seekers washed instead of laden, or laden with water instead of yellow earth, and more afraid than hurt, are forced to abandon their enterprise. . . .¹

The poetical Carew may have imagined the storm as an intervention from above in the 'money-seekers' illegal activity.

'Fair stamp' is the most intriguing phrase in the Launceston find-record. It seems to imply that the leather was embossed or marked by means of cutting, and that the work was neatly done. As the pieces of leather were taken to be coins, they may have been quite small, and possibly circular. The evidence is so vague, however, that it serves to tantalize and nothing else. Apparently no antiquities are known,² at least from this country, with which the objects from Launceston could be compared, except the leather 'coins' found in Anglesey, in 1871.³ These circular pieces of leather, without any impressions, but with bits of silver neatly inserted and riveted in their centres, have been regarded as money rather readily. In the light of Granlund's article, it may be suggested that scholars assumed the relevance of Comines's description of French provisional money, and did not give enough consideration to the possibility that the objects may have had some other use.

Tanned leather was formerly required to be marked, and it happens that there are references from Launceston to 'a jury of six persons . . . sworn to try whether 11 bullocks hides were tanned in accordance with the statute', and to 'lether brought before you to be sealed'.⁴ Very little is known⁵ about a practice which is often referred to in medieval and later documents, but it is reasonable to suppose that any such marking took the form of incised marks (as is still done). If some kind of metal stamp was used, none appears to have survived or has been identified as such. Such markings might have been cut out and kept, as a bailiff's tally-check, or something of the sort, and could be the explanation of the Launceston find.

One's view of the date of deposit will be governed by an estimate of the time for which leather would retain its 'strong substance', and, of course, by the history of the castle. The keep of Launceston belongs to the thirteenth century, but the shell-keep, where the 'coins' would seem to have been found, was obviously earlier.⁶ It may have been erected within the first century after the Norman Conquest,⁷ and if at an early date, then perhaps during the anarchy of the reign of Stephen. A number of adulterine castles are thought to have been thrown up in Cornwall in the years following 1135, only to be demolished by the orders of Henry II in 1154.⁸ Launceston castle, the strategic key of the peninsula, probably shared in the military activity of these decades, but there is no record of its having been invested, nor would it have held a

¹ Carew, op. cit.

² We are indebted to Mr. J. W. Waterer, of the Museum of Leathercraft, for his helpful comments on the Launceston find.

³ See J. D. A. Thompson's *Inventory*, no. 78, for references.

⁴ R. and O. B. Peter, *Histories of Launceston and Dunheved*, 1885, p. 217.

⁵ Again, we must thank Mr. Waterer for his help.

⁶ See R. A. Brown, *English Medieval Castles*, 1954, pp. 43, 52, &c.

⁷ The castle, which was introduced into this country by the Normans, was usually a stronghold of earthwork and timber, but a considerable amount of stone fortification is now thought to have been carried out in the century following the Conquest. Brown, op. cit.

⁸ C. Henderson, *Essays in Cornish History*, Oxford, 1935, p. 5.

large garrison. If one could show that leather siege-money was issued during the anarchy,¹ a most interesting page would have been added to English numismatic and monetary history (among so many vague speculations, it is certain, because of the early date of discovery, that the Launceston find cannot have anything to do with the civil war, and almost as certain for the same reason that the objects were authentic) but the true explanation seems more likely to be an unsuspected one from a much later period.

Another early discovery of 'leather money' has been noticed from the Isle of Man, and offers an opportunity for comparison with the Launceston find. Henry Dodwell, in a letter written in 1707 to Thomas Hearne, reports that

one Mr. Gilbert, a petty canon of St. Asaph . . . told me that, in clearing the castle, [i.e. Castle Rushen] they found a room full of old leather coyn, such as he supposed to have been the current coyn of the Island formerly. But they had no regard for it, but threw it away. If the Bp. can retrieve any of it, and it have any letters stamped on it, it may be of use to you.²

Apart from the fact that both finds come from castles, which may be no more than a coincidence, the Castletown find adds the new point that a large quantity of leather was discovered. The account is not at first hand, nor is it very circumstantial, so that 'a room full' may be an exaggeration, but even so the possibility that it was coinage is more difficult to dismiss than if there had been only three or four objects. One may conjecture that the sweepings of a harness-maker's work-shop, for example, would have included scraps of leather of an irregular shape, so that even if there were an accumulation of circular pieces, formed by punching holes in straps, the general character of the discovery would almost certainly have suggested its true significance to the finders. Train states that leather money was in circulation in the Isle of Man in 1577, and Clay in his book on the currency of the island discusses the evidence at some length, but without referring to the Castletown find of which he was presumably ignorant.³

A third find of 'leather money' was discovered about 1830 at Bwlchgarneddog, Llandderfel, near Bala. It is recorded in a manuscript-book written by the Reverend John Jennings, curate in the parish of Llandderfel. The entry reads

At Bwlchgarneddog (Llandderfel) where tradition says there was an old Welsh cemetery, a man while ploughing found (about the year 1830) an earthen vessel containing money made of leather, which he presented to the Revd. Mr. Jones, at that time Rector there. It may be it is still in the possession of his nephew at Barmouth or some of his relations.⁴

If this record of a buried pot-hoard is reliable, it is difficult to dismiss the interpretation of the leather objects as coinage.

¹ There is an early tradition to that effect. See W. Camden, *Remaines concerning Britain* 1629, p. 165.

² F. Ouvry (ed.), *Letters addressed to Thomas Hearne*, 1874, pp. 14 f.

³ C. Clay, *Currency of the Isle of Man*, 1869, pp. 23 ff., where earlier references may be found. The Ordnance Survey Grid Reference to the find-spot in Castletown is SC 265675, and to Launceston castle, SX 331846.

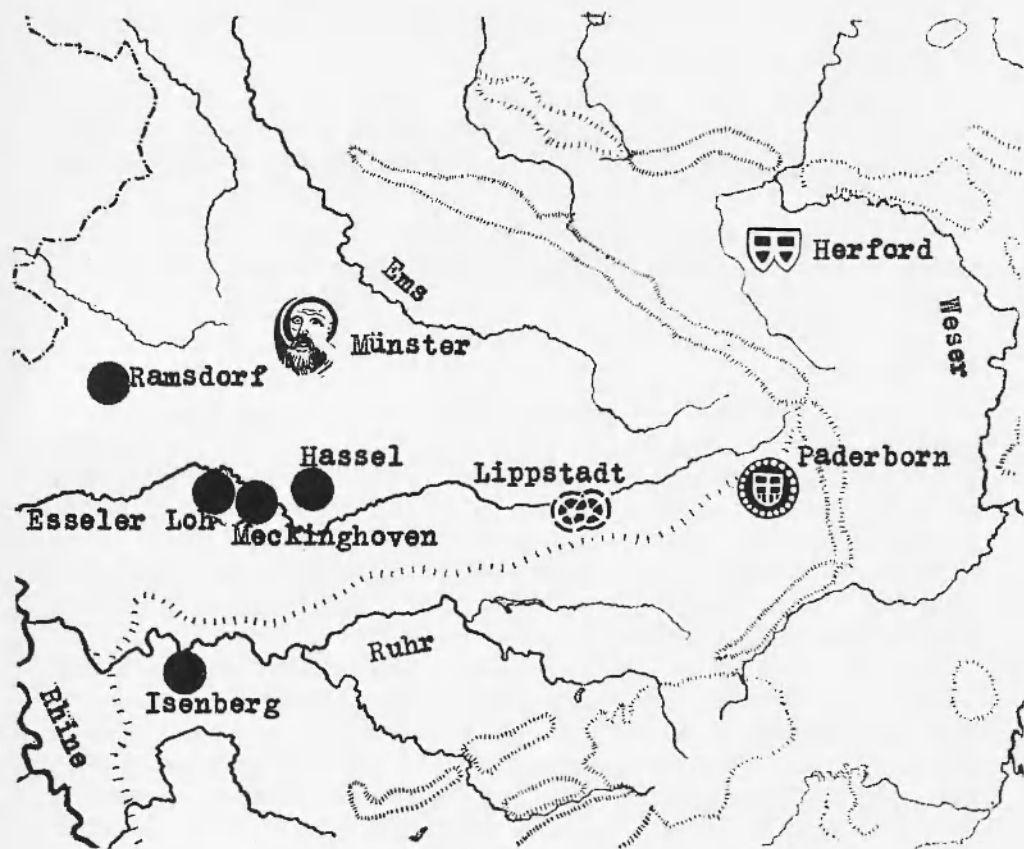
⁴ At p. 72. Written in 1857. Bwlch-garneddog is a mile north of the village of Llandderfel; its Grid Reference is SH 983391.

In this case, as in the others, one would feel far more confident in drawing conclusions if it were possible to see some of the objects that were found. There is always the hope that the recovery of one or two more find-records may throw light on those that are already known, so that their correct explanation becomes clearer, while a well-authenticated new discovery would, of course, put the problem on a new footing. If these tentative remarks come to the eyes of antiquaries more expert in questions relating to leather than numismatists are, we hope that they may suggest some further ideas.

WESTPHALIAN COUNTERMARKS ON ENGLISH GROATS

By PETER BERGHAUS

IN the course of the second half of the fourteenth century there began a development which threw Westphalia into the worst period of her monetary history. Striking almost ceased at all the numerous Westphalian mints during



Countermarking of English groats in Westphalia. ● Hoard of English groats of the fifteenth century.

the inflation of 1375/85. Various foreign coin types superseded the local antiquated *Pfennige*: namely the gold florin, the noble, the French gros tournois and its Dutch and Rhenish imitations, Bohemian and Thuringian, Flemish and Dutch groats and North German *Witten*. The fifteenth century made confusion worse confounded. Numerous types of Dutch and Flemish groats are found accompanied by French blancs, Rhenish *Raderalbus*, Rhenish and Dutch florins and other coins. Any Westphalian hoard of the fifteenth century, in fact, resembles a collection of contemporaneous coins.

Though English coins had been of importance for Westphalian currency

and coinage in the thirteenth century,¹ English and Scottish groats can be shown not to have appeared in Westphalia before the middle of the fifteenth century. They occur in four Westphalian hoards, and one stray find is also recorded.

Esseler Loh, Kreis Recklinghausen. Deposit: c. 1490. Contents: c. 800 silver coins, mainly Dutch and Flemish groats, also 8 English groats and 6 half-groats (2 of Edward III, 12 of Henry VI) and 2 Scottish groats.²

Hassel, Kreis Lüdinghausen. Deposit: c. 1490. Contents: 78 gold and 1,370 silver coins, mainly of Dortmund, together with countermarked Bohemian groats, Dutch, Rhenish, and French groats and 30 English coins of Henry VI and Edward IV (?), apparently groats and half-groats, and a London groat of Edward III, countermarked by the city of Münster.³

Meckinghoven, Kreis Recklinghausen. Deposit: c. 1490. Contents: c. 800 silver coins, mainly Dutch and Flemish groats, together with 3 English groats and half-groats (1 of Edward III and 2 of Henry VI) and 1 Scottish half-groat.⁴

Isenberg, Ennepe-Ruhrkreis. Deposit: c. 1495. Contents: 1,047 silver coins, mainly Rhenish Hohlpfennige, together with 8 English and Irish coins of Henry VI and Edward IV.⁵

Ramsdorf, Kreis Borken. Stray find: Edward IV, London groat as *B.N.J.* viii, 1911, p. 161, 4.⁶

Westphalian documents of the late fifteenth century mention English groats and half-groats as well as numerous German, Dutch, and French coins. The groats are called *Stoter*, the half-groats *halve Stoter*. The coin list of the treaty of 1489 of the Westphalian coin convention is typical: 'Item Engelsche unde Colsche Stoters teyn up den gulden, dat stucke xii penninge, Item de halven vi penninge' (*Stoters* of England and Cologne ten to the florin, twelve pence a piece).⁷ English groats in this document are valued the same as Rhenish Blanken, and twice as high as Bohemian groats.⁸

Since the second half of the fourteenth century certain foreign coins had been countermarked by Westphalian cities. It began c. 1370 with the countermarking of inferior Rhenish imitations of the French gros tournois.⁹ Soon Bohemian groats were being countermarked by many Westphalian cities as well as by places in Southern Germany. The countermarking of Bohemian groats, referred to in numerous contemporary documents, was continued until the beginning of the late sixteenth century.¹⁰ Thuringian groats were

¹ P. Berghaus, 'Die Perioden des Sterlings in Westfalen, dem Rheinland und in den Niederlanden', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, i, 1947, 34-53.—S. E. Rigold, 'The Trail of the Easterlings', *B.N.J.* xxvi, 31-55.

² Unpublished in the Recklinghausen Museum.

³ H. Krusy, 'Der Münzfund von Hassel bei Kappenberg', *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Orts- und Heimatkunde in der Grafschaft Mark zu Witten*, i, 1952, 1-55.

⁴ Unpublished in the Datteln Museum and other collections.

⁵ C. Reistorff, *Der Isenberger Münzfund*, Leipzig, 1866.

⁶ In the Ramsdorf Museum.

⁷ *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, i, Münster 1838, 334.

⁸ *Item bemessche krosschen . . . xx up den gulden, dat stucke vi penninge.*

⁹ P. Berghaus, 'Ein spätmittelalterlicher Münzenfund aus Lemgo (Lippe)', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, xi, 1958, 409-42, esp. 412-14 and 435-6.

¹⁰ Krusy, Hassel, 24.

countermarked in Westphalia by the end of the fourteenth century, North German *Witten* c. 1410–30,¹ Dutch groats c. 1420–1500,² coins of Dortmund and Horde c. 1480–90.³ Sometimes a countermark occurs twice on a coin, obviously the sign for a certain valuation. Often, too, inferior coins were subjected to countermarking, to distinguish them from legal issues.

Westphalian countermarks on English groats are extremely rare:

1. *City of Munster*

Countermark: Head of St. Paul.

On obverse of Edward III, London groat, Second period B (1363–69).⁴

Munster, Landesmuseum, 3.32 grammes.

From Hassel (Kappenberg) hoard. Deposit: c. 1490.

Peus,⁵ p. 26, no. 11.

(Pl. XXI, 1)

2. *City of Munster*

Countermark: Head of St. Paul (as on no. 1).

On obverse of Henry VI, Calais groat, annulet issue (1422–5).

Formerly Bonn, Kalenberg collection, present whereabouts unknown.

Peus, p. 26, no. 12.

(Pl. XXI, 2)

3. *City of Munster*

Countermark: Head of St. Paul, different design.

On reverse of Henry VI, Calais half-groat, annulet issue (1422–5).

Munster, Landesmuseum, 1.52 grammes. Pierced.

(Pl. XXI, 3)

Purchased from a Viennese collector, who had acquired it in Amsterdam.

4. *City of Herford*

Countermark: Arms of the City.

Twice on obverse of Henry VI, Calais groat, Rosette-Masclé issue (1425–8).

Munster, Landesmuseum, 3.00 grammes.

From Freilaubersheim hoard (Kreis Alzey, near Mainz). Deposit: c. 1480.

A. Plager, 'Ein rheinhessischer Münzfund', *Frankfurter Münzzeitung* 1906, 452, and pl. 43, 13.

From Joseph collection, part ii, Frankfurt 1912, lot 8101.

(Pl. XXI, 4)

5. *City of Herford*

Countermark: Arms of the City (as no. 4).

Twice on obverse of Edward IV, London groat, light Coinage (1464–70).

Blunt/Whitton Class Vd.

London, British Museum, Department of Coins, 2.83 grammes.

From Lockett collection, part iv, London 1956, lot 1643.

(Pl. XXI, 5)

6. *City of Paderborn*

Countermark: Arms of the City within a pearl border.

On obverse of Henry VI, London groat, unmarked issue (1422–61).

Berlin, Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, 3.77 grammes. Pierced.

Formerly in the Kassel Museum.

(Pl. XXI, 6)

¹ W. Jesse, *Der wendische Münzverein*, Lübeck, 1928, 97–98.

² H. Krusy, 'Westfälische Gegenstempel auf niederländischen Münzen', *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, xxxix, 1952, 27–40.

³ P. Berghaus, *Münzgeschichte der Stadt Dortmund*, Dortmund, 1958, 27.

⁴ G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, 3rd ed., London, 1950. For the coins of Edward IV cf. C. E. Blunt and C. A. Whitton, 'The coinages of Edward IV and of Henry VI (restored)', *B.N.J.* xxv, 1947, 4–163.

⁵ B. Peus, *Das Geld- und Münzwesen der Stadt Münster i. W.*, Münster, 1930.

7. *City of Lippstadt*

Countermark: Two roses, overlapping each other.

On obverse of Henry VI, Calais groat, annulet issue (1422–5).

Berlin, Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, 3·58 grammes.

From Kassel sale, Halle 1924, lot 2029.

(Pl. XXI, 7)

The present writer would not venture to declare as genuine a further countermark on an English groat (Pl. XXI, 8). The specimen, a Calais groat of Henry VI, annulet issue (1422–5), 3·80 grammes in the Krusy collection in Witten, purchased at the Kress sale 90, Munich 1951, lot 2235, is countermarked by a star of eight points. The same countermark-punch occurs on various coins of the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries, some of them of types never found countermarked otherwise:

(a) France, Philip IV, 1285–1314, gros tournois.¹

(b) France, Philip IV, 1285–1314, gros tournois.²

(c) Brabant, John II, 1294–1312, Brussels, gros tournois, de Witte 298.³

(d) Flanders, Louis de Male, 1346–1384, groat.⁴

(e) City of Korbach, pfennig, fifteenth century, Grote 28.⁵

A similar countermark has been found on seven further coins of the thirteenth–seventeenth (!) centuries, some of which again one would not expect to find countermarked:

(f) Bohemia, John I, 1310–1346, groat in excellent condition.⁶

(g) France, Louis IX, 1226–1270, gros tournois.⁷

(h) France, Philip V, 1316–1322, gros tournois. Imitation?⁸

(i) Flanders, Louis de Male, 1346–1384, groat.⁹

(j) City of Frankfurt, gros tournois, fifteenth–sixteenth centuries.¹⁰

(k) Bohemia, Ferdinand I, 1527–1564, groat.¹¹

(l) Bohemia, Ferdinand II, *taler* (crown) 1633 of Kuttenberg.¹²

The nos. (c), (d), (i), (j), (k), and (l) can hardly be authentic examples of countermarking.

The countermarks of this series have never been recorded in a genuine hoard. The first specimens were sold in the Riechmann sale V, 1912, lot 31–38. The city of Korbach, to which these counterfeits have been attributed hitherto, used a different star as a countermark. It is rather doubtful if the countermark ‘star of eight points’ would have been used by another place in the county of Waldeck. Finally, it is most suspicious that the same countermark-

¹ Kassel coll. from Riechmann sale V, 1912, lot 33.

² Peus sale 255, 1956, lot 704, withdrawn as a forgery.

³ Kress sale 90, 1951, lot 2234, now in Krusy coll.

⁴ Frankfurt Museum from Riechmann sale V, lot 32.

⁵ Krusy coll. from Kress sale 90, lot 2236. A further specimen in Riechmann sale V, lot 31.

⁶ Krusy coll. from Riechmann sale V, lot 34 and Kress sale 90, lot 2231. Countermarked Bohemian groats are always in the poorest condition.

⁷ Krusy coll. from Kress sale 90, lot 2233.

⁸ Krusy coll. from Kress sale 90, lot 2239.

⁹ Krusy coll. from Kress sale 90, lot 2237.

¹⁰ Frankfurt Museum from Kress sale 90, lot 2238.

¹¹ Kassel coll. from Riechmann sale V, lot 35.

¹² Kress sale 90, lot 2232. Present whereabouts unknown. The author is indebted to Herr Hans Krusy for his kind advice in bringing together the notes 1–12 above.

punch should have been used for 300 years (fourteenth to seventeenth centuries).

Owing to the lack of contemporary documentation it is pure hypothesis to try to explain the significance of the Westphalian countermarks on English groats. Possibly the introduction of the light coinage of 1464 led to the countermarking in Westphalia, to distinguish the old groats from the new. Possibly the double countermark of the city of Herford may be explained as a mark for inferior specimens. Double countermarking had been used for such a purpose earlier.¹ As a matter of fact, one of the specimens illustrated (no. 5) is of the light coinage and the other (no. 4) is heavily clipped.

Furthermore, it is characteristic that the city of Münster used two obviously different punches for countermarking to distinguish between groats and half-groats.

For comparison here are reproduced some similar Westphalian countermarks on other coin types of the fifteenth century. These are in the Münster collection (Pl. XXI, A-D).

- A. *City of Munster*. Countermark 'Head of St. Paul' on double groat of Utrecht, Frederik of Blankenheim, 1394-1423, mint of Deventer, from the Sendenhorst hoard (deposit c. 1430). Similar countermarks also occur on North German *Witten*, Bohemian groats, and Dutch florins.²
- B. *City of Herford*. Counter-mark 'Arms of the City' on Bohemia, Wenceslaus IV, 1378-1419, groat, from the Sendenhorst hoard. Similar countermarks on North German *Witten*, groats of Hessen and Utrecht, Rhenish *Albus*, and Dutch florins.³
- C. *City of Paderborn*. Countermark 'Arms of the City within a pearl border' on Bohemia, Wenceslaus IV, 1378-1419, groat. Similar countermarks on North German *Witten*, groats of Hessen and Thuringia, and on groats of Utrecht.
- D. *City of Lippstadt*. Countermark 'Rose' twice on Bohemia, Wenceslaus IV, 1378-1419, groat. The countermark 'Two roses, overlapping each other', also occurs on Bohemian groats.⁴ Similar countermarks on Rhenish gros tournois, North German *Witten*, and groats of Hessen and Thuringia.

Countermarks of the following Westphalian cities could also be expected to occur on English coins, since they are found on other coins of the fifteenth century: Soest (key), Warburg (fleur-de-lis), Werl (coat of arms), and Osna-brück (wheel).

For the permission to publish here their countermarked groats the author is indebted to the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, to the Münzsammlung der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin, and to Herr Hans Krusy, Witten. Finally, he wants to express his sincere thanks to his friend Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, who has kindly given him his advice and prepared the typescript for the English printer.

¹ Krusy, Hassel, p. 21.

² Peus, pp. 23-27.

³ P. Berghaus, 'Wahrungsgrenzen des westfälischen Oberwesergebietes im Spätmittelalter', Hamburg 1951, p. 24.

⁴ Krusy, Hassel, pp. 31-36 and nos. 31-33.



WESTPHALIAN COUNTERMARKS ON ENGLISH GROATS

THE GLENLUCE HOARD, 1956

By B. H. I. H. STEWART

(SEE PLS. XXII-XXIV)

SCOTTISH coin hoards buried in the fifteenth century are of sufficient rarity to command attention regardless of their precise contents. On examination, it became clear very quickly that over a hundred coins discovered by Mr. and Mrs. E. M. Jope on the Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire, in July 1956, were of the utmost importance as a hoard in every sense. Mr. and Mrs. Jope, both experienced archaeologists, while passing through Wigtownshire were walking on the sands at Glenluce when they noticed something green lying on the surface. They found it to be a group of heavily oxidized coins stuck together. Realizing the significance of their find, they investigated the site, eventually collecting 112 coins, some broken pottery, pieces of leading for window panes, metal fragments, and one piece of glass. There was no sign of a container, but one group of three coins had a piece of cloth adhering to it, which appears to be part of a linen bag or purse in which the coins were originally deposited. After a close study of the archaeological material and fauna collected from the Glenluce site, Mr. Jope has come to the conclusion that the hoard was probably deposited under the floor of a wooden house, which in course of time became buried in the sand and heather. Unfortunately the area is subject to changes in surface contours, and the condition of the site did not suggest that further investigation there would be profitable.

On returning south, the finders took the coins to Mr. J. D. A. Thompson of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer was notified through Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, and allowed the coins to remain at Oxford for cleaning and identification. Mr. Thompson applied considerable skill to the cleaning, which was a long and delicate process, for many of the coins proved to be very fragile. One or two small and very corroded fragments did not survive treatment with ammonia, but the plates show how successful Mr. Thompson has been with most of the coins. After making a preliminary sorting, he invited me to undertake a more detailed analysis.

CONTENTS OF THE HOARD

Except for two very old English silver coins, all the coins are Scottish, ten being of the James III groat series, one a black farthing, two placks of James III, and the remainder billon pence from 1451 to 1490. Summary of reigns and types:

ENGLISH (2)

Edward III, London half-groat, 1351-60 coinage	.	.	.	.	1
Henry IV, London groat, light coinage	.	.	.	.	1

SCOTTISH (110). All of the Edinburgh mint except one penny of Perth

Silver

James III, S. group II groats	.	.	.	.	.	.	6
„ „ half-groats	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
„ S. group VIe groat	.	.	.	.	.	.	1

<i>Billon</i>	
James III, first-issue placks	2
James II, pennies, second coinage (after 1451):	
First issue (new type)	1
Second issue, Edinburgh	7
,, Perth	1
James III, pennies:	
S. Class A (including one with reverse of James II)	9
S. Class B	1
S. Class C	45
S. Class D	4
James IV, first-issue pennies:	
S. Class I	13
S. Class II (including one with reverse of Class I)	12
Uncertain pennies (including forgeries)	4
<i>Copper</i>	
James III, black farthing, first issue	1
	<hr/> Total <u>112</u>

A detailed list of individual coins is appended at the end of the paper.

THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY HOARDS AND CURRENCY¹

The discovery of the Glenluce hoard gives an opportunity for an assessment of collective hoard evidence for the state of coinage and currency in fifteenth-century Scotland.

Mr. J. D. A. Thompson's *Inventory of British Coin Hoards, A.D. 600–1500*² shows that only a few hoards buried in Scotland in the fifteenth century have been unearthed: those that have been are widely different in composition, but some general tendencies can be established, which are followed, more or less, from hoard to hoard. By the fifteenth century, the enormous preponderance of English money in Scotland, outnumbering Scots coins by more than 20:1 in the reign of Edward I, had been reduced, but English coin was struck at a better standard and was constantly acceptable. In gold, however, the international currency of trade, the Scots showed a definite preference for their own native issues: at Wick in 1881, a gold hoard (with also two Scots groats) contained 6 Continental écus, 8 English nobles, and 16 Scottish crowns and demies. New Cumnock, 1882, contained 138 English to 4 Scottish silver coins, but all the gold (41 coins) were Scottish. The same tendency is noticeable in the huge Perth hoard, all the 18 gold coins in which were Scottish, except for one Burgundian half-noble.

Money held by traders tended to be of gold, unless specifically connected with the market end of commerce. Throughout England and Scotland hoards primarily, or only, of gold must thus have been frequently buried, and the Wick hoard, with only two groats, is an example. The proportion of gold coins to silver at New Cumnock, 41:142, is perhaps the sort of money which

¹ This and the following section have been included in Mr. Jope's report on his discovery in *Medieval Archaeology*.

² References for the several hoards discussed in the following paragraphs are not given individually; they can be found in Mr. Thompson's *Inventory*, in which the hoards are listed alphabetically.

might be expected in a merchant's hoard, but, in fact, such combinations of the two metals are, in practice, only rarely found, even in England. The rule is much more for hoards of gold coins exclusively, or of silver with the accidental addition of a few gold coins (e.g. Perth).

Gold was riches, and base metal, or billon, was small change; so the buried savings of the ordinary fifteenth-century Scot were likely to be in silver. Hoards in this metal alone come from Ayr (1863), Forgandenny (1876), and Aberdeen (1937). The ratio of English to Scottish silver coins was: at Ayr 29:106; at Forgandenny (only 37 coins listed) 21:16; at Aberdeen 178:5. The last is certainly a distortion, and may represent an English merchant's money: it is interesting to note that a parallel hoard in England (Dover—buried 1296) emphasizes how this sort of distortion could arise in trading centres by providing a much less probable ratio—a large predominance of Scots coins in England. Perhaps the ratio at Ayr, one English to three Scottish, was somewhere near the average in Scotland: though in towns the English coins would be more, and in the country less.

In connexion with silver hoards, it is interesting to consider the status of the billon plack, half silver and half alloy, current at 4*d*. The Kilkerran hoard, 1892, contained 36 English silver coins, 30 Scottish silver coins, and 1 James III plack—with no other billon. Perth, besides its 18 gold coins, had 257 English silver coins, 341 Scottish silver, and 499 placks and half-placks. Billon pennies, much baser than the placks, appear to have been deliberately excluded from both hoards.

The notable rarities of the later fifteenth-century Scottish series are the half-groats. Various other expedients sufficed to fill in the gap between the billon penny and the silver groat, which was of variable weight and value—from 1451 to 1484, 12*d*.; after 1484, 14*d*. To some extent the old groats of James I and James II before 1451, struck at 6*d*., still circulated, and, although clipping and wear had reduced their weight, the price of silver had risen and probably until near the end of the century the old groats still held their original value of 6*d*., conveniently half the denomination of the new groats. Apart from three earlier coins, the James I–III silver content of the Perth hoard was:

James I and II light (6 <i>d</i> .) groats	.	.	.	.	112
James II and III 12 <i>d</i> . groats	.	.	.	.	214
James II and III half-groats	.	.	.	.	12
				Total	338

The proportion of half-groats is tiny—but if the earlier coins are looked upon as half-groats in the new monetary scheme, the proportion 214:124 is much more natural.

The shortage of smaller silver is also reflected in the English content of Scottish hoards: for some unexplained reason, earlier rather than contemporary English coins held vogue in Scotland, and the great rarity of Scottish half-groats created a remarkable demand for English half-groats, particularly old, clipped Edward III coins. Of the 257 English silver coins from the Perth hoard, buried towards 1500, no less than 83 were half-groats of Edward III, all well over a century old. From Kilkerran, a hoard buried about

the same time, only 7 out of 36 English coins were of Edward IV or later, whilst 7 were worn half-groats of Edward III. Even in the Forgandenny hoard (? burial 1440's), out of 21 English silver coins there were 4 groats and 5 half-groats of Edward III, but of the 16 Scots silver coins not one was of Edward III's contemporary, David II. Of the 138 English silver coins from New Cumnock, 20 were of Edward III, but of the 45 Scots only 4 were of the fourteenth century, and these all of Robert III.

The role of the Scottish half-groat—virtually non-existent as such—was thus largely assumed by half-groats of Edward III and old *6d.* groats of James I and II. About 1470, however, two deliberate measures seem to have been aimed at the shortage of smaller silver. An alloyed groat—the thistle-head and mullet type, group II of James III's groats—was issued, originally at *7d.* but reduced in 1473 to *6d.* It appears to have continued to be struck until nearly 1484 alongside the regular issue of silver groats: in order to avoid confusion, the alloyed groat had a distinctive type, including a $\frac{3}{4}$ -face portrait, as opposed to the conventional facing bust on the fine silver groats.

The other measure was the institution of a new denomination, the plack, *4d.*, with its half. There were certainly two main issues, one about 1470–3, the other about 1482; and, like the alloyed groats, they may have been in more or less continuous issue between 1470 and 1484. Again like the alloyed groats, they are of distinctive type, and the correspondence between many features of the designs of the placks and alloyed groats is notable.

Naturally hoards of billon coins are rare since it was easier to keep or hide a dozen groats than a hundred billon pennies; and it has been noted that if billon is present at all with silver, it is usually in the form of placks. Later, of course, when silver coinage had almost completely ceased after 1500, even billon was sought after and buried—cf. the Creggan and Balligormorrie hoards. But in the fifteenth century, men put aside silver for saving, and everyday small transactions were made in billon. Today, but for the Perth hoard, placks and half-placks of James III would be of the highest rarity; how many escaped, if any, from the Perth hoard before it was claimed as treasure trove will never be known—probably they were very few, since even now half-placks are very rarely on the market. Billon pence, before the second issue of James IV, are quite uncommon: the high proportion of new varieties produced by Glenluce demonstrates this. So that billon coinage, the mainstay of Scottish currency towards the end of the Middle Ages, is much scarcer today than the silver coins of the time, although the original proportion in circulation in, say, 1475, must have been in favour of billon by tens to one. This can be proved by the number of dies known: those listed for the silver groat coinage of James III, c. 1467–84, by Burns as long ago as 1887, may have contained two-thirds of all the original dies of the coinage, for new hoards rarely produce an unrecorded variety of these coins. But the large number of similar dies used for billon pence can be seen from the class C pennies found at Glenluce, where die-identities are almost impossible to find,¹ but coins very similar are numerous.

Still rarer today than the billon coins of the time are the 'black', or copper,

¹ Even allowing for the fact that large numbers of coins hastily struck from the same pair of dies often bear little resemblance to each other at first sight.

farthings of which there were two official regal issues by James III. Contemporary records show that there was a considerable amount of copper money in circulation at the time. Some of this was certainly foreign, but Scottish copper pennies were struck at St. Andrews, and besides the two types of regal black farthings there were others of uncertain origin. A large hoard of billon and copper coins—the only one of its kind—was found at Crossraguel Abbey, Ayrshire, in 1919. There were a few billon pence of James III and IV; 18 regal farthings in copper and 20 apparently in brass; 51 copper pence of the St. Andrews type which may have originated under Bishop Kennedy; and 88 copper farthings of previously unknown types, with the inscription *Moneta Pauperum* on the reverse.

The St. Andrews pence have occasionally turned up elsewhere in Scotland, but before 1919 the few known specimens were not even recognized as Scottish. The normal types of regal black farthing are known by perhaps less than twenty specimens apart from Crossraguel, which is their only hoard provenance; and the *Moneta Pauperum* coins do not appear to be known from any other source.¹ The lesson of Crossraguel is that our knowledge of the copper currency of Scotland in the later fifteenth century, before almost negligible, is still far from complete. If a solitary hoard can produce so much new material, it is likely that there is a great deal more to be learnt.

The same can be said of Glenluce with relation to the billon coinage, especially—from a purely numismatic point of view—in the number of new varieties. Crossraguel, perhaps a bagful of collected alms, is unique in its composition of copper and billon; Glenluce, perhaps the purse money of someone fleeing westwards from Scotland, is unique in its composition of billon and silver. The large proportion of pennies, with a few groats and placks, suggests a normal parcel of ready cash, and its site position postulates hasty burial beneath a wooden floor. It is not, thus, a hoard, in the sense of money specially set aside for saving. Rather it is of a kind which is naturally very rare, an accidental, spontaneous collection of money at hand; the sort of group which would only be buried in emergency, and of which, apparently, no other examples have survived from this period.

Their numismatic importance will be described below, but the individual elements of the hoard are equally interesting in connexion with the remarks already put forward about the state of currency at the time. Firstly, the large range of billon pence gives an idea of the extent of this coinage as much larger than suggested by the scarcity of surviving specimens. The one black farthing is in very bad condition, chipped and worn, but its very survival (perhaps thirty years) is significant; the implication is that black farthings were in considerably longer and more general circulation than their great rarity today would suggest. No doubt they were more often lost than buried, like English farthings of the fifteenth century, being unsuitable material for hoarding.

¹ Two specimens (*The Scottish Coinage*, pl. vii, nos. 100 and 101—now in my collection) may be strays from Crossraguel or come from another, unknown, source. They are far better preserved than, and do not share the corroded and discoloured surface of, the Crossraguel coins in N.M.A. However, S. fig. 100 is certainly the coin figured by Macdonald in *Num. Chron.*, 1919, p. 299; but there is no means of knowing whether these line-drawings were made from actual Crossraguel specimens, especially since Macdonald's figs. 10 and 11 on pp. 300 and 301 are clearly the same coin with two different inscriptions!

Of the silver, the two English coins are, as might be expected from the tendency noted above in other Scottish hoards, very old: an Edward III half-groat, a century older than the earliest Scottish coin, and a Henry IV groat forty years older. The half-groat, at $18\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and the groat at 39 grains, have been clipped down to correspond with the weights of the Scottish coins of the time. The Scottish groats are much newer, and, notably, are all of the three-quarter face types—S. groups II and VI. Group II are the alloyed groats of 1470, and group VI the first large issue of the heavy coinage (groat of 14*d.*) after 1484. Today these are the commonest types of James III's groats, and the number of dies known suggests that they were of larger issue than the other types. And although the Perth hoard might suggest otherwise, it is not surprising to find none of the groat types with the conventional facing bust present in the Glenluce hoard. The complete contrast of this with the Perth hoard, which had *no* three-quarter face groats, either of group II or group VI, merits attention numismatically, although, in the context of hoards and currency, it is worth considering that groats with an unfamiliar appearance, such as these portrait coins, might have found especial popularity or the reverse with individual owners.

NUMISMATIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HOARD AS A WHOLE

The latest coins contained in the hoard are a run of James IV billon pence of the first issue: equal numbers of classes I and II of this issue argue for a date of burial about 1492 or a little later. Class II cannot be dated earlier than 1490; and, since the bad condition of some James IV pence appears to be in some measure due to wear as well as poor striking, the allowance of five years' circulation might be made to *c.* 1495. The exact date is immaterial, but the important point is that there are no billon coins later than those corresponding with the heavy silver coinage of James IV, which ended *c.* 1492.

In this light, Sir George Macdonald's interpretation¹ of the Perth hoard must be revised. That curious hoard contained none of the group II or group VI groats (the two three-quarter face portrait types); but in view of the size of the hoard, Macdonald understandably—but, on numismatic grounds, dangerously—looked upon the Perth groats as 'a really representative series'. The absence of the portrait coins is certainly remarkable, but it must be attributed either to the personal whim of the depositor, or to the hasty dispersal of many of the coins after finding. Glenluce, buried possibly within a year or two of Perth, contained both these types of groats (and only these types), and in the circumstances positive evidence must outweigh negative. Hoard evidence thus supports other indications that these groats were both issues of James III. Conversely, the Glenluce hoard casts real doubts as to the authenticity of the surviving portion of the Perth hoard as a cross-section of the silver coin current in Scotland at the time, in that it does not contain either of the two most common types of groat of the previous twenty years.

As far as sequence and attribution are concerned, two mule coins found at Glenluce throw light upon disputed points:

No. 24, a James III penny, struck from an obverse die of James III, class A,

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1921, pp. 312–18; discussed in *British Numismatic Journal*, xxvii, pp. 66 ff., and pp. 182 ff.

and a reverse die of James II, second coinage, second issue, indicates that the latter issue was probably continued well into the reign of James III, an hypothesis hitherto presumed but not substantiated.

No. 97, a James IV first-issue penny, struck from an obverse die of class I (annulet issue) and a reverse die of class II (saltire issue), suggests that these two issues of pence were consecutive. Upon this rests the groat sequence of the period, as types I and II of James IV have only been connected previously on negative evidence.¹ The four types of heavy groats (Groups V and VI of James III, and types I and II of James IV) are thus all now linked consecutively by mule coins: type 1 to type 2 by mules in the companion gold coinage (unicorns, B. fig. 632, nos. 10 and 11); type 2 to type 3 by a mule groat (B. fig. 651); and type 3 to type 4 by the new mule penny, no. 97, from Glenluce, which links the companion billon coinages of these two types of groat—a pattern which proclaims warning against any numismatic study which confines itself to one metal or one denomination.

SCHEME OF CLASSIFICATION

As broad divisions, the arrangement of types and classes in *The Scottish Coinage* has been used (references as S.). Where relevant, B. indicates numbers of coins listed or illustrated by Burns in *The Coinage of Scotland*.

The opportunity, provided by this hoard for the first time, of studying a quantity of James II, III, and IV billon pence in fair condition has suggested that some further subdivision can legitimately be made of the scheme evolved in *The Scottish Coinage*.

James II's Second Coinage billon pence follow the various issues of the groats. The earliest billon penny in the hoard is of a new reverse type, but belongs to the first issue and is struck from the same obverse die as the regular first-issue pence. The second-issue pennies are of three varieties, which will here be called the 'annulet', 'plain', and 'saltire' types. The 'annulet' type was unknown before Glenluce, but the 'plain' and 'saltire' types are not rare. The 'annulet' penny has annulets between the groups of pellets on the reverse, corresponding with the early second-issue groats (B. figs. 522–4, &c.). The 'plain' type coins have no extra marks on obverse or reverse (cf. the groats B. fig. 540); on 'saltire' pennies there are saltires within the groups of pellets on the reverse, and saltires or fleurs-de-lis beside the bust (cf. groats B. figs. 541–5, &c.). Mules exist both ways between the 'plain' and 'saltire' issues (see Burns, ii. 103).

James III, Class A. This is the companion billon coinage of the group I groats: three varieties are distinguished, not strictly chronological: class Ai, represented by Glenluce no. 25, is an unpublished type, with saltires by the bust; classes Aii and Aiii are subdivisions of the remaining coins of class A, for convenience, according to whether they have or have not saltires between the pellets on the reverse. There is not necessarily any significance in this distinction: the presence or omission of saltires does not appear to be de-

¹ 'The Heavy Silver Coinage of James III and IV', *B.N.J.* xxvii, 182–94.

liberate in the same way as it is on James II's pence. The groats have either saltires or annulets between the pellets on the reverse; no pence of class A are known with annulets on the reverse. The crown on the Ai coin is neat and small, whilst normal coins of class A (varieties Aii and Aiii) have a double-banded crown with a tall central fleur. The mint-mark cross is slightly fourchée (very clear on the mule coin no. 24), and the shoulders often appear hollowed. The lettering is slightly hollow-sided, and the 'B' for 'R', a characteristic of the group I groats, is a distinct feature: in the lists, 'B' for 'R' is only written where the letter is clear as such on the coin.

A halfpenny of this class, not found in the Glenluce hoard, but which has recently appeared, is noted below, p. 376.

Class B. A rare class, connected by its reverse type with the group II groats, with thistle-heads and mullets on the reverse. The bust is low and squat, with wide shoulders as on the later coins of class C. Since it now appears that the group II groats were in extended issue throughout the 1470's, and perhaps even after 1480, the dating of the class B pence is problematical: the group II alloyed groats were probably of concurrent issue with the fine silver groats, groups III and IV. It is difficult therefore to know when or why a special type of billon penny should have been struck with affinities to the group II groat reverse. These pennies are very scarce, and probably of limited issue: the single example in Glenluce is indicative of their scarcity.

Class C is a very large group, and heavily represented in the Glenluce hoard. It is subdivided into five main varieties: Ci, ii, and iii correspond to the groat issue group III, and Civ and v to the groat issue group IV.

The earliest variety, Ci, has a large bust with narrow shoulders, prominent facial features, and a crown of five fleurs (B. fig. 595): it is a rare variety, probably parallel to the groats of S. group IIa (cf. B. fig. 588). The obverse inscription is regular and neat, with double-saltire stops.

Class Cii is distinguished by a smaller bust, with a crown of three fleurs and two spikes, and a neck which only extends into two small flanges to represent the shoulders. There are innumerable similar dies of this type, which represent the main companion billon coinage to the group III groats in the later 1470's. Most obverse inscriptions are without stops and **DEI GRÆ REX S** is often represented by **DEIBTBES**, the old 'B' for 'R' continuing from class A. A degenerate variety of class Cii, here called Ciii, has no spikes in the crown, which is of three fleurs only: the variety is hitherto unrecorded.

Classes Civ and Cv accompany the group IV groats, and are the billon coins immediately preceding the reform of 1484. The earlier and scarcer variety, Civ, has a larger head (cf. B. fig. 612): Cv, like Civ, has broad, flat shoulders, but is distinguished by a much smaller head. The bust of Cv is exactly like that of class B, and the two may be contemporary. The inscriptions are neat and regular, unlike those of Cii and Ciii: double-saltire stops abound on both sides of the coins. Mr. Stevenson has suggested further subdivision of Cv into Cva and Cvb according to whether there are, or are not, pellets upon the interstitial spikes of the crown. The bust of classes Civ and Cv is set low down, and exactly copies that of the silver pennies of group IV; no die-link between the two has yet been discovered.

Class D represents the billon pence of James III after 1484. Hitherto the class was only known by four specimens altogether:

1. B. fig. 650A = Richardson 87
2. S. fig. 118 = Richardson 86
3. Richardson 88
4. Stewart collection (formerly H. A. Parsons)

These are all of a variety which it is here proposed to label class *Dii*. The features are: facing¹ bust, with low, flat crown, bushy hair, no neck; annulets between pellets on reverse, as stops on both sides, and in obverse field; mm. apparently a cinquefoil; cross fleurée on reverse. Two specimens were found at Glenluce of this variety, which corresponds, in the style of bust and annulet ornamentation, to the group VI portrait groats.

Class Di is altogether new. Glenluce produced two specimens from the same pair of dies: another specimen is in my collection, illustrated as fig. B on **Pl. XXIV**. These three coins have certain features in common which differentiate them from all other billon pence. The mint-mark is not a cross (unless it is a cross fourchée disposed saltirewise)—perhaps a thistle. The bust is facing with wide, bold hair, a flat crown, and a definite neck. Lettering is the most peculiar feature: it has uprights with hollowed sides and fishtail ends, and some letters are unusually large. The nearest correspondence in the groat series seems to be group V (to which issue no billon pence have otherwise been ascribed), in which case the mint-mark might be the cross fourchée. The attribution will be further discussed below.

Classes I and II of the billon pence of James IV are the latest coins in the hoard. An hitherto unknown variety of class I, here called class *Ia*, has an annulet between the groups of pellets in two quarters of the reverse, a link with the James III pence of class *Dii*. The normal variety of James IV annulet penny is thus styled class *Ib*. Of class II, a variety which should perhaps be labelled class *IIb*, has a small neat bust with a squat crown, and a different, small fount of lettering. The initial cross is slightly fourchée on coins of both class I and class II. Certain problems, raised by individual specimens of these classes, are discussed in more detail below.

THE INDIVIDUAL COINS

Many of the coins in the hoard require individual comment apart from the remarks above and the description in the lists.

English

The Edward III half-groat calls for no comment, but the Henry IV groat provides a reverse type hitherto unrecorded. It reads **UOM DON** and so corresponds with certain rare halfpence which have this reading, e.g. one in the British Museum from the Highbury find which, like the groat, has a true Henry IV obverse, and another in Mr. Blunt's collection which has an obverse of Henry V.

¹ Not, as previously thought (Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 167; *The Scottish Coinage*, p. 143), facing slightly three-quarters left, as on the group VI groats.

Both are very worn and clipped, and probably continuously circulated for over 100 and 50 years respectively. They have been clipped down to the weights of the earlier groats and half-groats of James III.

Scottish—Groat Series

James III, group II: these are in exceptional condition, all having a conspicuous, fresh silver appearance, though coins of this type more usually reveal traces of their alloy. Perhaps they were given a silver wash before issue. The six groats provide no new varieties of significance, but correct one or two of Burns's readings. The three half-groats are also in outstanding condition; no. 9 has a new reverse reading. The group VI groat is from dies recorded by Burns.

Placks

Both billon placks, fine for the issue, are variants of any others known.¹ No. 14² is interesting for the colon stops after REX, VII, and LX; it appears probable that placks were being struck until nearly 1485, and, like the thistle-head and mullet groats, of which late examples are now known,³ were perhaps in continuous issue from 1470 or so. Colon stops, as on no. 14, are a late feature (cf. group IV groats—c. 1482). Another plack⁴ from the same obverse die as no. 14 is known with a different reverse: *VIL:U TEDI: NBV: RGH. This suggests that colon stops may eventually have replaced saltires completely on the placks.

James II. Pence

No. 15 is from the same obverse die as the extremely rare first-issue billon penny (cf. S. fig. 93) and as the first/second-issue mule.⁵ The reverse is completely new: a crown in the first legendary quarter, and pellets enclosing an annulet in the other quarters. The crown recalls the reverse design of the concurrent heavy-groat issue, and the annulets between the groups of pellets can be paralleled on several groats of the period, e.g. S. fig. 92, to which issue this penny no doubt belongs. The reverse die has lettering more akin to the first- than to the second-issue groats, and is probably an early experimental type of that series. No. 16 also has an unpublished reverse type—three pellets enclosing an annulet in *all* quarters of the reverse. As no other pennies of this type are known, it seems to be an early type which soon gave way to the plain groups of pellets normal to all other pence of the second issue.

Nos. 17–21 are the normal second-issue type without saltires between the pellets on the reverse.

No. 22 is the first discovered fifteenth-century penny of Perth. Burns knew only of Edinburgh and Aberdeen⁶ (B. fig. 556a) pence of this coinage, but a single example each is now known of Perth (this coin) and of Roxburgh.⁷ It

¹ See *B.N.J.* xxviii., pp. 317–29, for discussion and lists.

² No. 14 = no. 20, loc. cit., p. 328.

³ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1956, p. 306, no. 25.

⁴ My collection, ex Napier (lot 220) and McFarlan collections.

⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1956, pl. xxii, no. 24.

⁶ Accidentally omitted from *The Scottish Coinage*.

⁷ In the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, ex Cochran-Patrick (lot 207a) and Lockett (V, lot 219) sales.

is thus not improbable that pence were also struck at Stirling, the other mint for the groats of this coinage. The Perth groats share the same obverse die as those of Roxburgh, and were probably struck soon after 1460, the date of the siege and capture of Roxburgh.¹ Possibly the Perth mint too was only opened while the army was there, for its issues were very small and the obverse die of the new Perth penny was also used at Edinburgh (B. fig. 556). No. 23 is perhaps of the later James II issue, with saltires between the pellets of the reverse: however, the inscriptions are quite illegible, and the piece may in fact be of James III class A.

James III. Pence

These form the bulk of the hoard and, as indicated above, offer the basis for a fuller classification than has hitherto been possible.

No. 24 is a mule; the reverse is of the second issue of James II's second coinage, with crown mint-mark—a rare enough feature on the reverse of such coins (cf. B. fig. 554*b*) and a most fortunate criterion in this instance for identifying the mule. The obverse has the smaller bust, hollow-sided lettering, and cross mint-mark of James III class A. The coin is important in that it combines a James II die with an obverse of the 1467 issue, suggesting that the second coinage of James II probably continued until that date.

Nos. 25 to 33 represent the companion billon pence to the group I groat issue. No. 25, the unrecorded variety with saltires by the bust, though of small module, weighs as much as most of the other pence of the reign. It closely resembles in style of portrait the early groat and half-groat with saltires by the bust, B. figs. 561 and 561*a*.

No. 34, an unusually good example of the rare class B, has a bust much like that on later class C coins, e.g. no. 79.

Nos. 35 to 79, class C, include few individually important coins, although there are some much finer than usual specimens which clearly show the varieties of bust, e.g. Ci—no. 35; Cii—nos. 37, 42, and 59; Ciii—no. 60; Civ—no. 64; Cva—no. 69; Cvb—no. 73.

No. 59 is of unusual style, with large lettering and an extra small point between the groups of pellets on the reverse: the last feature is unpublished.

No. 63, of class Civ, also has the extra points, and is otherwise remarkable in having no stops and the mint spelling EDINBOVRG ; group III groats and billon pence of all classes normally read EDINBVRGH , but group IV groats read EDENBEOVRGE , to which the reading on no. 63 has more affinity.

Nos. 33 and 81 are two of the three coins which may, with caution, be attributed to the same issue as the groats of group V; they are from the same pair of dies and the inscriptions can be mutually completed. For a discussion of the new class, Dii, see below p. 375. (No. 80 is an uncertain coin; the obverse is very indistinct through wear and surface corrosion, and in any case the piece may be a contemporary forgery. The obverse inscription is something like — SIETD — which might be for — SCOTO : but if the obverse is placed so that the S-shaped mark might be an initial mark, and IETD might

¹ *The Scottish Coinage*, pp. 49–50.

be for **ITCO**, it is possible to reconcile the traces of design with a crude crowned facing head, as on a forgery. The coin was originally placed here because the bust was thought to correspond to that of class Dii.) For comparison with nos. 33 and 81, the third suggested specimen¹ of class Di, hitherto unpublished, is illustrated as fig. B. on **Pl. XXIV**. It shares with nos. 33 and 81 the thin, loose-knit, slightly irregular dotted inner circles, and the large lettering with fishtail-ended uprights. The obverse, though double-struck, shows clearly a high bust with a small, flat crown (rather as on class Dii). None of the obverse inscription is legible: the reverse reads (. . .) (. . .) **INR VRG**.

Nos. 82 and 83 are of the later variety of class D: they are from the same obverse die. No. 82 shows double annulet stops on the obverse, not clearly discernible on any other known specimen of the type; its reverse also has new features—the three annulets before **VII**, and the extra point with the three-pellets-and-annulet in each quarter of the reverse.

James IV Pence

Nos. 84 and 85 are apparently from the same reverse die, with an annulet between the pellets in two quarters. This new type, in view of the annulets on James III class D, may well be the earliest and has been labelled class Ia.

Nos. 86 to 96, with no annulets on the reverse between the pellets, are the normal earlier type, with annulets by the bust (class Ib), and nos. 98 to 108, of class II, with saltire stops, are in many cases on irregular flans, or double-struck, so that it is difficult to determine die-identities, which perhaps exist. Quite a number, however, of the dies have minor but definite differences, in the spacing of the inscriptions or position of the bust, which suggests coinage on a largish scale from several dies.

No. 86 is exceptionally fine and heavy (16.1 grains): the crown should be noted in particular, since it has nine points (cf. groats of type II, S. fig. 124). Perhaps other specimens (e.g. no. 87) have a similar crown, but bad striking makes it difficult to ascertain.

No. 96 is of a new but probably insignificant variety with a point between the groups of pellets on the reverse.

No. 97 is the important mule coin, class I/class II, mentioned above: it is almost illegible, but the vital annulet to sinister of the bust and the saltire in the reverse legend are clear.

No. 102 reads **DE(?)** instead of the usual **DI** of class II.

Nos. 103 and 104, apparently from the same obverse die, have inscriptions from unusual, neat letter punches, a much smaller fount than on the other coins of this type. Another specimen of this variety (ex Dakers) is in my collection.

No. 109, of coarse (and not necessarily authentic) workmanship, has colon stops and an extra point between the groups of pellets on the reverse: it weighs only 5.7 grains. Unrecorded variety, perhaps a contemporary forgery.

No. 111, a doubtful coin, is evidently struck in copper, with a silver wash, also probably a forgery.

¹ In my collection, pedigree unknown.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GROATS AND PENNIES

In the discussion of the fuller classification of the billon penny series suggested in this paper, and in connexion with the individual coins, general or specific correspondence between the groups of pennies and types of groats, and between individual coins, has been noted. However, some further comment is necessary and also a warning that the present arrangement, though comparatively sure in outline, still offers many unsolved problems of detail.

Firstly, we have by no means a full knowledge of the pennies, as demonstrated by the multitude of new varieties contained in this hoard; whilst our knowledge of the groat series has advanced little since Burns.¹ Secondly, the coins which we do possess are often indecisive, because little care was taken in cutting the flans for, and in the striking of, billon money: as a result, important parts of the inscription are often missing from the coin altogether, blurred through weak or double striking, or indistinct from wear or corrosion. Thirdly, the relationship between billon and silver issues is not clear, so far as mint practice is concerned, for several anomalies occur whereby billon pence combine characteristic features of different groat issues.

Lettering is often a useful clue, but a different and smaller fount was used for the pennies, and correspondence with the groats is often inexact. Idiosyncracies of spelling are worth noting, but, again, they are not consistent and may be confusing (e.g. the **DIG** problem). The bust on pence is naturally on a small scale, but usually reproduces the general appearance and some of the salient features of that on one or another group of groats. Most sure of the criteria seems to be the method of ornamentation, and the use of stops. While whole classes of pence have affinities to whole groups of groats, specific correspondence is rare and should be noted, not assumed (e.g. Glenluce no. 25 with B. figs. 561 and 561*a*).

Although the three varieties of billon pence of the second issue of James II are ornamented in the same way as the 'annulet', 'plain', and 'saltire' issues of the groats, the 'annulet' penny (Glenluce no. 16) is disproportionately rare compared with the groats of that type, whilst the 'plain' pennies are disproportionately common. It must always be borne in mind that there is no reason why the number of silver and base coins minted should be proportional; in fact there is documentary evidence² for the contrary, where the second-issue placks of James III were deliberately withdrawn from circulation to be recoined into heavy silver groats.

The happiest parallel is between the class A pennies and group I groats of James III. The pennies have a similar bust, saltire stops, and the same sort of lettering, including 'B' for 'R'. The correspondence of class C with groups III and IV has been described above and the various styles of groat bust are to be found on the pennies. But exact correspondence is most unusual, and the reverse reading **EDINBOVRG** on no. 63 has been noted as having no direct equivalent on the groats.

Class B, with its distinctive reverse, has, apparently, some connexion with

¹ Except in the case of group II, most specimens of James III groats will be found to be from dies known to Burns: this suggests a limited groat issue in accordance with the modest quantities of silver known from the Mint Accounts to have been struck.

² Act of Parliament, 26 May 1485.

the group II groats. But since group II now appears to have been an alloyed issue concurrent with the fine silver groats of groups III and IV, the use of a separate design for the pence is enigmatical, especially when the class B bust closely resembles that of late class C (cf. Glenluce nos. 34 and 79). Class B is very rare and might have been supposed to have been discontinued as an over-complicated design on a small scale: however, the affinities of the bust with that on such late pence as class Cv suggests a small isolated issue as late as c. 1480—why, it is impossible to say.

After 1484 the discrepancies are even harder to explain. One problem is that the commonest groats, James III group VI, correspond with the outstandingly rare class Dii pence, whilst the commonest pence, James IV's first issue, appear to be the companion billon issues to the extremely rare type I and II groats. This, of course, may be due to deliberate mint policy, which concentrated first on groats while silver was abundantly available, and later turned to billon pence, in each case largely to the exclusion of the other.

The safest starting-point is class Dii, the pence with annulet stops and ornaments which show a miniature front-faced bust modelled on the three-quarter face portrait of the group VI groats. The rarity of these pence today is apparently not accidental, for there is strong obverse die-linking between the six known specimens—Glenluce nos. 82 and 83 and B. fig. 650A are all from the same obverse die, and another link between Richardson no. 87 and my specimen seems probable.

Class Di has been proposed above for the first time as a billon issue related to the group V groats. The reasons for this need to be examined in detail, since the attribution is by no means certain. The three coins in question could well be earlier, that is James III class A, contemporary with the group I groats. The hollow-sided lettering, however, allows them to be attributed only to the same issue as one of these two groups, I or V. It must be admitted that the 'Di' bust is similar to that of class A, and Glenluce no. 33 is so numbered out of place because it was originally grouped with class A by both Mr. Stevenson and myself. Yet there are differences which may justify the postulation of a new class. One is the mint-mark on nos. 33 and 81, which is almost certainly not any sort of cross, and definitely not a cross fourchée as on class A; then there are the loose inner circles mentioned above; and the lettering is larger than any I have seen on a true class A coin. Further, the obverse inscription on nos. 33 and 81, **INCOBVS DEI GRACI**, is quite unlike anything on any other billon penny of the period, both in the fuller form **GRACI**, and in the omission of **REX** altogether. These features, in sum, suggest that the coins should be excluded from class A. More positively, they do have some links with the post-1484 silver coinage. The mint-mark on class Dii is a cinquefoil, and that of Di may also be floral. The lettering, as has been noted, has some features in common with the group V groats, especially with the reverse of the group Va groat, B. fig. 623. Also, an unusual form of R on the reverse is remarkably similar to the R used for B on **INCOBVS** on the obverse of the group Vb groat, B. fig. 625. The evidence is not decisive, but I believe that the three coins which I have classified as class Di do not fit in with any other issue of billon pence, and have certain features which can connect them only with the group V groats: the fact that the new type of

billon penny has affinities with the only groat issue of the period, to which no companion billon issues have hitherto been ascribed, may be thought to be in favour of the attribution.

We have noted the inverse rarity of the later billon pence in relation to the groats of James III group VI and James IV types I and II. Class Dii is firmly tied to the group VI groats, and the two front-face types of James IV's early groats, with respectively annulet and saltire stops, seem to fit in conveniently with the two groups of pence with these same marks. Yet there are embarrassing anomalies. On groats, the spelling DII for DEI occurs on some examples of James III group VI; whereas on pence it is found normally on class II of James IV (almost invariably on these), and occasionally on coins of class Ib, e.g. Glenluce no. 95 (and ? 96). Further, a nine-point crown is a notable feature of the James IV type II (saltire issue) groats, whilst the only penny (Glenluce no. 86) to show this significant feature is of class I (annulet issue). Finally, what is to be made of the rare type of pence, here labelled class IIb of James IV, with neat, small inscriptions (including DII for DEI) and a small bust? Perhaps they are the latest in the series, and foreshadow the small, tidy type of the earliest pennies of the second issue, with crowns and fleurs-de-lis on the reverse.

One of the surest ways to solve these problems should be the study of hoards: but even when such evidence appears, as in the case of Glenluce, the groats are so rare that even in a mixed silver and billon hoard the more important types are likely to be missing. Though the general outlines of the classification of the pennies are fairly certain, the above remarks show that many fundamental problems remain. It is doubtful whether they can be solved without further evidence.

James III. Halfpenny

Although this coin was not found at Glenluce, it is illustrated as fig. A on Pl. XXIII for comparison with the pennies. It was exhibited and discussed at the November meeting of the Royal Numismatic Society in 1959, and will be published more fully in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

ILLUSTRATIONS, DISPOSAL, AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A complete photographic record of the hoard was provided by the Keeper of Coins, British Museum; publication in this form would not otherwise have been possible. As it is, every coin from the hoard has been illustrated on Pls. XXII-XXIV.

Through the generosity of the finder, Mr. Jope, the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland have been enabled to acquire the bulk of the hoard for their collection. I am most grateful to Mr. Stevenson, who checked my classification and lists in detail, and made many useful comments on the text of this report. The reason for the inconsistencies of numbering in the lists and on the plates is that I have made certain revisions of arrangement and attribution since Mr. Stevenson numbered the coins for entry in his Museum's ledger of acquisitions. The accession numbers in the ledger (all 1957) are:

<i>Glenluce nos.</i>	<i>N.M.A. nos.</i>
3-8, 9-11	7-12, 13-15
13, 14, 15-18	16, 17, 1-4
22, 23, 24-27	5, 6, 18-21
30-38, 41-42	22-30, 31-32
44, 46-47, 48-52	33, 34-35, 36-40
59-62, 63-77	41-44, 45-59
80-82, 84-89	60-62, 63-68
95-104, 109, 111	69-78, 79, 80

Small representative selections of the residue have been distributed to the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum, the Stranraer Museum, Mr. J. D. A. Thompson, and myself. I would like to thank Mr. Thompson for facilities to study the coins in the first place at Oxford, after he had done the cleaning and preliminary sorting.

LIST OF COINS FROM GLENLUCE, WIGTOWNSHIRE

The classification in the lists is by classes, types, and groups based on *The Scottish Coinage*, to which reference is made as 'S'. 'B' refers to Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*, 'R' to Richardson, *Catalogue of Scottish Coins in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh*.

ENGLISH

1. Edward III, London half-groat, coinage 1351-60, Lawrence class C. 18.5 gr.
2. Henry IV, London groat, light coinage 39.2 gr.

SCOTTISH

JAMES III

Groats, group II

3. B.13, fig. 583, **SCOTORV** small mullets in 1st and 3rd legendary quarters (B. should read **REX** and **VILLV**) 33.0 gr.
4. Similar inscriptions and mullets, but **SCOTORVM** (= R. 5 and 8) 32.9 gr.
5. Same dies as no. 4 35.5 gr.
6. B.8. **SCOTOR** (B. should read **GRV**) large mullets in 2nd and 4th quarters 33.8 gr.
7. Same dies as no. 6 27.5 gr.
8. Same obverse die; large mullets in 1st and 3rd legendary quarters (= R. 15, cf. note to B. 11) 35.5 gr.

Half-groats, group II

9. *Obv.* B. fig. 585
Rev. **+VILL | LVTD | AEDI | NVVR** 17.2 gr.
10. B. fig. 585, but much finer 18.5 gr.
11. As B. fig. 584, but different dies 16.2 gr.

Groat, group VIe

12. B. fig. 641, no. 45 42.9 gr.

Placks, first issue

13. **+ITGOBVS*DEI*GRV*REX*SCOTTORVM**
+VILL* | LVTD | EDIN*B | *VRGH 30.1 gr.

14. **+IŦCOBVS * D * R * GRŦ * REX** (X sideways): **SCOTORVM**
+VIL: | **LTŦ:Θ** | **DIN:B** | **VRGh** 33.0 gr.

Billon pennies: all Edinburgh (ex. no. 22, Perth)

JAMES II

Second coinage—New Type (early)

15. *Obv.* S. fig. 93, normal first issue
Rev. **+VIL** | () | **DIN** | **BVRG**
 Crown in 1st legendary quarter; three pellets enclosing an annulet in 2nd, 3rd, and 4th quarters. The reverse die is probably an early experimental type of the second issue 12.6 gr.

Second Coinage—Second Issue

16. Annulet within each group of pellets on the reverse (unpublished variety)
ŦIŦCOBVSD * G()ΘXSQOTO
ŦVIL | **LTŦΘ** | **INB** | () 7.5 gr.

17–22. Normal type: nothing between pellets

17. *Obv.* illegible
Rev. () | **LTŦΘ** | **DIN** | **VRG** 9.0 gr.
 18. *Obv.* () **BVSDGRŦ** ()
Rev. **VIL** | () | () | * **VRG** 9.6 gr.
 19. *Obv.* **IŦCO**()
Rev. like B.2A 8.5 gr.
 20. Double-struck, illegible 7.0 gr.
 21. *Obv.* —, *Rev.* like B.4A 9.8 gr.
 22. Perth; **ŦIŦCOBVSDΘIGRŦ**() **XS**. *Obv.* = B. fig. 556
 (Edinburgh). *Rev.* (?) **VIL** | **LTŦΘ** | **ΘPΘ** | **R(TŦh)**. 10.2 gr.

23. Normal type with saltires by bust and between pellets on reverse

23. Illegible, broken. (Perhaps James III, class A) 5.6 gr.

MULE COIN, JAMES III/JAMES II

24. *Obv.* James III, class A, cf. B. fig. 562 **+IŦCOBVS * D * GRŦR** ()
Rev. James II, second coinage, second issue, mm. crown; **ŦVIL** | **LTŦΘ** | **DIN** | **BVR** * 8.7 gr.

JAMES III

Class Ai, with saltires by bust

25. *Obv.* **+IŦCOBVS * DΘI * GRŦ * REX**
Rev. () | **LTŦ:Θ** | **DIN** * | **BV**()
 Unpublished variety: cf. groat B. fig. 561, and half-groat, B. fig. 561A 7.7 gr.

Class Aii, saltires in reverse quarters

26. *Obv.* **+IŦCOBVS * D * GRŦR**
Rev. **+VIL** | **LTŦΘ** | **DIN** | **BVRG** 7.5 gr.
 27. *Obv.* **+IŦCOBV**() ; *rev.* **VIL** | **LTŦ**() | () | **BVRG**
Rev. same die as B.1a? 9.1 gr.
 28. *Obv.* () **COBVS** () **+GRŦ**()
Rev. () | **LTŦΘ** | **DIN** | () 5.7 gr.
 29. *Obv.* —
Rev. **+VIL** | () | **DIN** | **BVRG** 6.3 gr.
 30. *Obv.* —
Rev. () **VIL** | () | () | **BVR**() 3.4 gr.

Class Aiii, quarters plain

31. *Obv.* +IŦ()DꝥGBŦꝥBÆX
Rev. +VI | LΛŦ | ƎDIŦ | BVR() 5.3 gr.
32. *Obv.* +IŦQOB() SGOꝥ
Rev. VII | LŦƎ | DIŦ | BVRG 7.5 gr.
33. See under James III, class Di

Billon penny, class B, wide shoulders

34. As B. fig. 587A, but rev. () | LŦƎD | IŦB | VRG 6.1 gr.

*Billon pence, class C**Class Ci: crown of five fleurs, cf. B. fig. 595*

35. *Obv.* +IŦQOBVSꝥDƎꝥGRŦꝥRÆX
Rev. +VII | () | () | VR() 5.7 gr.
36. Illegible 5.7 gr.

Class Cii: crown of three fleurs and two spikes

37. B. fig. 596, but much finer
Obv. +IŦQOB()RŦRƎS
Rev. +VI | LΛŦ | ƎDI | ŦBV 9.3 gr.
38. Another from very similar dies 6.7 gr.
39. Another, similar 6.9 gr.
40. Similar, but RƎꝥ (?) 6.5 gr.
41. Same type, illegible 4.5 gr.
42. *Obv.* +IŦQOBVSƎIƎŦ()SGO
Rev. +VI | LΛ | ŦƎD | IŦBV 9.8 gr.
43. *Obv.* +IŦQOBVSƎI() 10.2 gr.
Rev. +VI | LΛŦ | ƎDI | ŦBV 10.2 gr.
44. Cf. B. fig. 596, no. 9, RƎꝥ (? flaw or saltire after RƎ) 8.7 gr.
45. *Obv.* ()BVSƎIƎŦBƎS (cf. B. no. 8)
Rev. ()BV 5.9 gr.
46. Another. *Rev.* +VII | () | () | ŦBV 5.3 gr.
47. +VII | LŦƎ | DIŦ | BVB cf. B. no. 8. 6.6 gr.
48. +IŦ()ƎIƎŦBƎS 6.9 gr.
49. ()ƎIƎŦBƎ(?) 6.8 gr.
- 50-52. Similar, not in good condition 6.9, 8.8, 8.2 gr.
- 53-58. All similar to nos. 36-49, but many worn and ill struck
10.1, 5.2, 9.1, 6.3, 7.8, 8.8 gr.
59. As B. fig. 597, with extra point between pellets of reverse. Larger lettering
Obv. +IŦQOBV()ꝥR
Rev. +VII | LŦƎ | () | () 4.2 gr.

Class Ciii: crown of three fleurs only, B.—

60. *Obv.* ()ŦQOBV()
Rev. () | LŦƎ | DIŦ | () 7.6 gr.
61. *Obv.* ()ŦBƎS
Rev. () | () | ƎDI | ŦBV 6.7 gr.
62. *Obv.* +IŦQOB()
Rev. —; broken 5.2 gr.

*Class Civ: accompanying group IV groats;
wide shoulders; the larger head, as B. fig. 612*

63. With extra small points between the groups of pellets on reverse: note mint spelling:
+VIIU | () | DINB OVRG 6.3 gr.
64. No extra points
Obv. +IṚQOBVS:DEI:GRṚ:RAXSC
Rev. ṚVIIU | () | Ṛ:BV: | RḠh: 7.0 gr.
65. Similar; +IṚQOBV()
Rev. +() | ṚṚ:Ḡ | DINB | VRḠh 6.8 gr.
66. Obv. ()D:GRṚ(R)RAX:S(2)C
Rev. +VIIU | ṚḠI? | () | VRḠh 7.6 gr.

Class Cva: similar, but the smaller head, cf. B. figs. 613-5

67. Obv. +I()GRṚ:RAX:SC
Rev. +VIIU | ṚṚ:Ḡ | DINB | V() 8.7 gr.
68. Obv. +IṚQOBVS:DEI:GRṚ:RAX:S
Rev. +VIIU | ṚṚ:Ḡ | DINB | VRḠh 6.5 gr.
- 69-70. Similar 6.0, 7.5 gr.
71. Similar, but VRḠh* 6.1 gr.
72. Rev. +VIIU | Ṛ:Ḡ(D) | INBV | RḠh:. Cf. B. no. 19 6.5 gr.

Class Cvb: like Cva, but crown without pellets on spikes, as B. fig. 616-17

72. Obv. +IṚQOBVS:DEI:Ḡ()XS
Rev. +VIIU | Ṛ() | () | RḠh 5.9 gr.
73. Obv. ends in ṚS 4.7 gr.
74. Obv. +IVQOBVS:DEI:GRṚ:RAX
Rev. +VIIU | Ṛ:ḠD | INBV | RḠh 6.3 gr.
75. Rev. () | () | INBV | () 9.0 gr.
76. Obv. +IṚQOBVS:D+GRṚQ+RAX
Rev. +VIIU | ṚṚ:Ḡ | DIN | BVR: 6.3 gr.
77. Rev. ()U | ṚṚ:Ḡ | DIN: | BVRḠ 4.7 gr.
79. Rev. VIIU | ṚṚ:Ḡ | () | () 6.5 gr.

Billon Pence, S. class D: corresponding with heavy groats, after 1484

Class Di (new), ? accompanying V groats

33. Mm. rose or thistle? IṚQOBVS DEI GRṚQI
Rev. VIIU | Ṛ()D | INB | () 8.5 gr.
81. Same dies as 33. Rev. reads ṚḠD and VRḠ 7.6 gr.

Class Dii: bushy haired bust as on group VI groats; annulets in obv. field, and between pellets on rev.; cf. S. fig. 118

82. Obv. ():RAX:SC(). Annulet to dexter and sinister of hair, and above crown.
Rev. ṚVIIU | () | ()B | VRḠ. Annulet between pellets in quarters, and an extra point below each.
Same obv. die as 83, and B. fig. 650a 6.9 gr.
83. Nearly illegible: same obv. as 82. No extra points on reverse 12.2 gr.

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S. class I, annulets by neck and as stops, cf. S. fig. 127

Class Ia (new)—annulets between pellets in 1st and 3rd legendary quarters of reverse

84. Obv. +IṚQ()GRṚ:RAX
Rev. +VIIU | ṚṚ() | DIN | BVR 8.4 gr.

85. Similar. Same reverse die as 84, reading $\cdot \text{L} \overline{\text{T}} \Theta$ 8.1 gr.

Class Ib—no annulets between pellets

86. *Obv.* $+\text{I} \overline{\text{T}} \text{C} \text{O} \text{B} \text{V} \text{S} \cdot \text{D} \Theta \text{I} \cdot \text{G} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{T}} \cdot \text{R} \Theta \text{X}$. Nine-pointed crown, cf. groats of S. type II, S. fig. 124
Rev. $+\text{V} \text{I} \text{L} | \cdot \text{L} \overline{\text{T}} \Theta | \cdot \text{D} \text{I} () | \cdot () \text{R}$ 16.1 gr.
- 87–94. Other examples, with crown of five points or not clear
 6.9, 11.1, 6.5, 5.8, 9.3, 9.0, 5.6, 3.0 gr.
95. Reads $\text{D} \Theta \cdot \text{G} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{T}} \cdot$ 9.9 gr.
96. *Obv.* $+\text{I} \overline{\text{T}} \text{C} \text{O} \text{B} \text{V} \text{S} \cdot \text{D} (\Theta ? \dots)$
Rev. $+\text{V} \text{I} \text{L} | \text{L} () | () | \text{B} \text{V} \text{R}$
 Extra points between the groups of pellets on the reverse: unrecorded variety 8.3 gr.

Mule penny, S. class I/class II

97. *Obv.* Annulets by neck; illegible
Rev. $+\text{V} \text{I} | () | () | \cdot \text{B} \text{V} \text{R}$ 6.4 gr.

S. class II: saltire stops, normally $\text{D} \Theta \Theta$ for $\text{D} \Theta \text{I}$, cf. S. fig. 129

Class IIa—normal variety

98. *Obv.* $() \text{B} \text{V} \text{S} \cdot \text{D} \Theta \Theta () \text{R} \overline{\text{T}} \cdot \text{R} ()$
Rev. $+\text{V} \text{I} | () | \cdot \text{D} \text{I} \overline{\text{N}} | (\cdot ?) \text{B} \text{V} \text{R}$ 9.5 gr.
99. *Obv.* $() \cdot \text{D} \Theta \Theta \cdot \text{G} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{T}} \cdot \text{R} \Theta ()$ 11.3 gr.
100. *Obv.* reads $\text{R} \Theta \text{X}$
Rev. $+\text{V} \text{I} \cdot | \cdot \text{L} ()$ 8.7 gr.
101. *Obv.* $() \text{G} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{T}} \cdot \text{R} \Theta \text{X}$
Rev. $+\text{V} \text{I} | \cdot \text{L} \overline{\text{T}} \Theta | \cdot \text{D} \text{I} () | ()$ 7.2 gr.
102. *Obv.* reads $\text{D} \Theta$
Rev. $() \text{V} \text{I} \cdot | \cdot \text{L} \overline{\text{T}} \Theta | \cdot \text{D} () | ()$ 6.9 gr.
- 105–8. Similar coins, with slight varieties of inscription; more or less legible but poorly struck 7.7, 8.8, 6.8, 7.2 gr.

Class IIb—small, neat bust and lettering

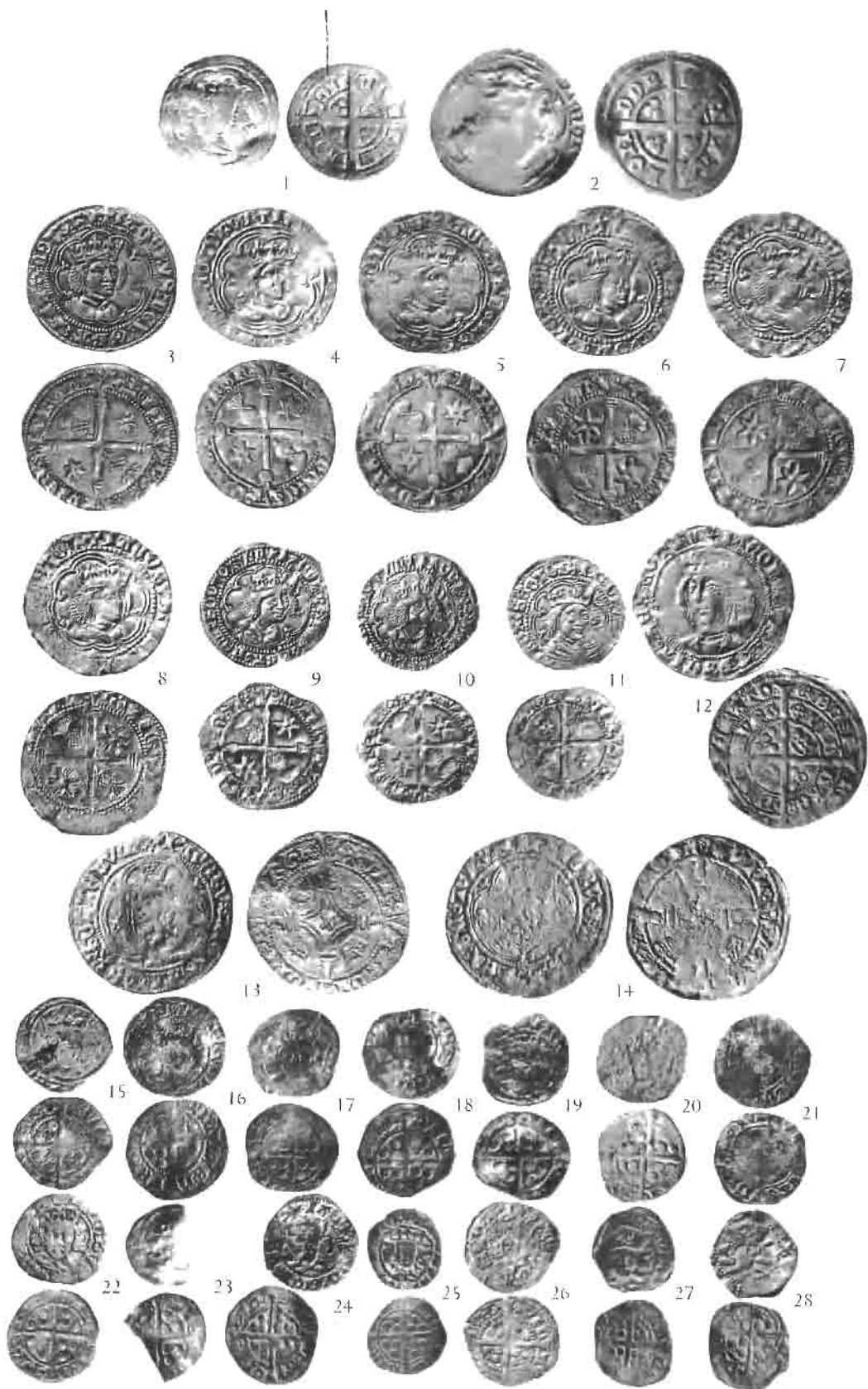
103. *Obv.* $() \text{B} \text{V} \text{S} \text{ D} \Theta \Theta \text{ G} \overline{\text{R}} ()$
Rev. $+\text{V} \text{I} \text{L} | \text{L} () | () | \text{B} \text{V} \text{R}$ 6.7 gr.
104. *Obv.* $() \text{C} \text{I} (\overline{\text{T}} ?) +$, same die as 103
Rev. Similar to 103, not same die 9.4 gr.

Uncertain billon pennies

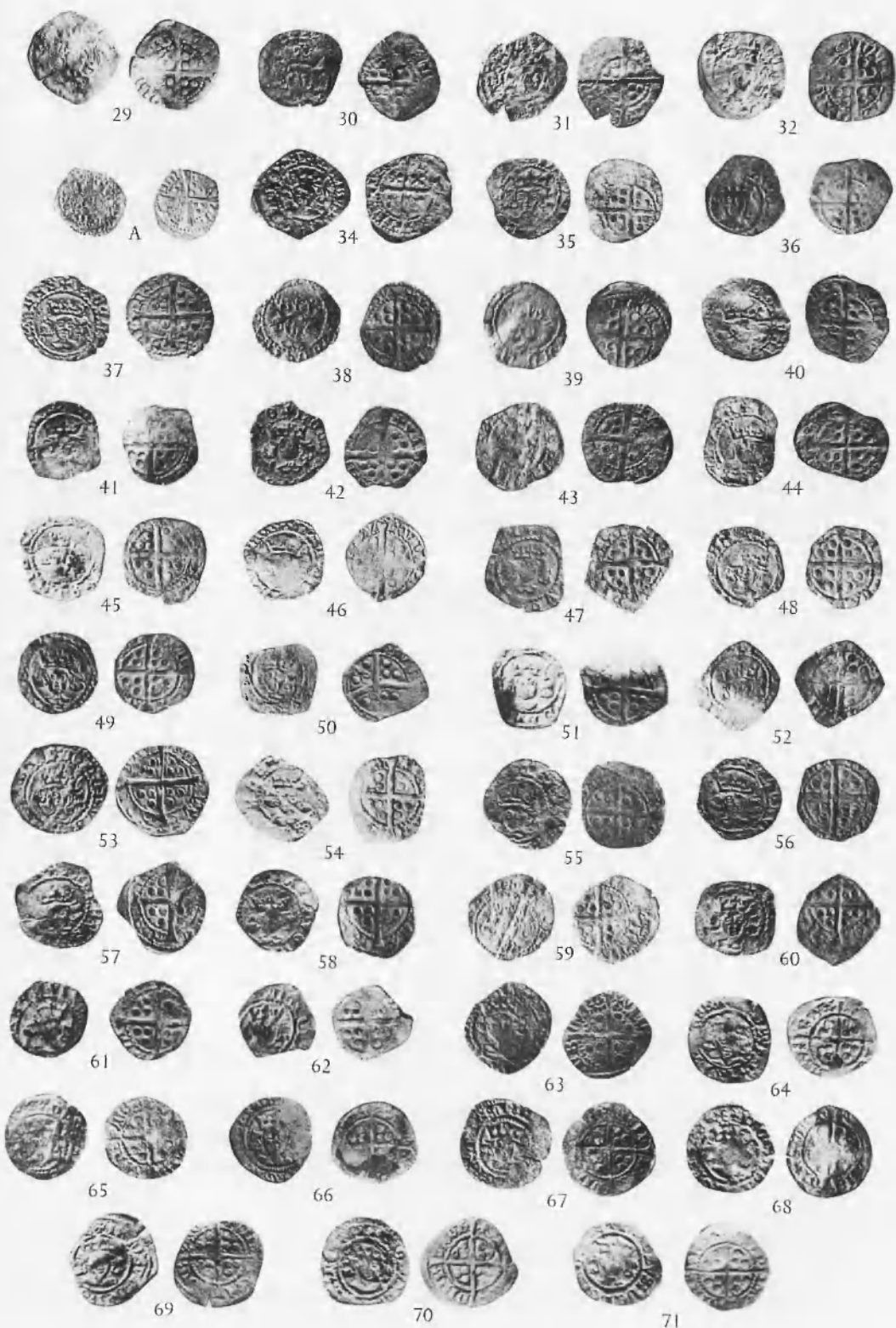
109. Coarse work, perhaps contemporary forgery James IV. An extra point between the groups of pellets on the reverse. Colon stops. (Unrecorded variety)
Obv. $+\text{I} () \text{D} \cdot \text{G} \overline{\text{R}} \overline{\text{T}} \cdot \text{R} \Theta \text{X} \cdot \text{S} \text{C} \text{O} \text{T}$
Rev. $() \text{L} | \text{L} \overline{\text{T}} \Theta \text{D} | \text{I} \Theta \text{N} \cdot \text{B} ()$ 5.7 gr.
110. Reverse brockage, apparently James IV first-issue penny. Fragile, chipped 3.6 gr.
111. Copper, with silver wash: forgery 7.2 gr.
80. Forgery?; $?\text{S} \text{I} \Theta \text{T} \text{D} ?$; rev. illegible 8.1 gr.

Copper farthing

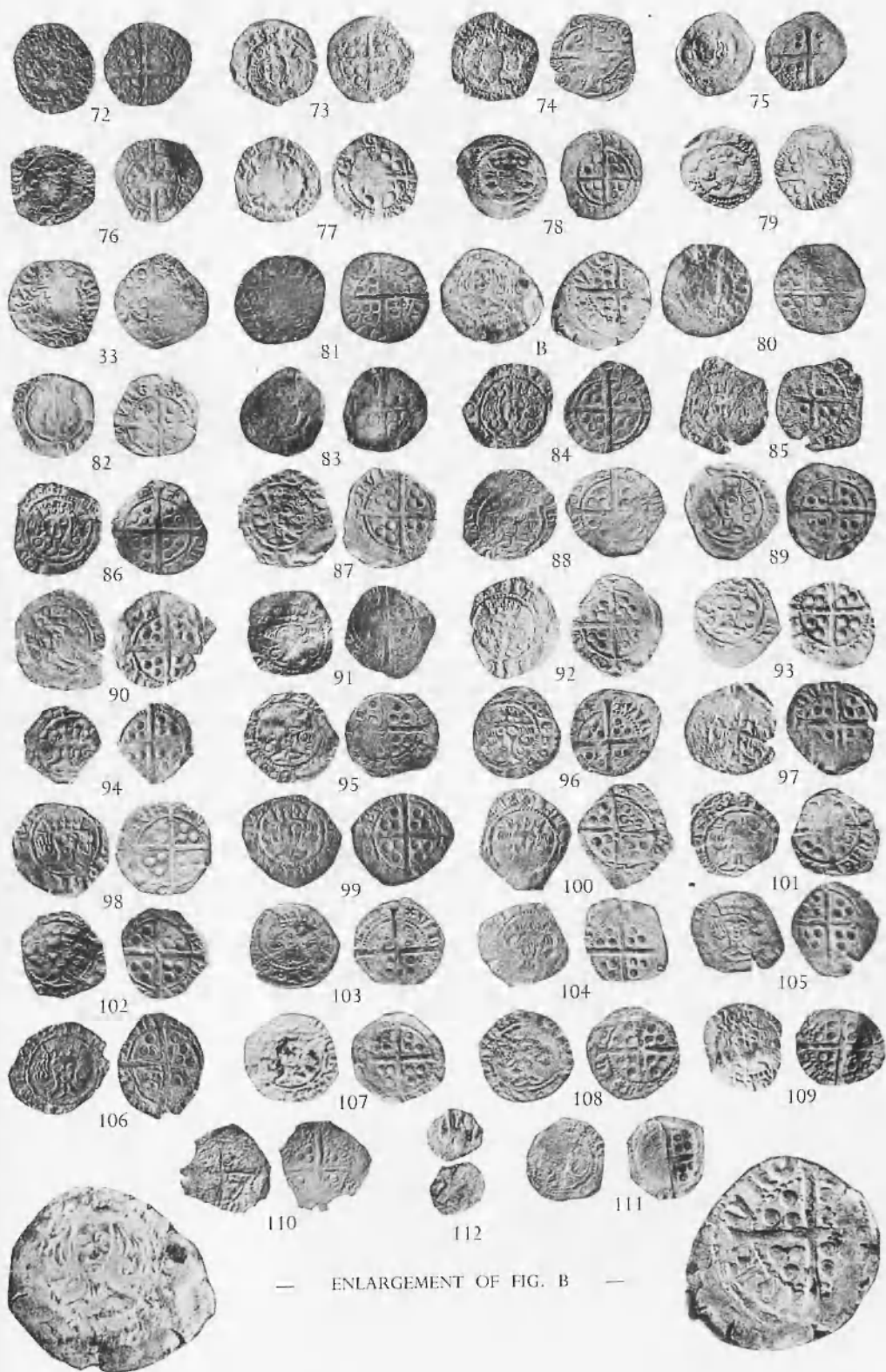
112. James III, black farthing, first issue, cf. S. fig. 113. Badly chipped and corroded, very small 2.6 gr.



GLESTUC HOARD I







THE TOWER GOLD OF CHARLES I

By H. SCHNEIDER

PART III

THE GOLD CROWNS

THE correct name for the five-shilling pieces in gold has frequently been a subject of discussion, and the revolt against the term 'Britain Crown' which was invariably used by the old school of numismatists is quite unjustified. The normal contemporary name for the gold five-shilling coins was, in fact, 'gold crown' or 'Britain crown'. The latter name had no doubt lingered on from the reign of James I, but it is not really true that it had become a complete anachronism. The reverse legend of the coins admittedly refers no longer to the union with Scotland, but after all the obverse legend continues to read MAG BRI. The terms 'gold crown' or 'Britain crown' are perfectly acceptable and are, I think, to be preferred to the somewhat academic name 'quarter unite' which was certainly not current during the reign of Charles I.

The portraiture of the gold crowns is a law unto itself. Basically the coins follow the general pattern of the larger gold denominations during the earlier stages of the coinage but constitute a rather more simplified version of them. Attempts at conforming strictly and in detail with the bust models of the larger gold coins were made here and there but met frequently with insuperable technical difficulties owing to the size of the gold crowns. After the introduction of the Group D design when privy mark Harp came into use, the king's portrait became petrified in a most unexpected manner until almost the very end of the coinage in Charles's name. Three short-lived experiments during the Anchor mark period of 1638/9 yield bust designs which we know already from the larger crown-gold denominations are of interest in more than one respect, but of no real importance within the general picture of the portraiture of the gold crowns: the 1632 portrait with the Harp mark was still used in 1646 and the subsequent alterations constitute no major change of design.

The reverse of the gold crowns is closely related to that of the larger gold denominations but we find fewer varieties in the design.

Group A

There is only one obverse design for the gold crowns and this is basically a small version of the unites of Group A, Class II and the double crowns of Group A, Class I showing a fairly tall, double-arched crown upon the king's head. If I have divided Group A into Class I and Class Ia, it was solely on account of a slightly different shield garnishing of the reverse (cf. **Pl. XXV, 13 and 14**). This is by no means as striking a change of the shield decorations as we find in the unite series between Shield 1 and Shield 2 of Group A, but the variety which has been persistently ignored in existing literature and sale catalogues is worth recording, particularly by reason of the fact

that there is a small difference in the shape of the shield itself: Shield 1 is shorter and broader than Shield 1*a*. As was the case with the unites, both shield varieties were probably used simultaneously for a time and several obverse dies occur with Shield 1 and Shield 1*a* reverses alike. However, allowing for a certain—and quite normal—overlap, the assumption that Shield 1*a* replaced Shield 1 would be consistent with the numismatic evidence. Shield 1 does not seem to have survived the change of privy mark from Lis to Cross Calvary.

Class I. (Obv. Bust 1 with King's Crown 1. Rev. Shield 1 with reverse Crown 1 or 2.) Obv. **Pl. XXV, 1**. Rev. **Pl. XXV, 13** showing Reverse Crown 1.

The punches for the reverse crown and for the Irish harp were clearly in an experimental stage and there are small technical varieties of no special significance. Class I occurs with privy mark Lis only.

Class I*a*. (Obv. Bust 1 with King's Crown 1. Rev. Shield 1*a* with Reverse Crown 1 or 2.) Obv. **Pl. XXV, 1**. Rev. **Pl. XXV, 14** showing Reverse Crown 2.

Class I*a* is known with the Lis mark and includes a very small number of the gold crowns bearing privy mark Cross Calvary. The latter mark only touches the fringes of Group A and these coins are distinctly rare. Cf. **Pl. XXVI, 21**.

The Group A coins tally with Kenyon's Type I.

The only anomaly of this class appears to be a coin in the Lockett collection with a much longer, narrower head and an apparently quite different profile (**Pl. XXV, 2**). However, I am not prepared to accept this specimen as an early experimental portrait variety because it seems to me that double-striking may well have produced one of the freaks which also occur in the unite series of Group D during the Crown-Tun-Anchor marks period. This gold crown which bears privy mark Lis formed part of lot 3374 in the Lockett Part VII (English Part III) sale and clearly attracted attention there. But I doubt if we can assign any real importance to it so far as portraiture is concerned: there is a thin 'shadow' all along the king's profile on the coin which is not visible on the illustration and which confirms that the double-striking, noticeable in the word CAROLVS (letter A), has gone right through the coin and affected the portrait.

The lower part of the king's 'picardil' collar of Mr. Lockett's coin is of unusual design which I have not noticed elsewhere but this is no more than a small technical difference of execution which has no special significance.

Mules Group A/Group B

(Obv. Bust 1 with King's Crown 1. Rev. Shield 2 with Reverse Crown 1.) Obv. **Pl. XXVI, 21**. Rev. **Pl. XXVI, 34**.

The Britain crowns are the only Tower gold denomination to yield a mule between Group A and Group B. The coin appeared in the Lockett IV sale (1956), lot 2229 and is illustrated in the catalogue. The obverse has the normal features of Group A, and is in fact from the same obverse die as a true gold

crown of Group A, Class Ia¹ with privy mark Cross Calvary. The reverse shows the new, more plainly garnished rectangular shield of Group B (Shield 2) and this die was also used with a Group B obverse.²

Mr. Lockett's coin appears to be the only specimen on record, but this variety may well have been overlooked elsewhere. The simplified shield garnishing of Group B on the reverse can easily pass unnoticed on such a small coin, and Mr. Lockett himself missed the importance of his specimen.

The Group A/Group B mule bears the Cross Calvary privy mark.

Group B

The portraits of this large group correspond basically with the double crowns of Group B, Class II and Class III, and Kenyon has listed this series under Type Ia. Compared to the profusion of varieties which we find for Group B in the unite and double crown issues, the over-all picture of the gold crowns of Group B is fairly simple, and the same reverse design is used throughout this entire series.

Class I. (Obv. Bust 2 with King's Crown 2. Rev. Shield 2 with Reverse Crown 1 or 2.) Obv. **Pl. XXV, 3.** Rev. **Pl. XXV, 15** showing reverse Crown 2.

Abbreviations of the word *PROTEGIT* on the reverse of the coins are a typical feature of the gold crowns of Class I and seem to occur only during this period which covers the years 1626/8. On the obverse the bust truncation is often quite deeply driven into the lettering of the legend and at times obliterates it almost completely at the bottom of the coins, but a fully divided legend is exceptional.

Class I occurs with privy marks Cross Calvary, Blackamoor's Head, and Castle. Cf. **Pl. XXVI, 22, 23, 34.**

Class II. (Obv. Bust 3 with King's Crown 3. Rev. Shield 2 with Reverse Crown 1 or 3.) Obv. **Pl. XXV, 4.** Rev. **Pl. XXV, 15** showing Reverse Crown 2.

If Class I yielded unusual abbreviations on the reverse, Class II produced a surprising variety of abbreviations in the obverse legend which are typical for this issue as is the occasional absence of the privy mark on the reverse of the coins. The king's bust is a little smaller than that of the corresponding unites and double crowns, and the legend, although predominantly divided, is not unfrequently found uninterrupted by the bust truncation. As was the case for the unites we find in the gold crown series of this class an isolated obverse die with the privy mark Anchor below the bust (**Pl. XXVI, 25**).

Class II is known with privy marks Anchor, Heart, and Feathers, and the output of gold crowns must have been particularly large between 1628 and 1630. The coins are very common. Cf. **Pl. XXVI, 24, 25, 26, 35.**

Mules Group B/Group C

(Obv. Group B, Class II with Bust 3 and King's Crown 3. Rev. Group C with oval shield (Shield 3) and Reverse Crown 4 or 5.) Obv. **Pl. XXV, 4.** Rev. **Pl. XXV, 16**, showing Reverse Crown 4.

¹ In Dr. Ernest Carter's collection.

² Spink & Son Ltd., 1955. Group B, Class I, var. 1.

These mules, which are so very frequently misdescribed as 'Kenyon Type II' in sale catalogues, constitute an anomaly in the Tower gold series of Charles I. Whereas muling between Groups B and C is the exception for the unites and the double crowns, it is the rule for the gold crowns. There must have been a considerable surplus of serviceable obverse punches and dies of Group B when the portrait was changed to the Group C model on the larger gold coins. In the case of the gold crowns the old obverse design of Group B remained in use right to the very end of the privy mark Rose period and until the new Group D bust with the falling lace collar was introduced. The output of gold crowns appears to have been quite small during 1631/2, much smaller for the gold crowns than the pyx figures would lead us to believe. Even if we assume that these mules have only touched the fringes of the Feathers mark, the striking of gold crowns must have dwindled out of all proportion during the Rose mark period. We find an over-all pyx figure of 170 lbs. of crown gold for that privy mark, but Britain crowns bearing the Rose are distinctly rare and I doubt if more than about a dozen have come down to us.

The mules of Group B/Group C occur with privy marks Feathers and Rose (cf. **Pl. XXVI, 37**). The bust usually divides the legend, but I have seen several specimens with the Rose mark having an uninterrupted obverse legend. The reverse design corresponds in all respects with that of the larger gold coins except for the pellets in the field which are as a rule absent even at the sides of the shield garnishing. Why this should be so is very difficult to explain and I would not be surprised if a gold crown with a Group C reverse and pellets somewhere in the field—more likely than not on both sides of the reverse crown—were to be discovered. To jump to conclusions and suggest that the absence of the pellets constitutes evidence that the unite and double crown dies were so marked in order to allow an easy check on their average life and comparison with Briot dies of his mill coinage of 1631–2, whereas no such check was necessary in respect of gold crown dies, would be purely conjectural and not very convincing. It is true, of course, that Briot's mill gold crown remained in a purely experimental stage and is almost certainly a pattern. But the fact remains that we have no reason to assume that the use of the pellets constituted a form of privy marking introduced because of and in connexion with Briot's mill coinage of 1631–2. It will be remembered that the great profusion of pellets which we find on the reverse dies of the Group C unites is not repeated on the reverse of the corresponding double crowns. It may well be that pellets were only used here and there on the reverse dies of the gold crowns with Shield 3, and, considering the comparative rarity of these coins, it is possible that no specimen with pellet marking has come down to us.

Group C

(Obv. Bust 4 with King's Crown 4. Rev. Shield 3 with Reverse Crown 4.)
Obv. **Pl. XXV, 5**. Rev. **Pl. XXV, 16, Pl. XXVI, 36**.

That obverse dies of Group C (Kenyon's Type II) were cut at all for the gold crowns is mildly surprising and was certainly not due to urgent mint requirements. They were presumably made as a matter of course because

a different bust design was adopted for the other portrait coins of Charles I. It seems probable that only a very few obverse dies with the new bust were given no more than a practical test on the striking bench.

Considering that all gold crowns with privy marks Feathers and Rose having an oval shield reverse are almost invariably described as belonging to the 'Kenyon Type II' family, it is, I think true to say that there was no assured 'pure' Group C gold crown on record until quite recently. The Ryan sale (First Part, English Gold, lot 499) produced a specimen and although the late Mr. Ryan had recorded the coin quite correctly in his private notes, he was apparently not aware of the rarity of it. Another specimen from the same couple of dies is in the Lockett collection, and so long as I had only these two coins to work on I was rather reluctant to accept them as belonging to the regular coinage. It seemed strange indeed that these 'pure' Group C gold crowns which bear the Feathers mark should have been struck for general circulation considering that the gold crowns with privy mark Rose still have the old Group B bust and are mules. At first sight it seemed possible, therefore, that the Ryan and Lockett specimens were patterns although they were not struck on a polished flan from special dies. However, more recently a further 'pure' Group C gold crown was discovered in a French private collection and this is now in the trays of the British Museum. It differs from the Ryan and Lockett gold crowns and is not nearly so well struck. It substantiates the issue of 'pure' Group C gold crowns beyond doubt. It is perhaps noteworthy that the reverse die has pellets at the sides of the shield which form part of the garnishing.

At present the evidence rests with these three coins which all bear privy mark Feathers. No specimen with the Rose mark has so far been discovered.

Actually, it is rather doubtful whether patterns of gold crowns were made at all, unless in the case of an entirely new venture, such as Briot's mill series. Patterns of any new bust model were obviously submitted to the king for approval, but it is hardly likely that this was done for all denominations. Large coins—such as shilling pieces or unites—which would show up the new design much better than small ones are likely to have been selected as most suitable for the purpose. And, once the new portrait was approved, the other denominations would automatically be made to conform with the accepted design.

Group D

The monotony of design during the years which cover the period from 1632 to the end of the coinage in the king's name is surprising and quite exceptional for a series of seventeenth-century portrait coins. I have refrained from introducing subdivisions by using criteria of classification which were not adopted for the other Tower gold denominations of Charles I, so that we have only two classes of coins to deal with. Actually, I have sometimes thought that collectors and dealers alike—perhaps exasperated by the lack of portrait varieties in the gold crown series of Group D which tally with Kenyon's Type III—have assigned an undue importance to very minor varieties in the technical executions of the bust, to the absence or presence of jewels on top of the arches of the king's crown and to other features such as the type of inner circle used by the die sinkers.

The same applies in my opinion to an isolated portrait punch which we find on a few dies with privy marks Sun and Sceptre. It will be remembered that experiments with a new portrait were made during the Sun mark period for the double crowns¹ and that a different bust came into use in the unite series only a little earlier.² Since small denominations such as the gold crowns lag behind in traditional manner when a change in portraiture takes place, one might be inclined to think that a new bust model was intended for the gold crowns also and that it remained in an experimental stage, as had been the case for the double crowns. This is perhaps a borderline case and I have therefore illustrated the variety in question (Pl. XXV, 9) but I do not regard it as one which calls for a subdivision into a separate Class of its own. The difference between this and the standard portrait of the gold crowns with the privy marks Eye, Sun, and Sceptre (Pl. XXV, 8, Pl. XXVI, 32, 33) lies not in the design itself but in its technical execution and there can be no question of an important and deliberate change in portraiture. The slightly different aspect of this bust is accentuated by a rather prominent inner circle of exceptionally small diameter which touches the king's crown. We have already seen in other instances that an inner circle can influence the aspect of coins to a surprising extent, just as a change of frame can change a picture. It is, of course, admitted that powerful enlargement of this obverse variety shows up quite a few differences from the standard bust model. But that applies to any enlargement of a portrait from different seventeenth-century irons, and I am not prepared to subscribe to the view that this is the only, and the only true, criterion.

In this respect we seem to have reached a deadlock in numismatics. Before the war when I photographed coins rather than casts and used photographic enlargement for certain limited purposes, these methods were rejected by practically everyone and regarded as unsuitable for scientific research. Today, direct photography and enlargements are almost universally looked upon as the sole satisfactory answer to the student's problems. As one of the pioneers in this technique, I have perhaps the right to sound a note of caution. It is obvious that the photographic enlarger—and, for that matter, the microscope—have settled quite a number of problems which could not have been solved by other means. We should certainly not hesitate to avail ourselves of all the modern optical instruments which can assist numismatic research. But, if used indiscriminately, the photographic enlarger and the microscope may be dangerous idols for the student and impose absurd criteria of classification. It is not only that punches were not made to be scrutinized under a very powerful lens, but enlargement beyond a certain point becomes useless and confusing, even under perfect lighting. This must remain uppermost in our minds when we study enlargements of portrait varieties, and one should always allow for the fact that insignificant and purely accidental differences of execution assume under the enlarger an importance which is simply out of all proportion. Enlargements can be as misleading as completely distorted reproductions and they show up the defects more than the qualities. This applies obviously to small coins and small punches to a much greater extent than to large ones, just as the degree of light-and-shadow distortions increases in proportion with the relief of the coin.

¹ Group H.

² Group G.

It is not without these guarding comments that I am confronting the reader with a number of enlarged illustrations of the principal varieties of Charles I's gold crowns. The method has been used by other students and I think it constitutes in a case like this the lesser of two evils. On these small coins even comparatively important and striking differences in portraiture are frequently difficult to recognize because the vast majority of gold crowns were poorly struck. The only solution was therefore to select particularly good specimens of the main varieties on which the relevant features are clearly shown and to enlarge the illustrations. For the publication of a paper such as this would be pointless if the reader were unable to check his coins against the illustrations of the various type varieties.

As had been the case for the double crowns, experiments with new portrait designs were made during the Anchor mark period of which only one belongs to Group D. The other two will be dealt with elsewhere.¹ These experiments remained entirely in the test stage for the gold crowns and grew no roots. None of them superseded or even influenced the established Group D portrait and they constituted, as it were, an escapade rather than a true departure from the Group D bust. In the greater picture of gold crown portraiture neither the 'Aberystwyth Bust' (Group E) nor the Briot portrait (Group F) are of great importance, but these experimental coins cannot be regarded as patterns. They form a perfectly regular part of the normal indenture.

Class I. (Obv. Bust 5 with King's Crown 5. Rev. Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 2, 4, 5a, or 6.) Obv. **Pl. XXV, 6, 7** showing the slight modifications to the bust truncation. Rev. **Pl. XXV, 17** showing Reverse Crown 4.

Kenyon's statement is erroneous that a slight change in portraiture took place on the gold crown when privy mark Anchor came into use.² A dividing line is nevertheless often drawn by students after the end of the Tun mark: not because of insignificant differences in the execution of the bust and the arrangement of the king's hair but because of the standardization of the inner circle. The gold crowns of Group D from privy mark Harp to Tun occur predominantly with a thin, wire-lined guiding line. We find them also with beaded inner circles, and quite a few of them have no inner circle at all. From privy mark Anchor onwards only the beaded inner circle is used and there seems to be no exception to this rule.

The illustrations (**Pl. XXV, 6, 7** and **Pl. XXVI, 23, 24, 38, 39, 41, 42**) show that the varieties of inner circles which are basically of no numismatic importance do, however, change the aspect of the coins quite considerably. It is perhaps of interest to mention in this connexion that in his private working notes the late Mr. V. J. E. Ryan, who has rightly been regarded as one of the great experts in this series, had subdivided my Class I of Group D in subsections according to the type of inner circle on the coins. I have not found this altogether desirable because I take the view that the portrait should be the sole criterion, but Mr. Ryan's method of breaking up the monotony of the Group D issues is perfectly admissible.

Unlike the case of the unites and the double crowns, there must have been an only slightly reduced output of gold crowns during the Triangle and

¹ Cf. Group E and Group F.

² *Gold Coins of England*, 164.

the Star period, because gold crowns with these privy marks are not particularly rare. Production only dwindled after (P) came into use and seems to have been negligible while (R) was in force. The apparently widespread contention is erroneous that no gold crowns bearing the Parliamentary (R) mark are extant and that specimens so recorded are, in fact (P) coins struck over a badly removed ⊕. Such coins exist and if one side of the triangle links up with (P) the overstrike may look uncommonly like (R).



However, the BM gold crown with the (R) mark is above any possible suspicion and so is another specimen I recorded at Spink's several years ago (Pl. XXVI, 43). I think I can vouch for yet another specimen which used to be in the collection of the late Mr. Reynolds and to which I obtained access by courtesy of Mr. J. D. A. Thompson of the Ashmolean Museum. This coin has the privy mark (R) admittedly overstruck on the obverse—apparently over (P) and over ⊕—but I do not think that the (R) can be seriously questioned, and the (R) mark is perfectly clear on the reverse.

Class I occurs with privy marks Harp, Portcullis, Bell, Crown, Tun, Anchor, Triangle, Star, ⊕, (P), (R), Eye, and Sun. Cf. Pl. XXVI, 27/31 and 38/43.

Class Ia. (Obv. Bust 7 with King's Crown 7. Rev. Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 2.) Obv. Pl. XXV, 10. Rev. Pl. XXV, 17.

During the Anchor mark period a half-hearted attempt at culling the king's portrait and crown from the model of the double crowns of Group D, Class IIa was made, but it seems to have been an experiment with one or two isolated dies. It was apparently not repeated, for the Class Ia bust seems to occur with the Anchor mark only.

Mules Class I/Class II. (Obv. Bust 5 with King's Crown 5. Rev. Shield 4a with Reverse Crown 2.) Obv. Pl. XXV, 7. Rev. Pl. XXV, 18.

The obverse design of Class I remains unchanged. Actually, the obverses of these coins show all traces of earlier privy marks. But on the reverse we find the somewhat smaller, rounder, and more plainly decorated shield which we know already from the last unites and double crowns struck at the Tower mint.

The mules of Class I/Class II bear privy mark Sun. No such coins with the Eye mark have been recorded but they may well exist.

Mules Class II/Class I. (Obv. Bust 6 with King's Crown 5a. Rev. Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 2.) Obv. Pl. XXV, 8. Rev. Pl. XXV, 17.

At long last, a new portrait appears on the gold crown series. It is similar to

that of Class I but sufficiently different to justify a subdivision. On the king's crown the beading on top of the arches is omitted. These pearls appear to have been a separate puncheon which became visibly very worn already during the (R) mark period, so that some of the coins show only traces of beading on the king's crown. The punch for the beading appears to have been discarded and not replaced when privy mark Eye came into use, or soon afterwards. The king's profile becomes now a little longer with a somewhat straighter and more pointed nose, and a further change in the contours of the bust is due to the slightly different manner in which the front part of the bust truncation is shaped (cf. **Pl. XXV, 7, 8**). Whether these alterations are due to recutting of the master punches or whether new puncheons were made is very difficult to say. Only a few coins with the Class II portrait have come down to us and the majority of these are double-struck or badly struck up or so worn that they are of little use for research work. I am inclined to think that the king's profile was struck from a new face punch, but even if the old portrait puncheon was cleaned, recut, and touched up again it was so much changed in the process that it produced a noticeably different profile which must be placed in a class of its own.

On the reverse the old Shield 4 design of Class I appears which is not surprising as the die from which it was struck was altered from (R) to Eye.

Mules of Class II/Class I bear privy mark Eye (cf. **Pl. XXVI, 32**). Similar coins with the Sun mark may be extant but have not been recorded.

Class II. (Obv. Bust 6 with King's Crown 5a. Rev. Shield 4a with Reverse Crown 2.) Obv. **Pl. XXV, 8, 9**. Rev. **Pl. XXV, 18**.

I have described the Class II portrait when dealing with the Class II/Class I mules and the late shield design was referred to under the mules of Class I/Class II. Together, they form the true Class II series of the gold crowns.

Mr. Lockett's coin of Class II with the Eye mark is distinctly surprising because the late shield design does not even appear on the unites until after the Sun mark was introduced, and we have seen that the first double crowns with that privy mark still have the early shield of Group D, even on 'true' specimens from dies on which the Sun was not punched over a previous mark. That the last shield variety of the Tower gold coins should have originated on the gold crowns and been copied by the larger coins later on seems highly unlikely, considering the leading position of the unites so far as the reverse design is concerned. The chances are that, on the unites at any rate, the late shield was used during the Eye mark period also, but no such coins seem to have come down to us.

Class II occurs with privy marks Eye, Sun, and Sceptre. Cf. **Pl. XXVI, 32, 33, 44**.

Group E

(Obv. Bust 8 with King's Crown 8. Rev. Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 2.) Obv. **Pl. XXV, 11**. Rev. **Pl. XXV, 17**.

When the 'Aberystwyth bust design' was introduced on other denominations, a few obverse dies with this portrait model were also cut for the gold crowns. But it would appear that they were given no more than a striking

test and subsequently discarded, for gold crowns with the 'Aberystwyth portrait' are very rare indeed. The bust is unnecessarily small for the coin and the punches were no doubt made to fit the size of half-groat rather than gold crown dies. It may have been for this reason that the portrait did not strike up very well and that the coins were found unsuitable for use on a large scale. Group E is known with the Anchor mark only.

Group F

(Obv. Bust 9 with King's Crown 9. Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 4.) Obv. **PI. XXV, 12.** Rev. **PI. XXV, 17.**

When I commented on the problems created by the existence of a very few hammered gold coins from assured Briot dies bearing the Anchor mark¹ and suggested that Briot/Tower mules from experimental Briot dies may well exist,² I had no knowledge of a gold crown of Group F in a French private collection. The owner wrote to me soon after the publication of Part I of this paper, very kindly placed the coin at my disposal and gave me permission to publish and illustrate it. It constitutes a most important and interesting addition to the gold crown series of Charles I and to our knowledge of Briot's portraiture work in England. From an artistic point of view it is on a plane of its own. No other English gold crown of Charles I can match its qualities of design and workmanship. In fact, it is so vastly superior to the normal portrait of the gold crowns that it seems to strengthen the case of some students who hold the view that Briot was holding back with his best efforts of portraiture for the regular Tower coinage so long as his engines were not accepted and his personal position at the Tower remained somewhat unsettled. I, personally, find it difficult to subscribe to this theory. It seems to me that Briot was far too experienced a die cutter to attempt designs of models which he knew could not be executed satisfactorily by the average fully qualified engraver at the Tower mint. If Briot's 'own coinages' of 1631 and 1638 yielded superior designs, punches, and dies, it was due to the fact that Briot did all the work himself and did not have to make allowances for the inferior skill of his colleagues.

With this coin on record, I feel much happier about my comments on the subject of the hammered gold coins from assured personal Briot dies³ than before, when I had stressed the fact that the explanation I was offering was pure speculation. To assign to Briot personally the Group F, Class II obverse die of the double crowns had seemed to me logical and probable; nevertheless, the Triangle privy mark of the coins made the attribution debatable because it gave such a very late date to an experimental test coin. There can be very little doubt about this attribution now, I think, if we consider the features of the apparently sole surviving gold crown of Group F, because we have here a Briot/Tower mule which cannot be questioned. And, unlike in the case of the double crowns, the Briot portrait was never generally adopted for the gold crowns so that we are clearly dealing with an experimental coin.

The obverse of the Group F gold crown is absolutely true to type. We find Briot's unmistakable portrait of Charles I and the equally typical king's

¹ *B.N.J.* xxviii, 1957, 349 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 352.

³ *B.N.J.* xxix, 1959, 110/11.

crown with the elegantly curved arches which corresponds in every respect with the king's crown of the unites of Group F, Class I and Class II. The significant nick in the slanted top of Briot's letter 'A' is particularly clear in CAROLUS. Also, the long Anchor punch which was Briot's own and occurs exclusively on his personal dies of 1638/9 can be found and the legend BRIT FR ET HIB was solely used by Briot and is not known on any standard Tower die of this period. The explanation that this can hardly be anything else than a test die is practically unescapable. And that this specimen should link up with the double crowns of Group F, Class II, bearing the Triangle mark rather than with the Unites of Group F, Class I, or the corresponding double Crowns which have Briot's own reverse design is not surprising. As we have seen¹ Briot was not concerned with the reverse of the coins outside the scope of his own coinage. To test a reverse die would therefore have been futile, but it was no more trouble to cut a reverse double crown die of Briot's design than of the normal Tower design, for the tools were available. That, however, did not apply to the gold crowns: unlike the shillings and sixpenny pieces, the small silver coins had not adopted the Briot type of shield reverse and the Tower struck no silver coins of a size which tallied exactly with that of the gold crowns. Even a perfectionist like Briot is liable to have drawn the line at making a complete set of new punches for an isolated and not really required reverse die which was to serve no purpose other than to test a new obverse design.

Group F occurs with privy mark Anchor only. The number of Group F gold crowns struck must have been exceedingly small.

THE GOLD CROWNS OF BRIOT'S MILL COINAGE OF 1631-2

(Obv. **PI. XXV, 19**. Rev. **PI. XXV, 20**)

It is not without great reluctance and reservation that I am including Briot's mill gold crown in this paper. For I am not dealing with patterns and proofs and there is considerable doubt whether this denomination, which was struck within the scope of Briot's personal mill coinage of 1631/2, was ever intended for general circulation. The two specimens on record are from the same pair of dies and have Briot's initial 'B' but no flower on both sides.

THE PUNCHES

A detailed comment on the principal punches with which the obverse dies were made would be pointless. For not only are all the important bust varieties and the different models of the king's crown illustrated, but I am also showing enlarged obverses of a number of key coins for closer inspection and study. All the main Groups are represented and the coins were specially selected for exceptional condition and good striking, so that the relevant features are clearly distinguishable. It is, I think, desirable to place before the reader enlargements of almost perfect coins to illustrate some of my comments on the subject of slight alterations of the king's bust design. For only few gold

¹ *B.N.J.* xxviii, 1957, 337.

crowns have come down to us which were flawlessly struck up from carefully cut dies and my research work on the punches of the gold crowns proved so difficult regardless of the abundance of material that I have arrived at the conclusion that only enlargements would meet the requirements of the student.

For the reverse varieties of the gold crowns the main Group designs were also enlarged, and the different shield models and reverse crowns are all illustrated.

Because of their minute size the heraldic emblems—particularly in the first and the fourth quarter—are more often than not rather symbolical. The French fleurs-de-lis frequently deteriorate to an object which looks like the letter 'V' or sometimes like a triangle (cf. **Pl. XXVI, 42, 43**) whereas the three leopards of England have the tendency to amalgamate to a rectangular block (cf. **Pl. XXVI, 43, 44**). There are a few technical differences of no special significance in the execution of the lis and the leopard punches—particularly of the latter which vary quite noticeably in shape and size—and gold crowns with the Portcullis mark show the same mutilation of one of the fleurs-de-lis punches in the first quarter which we have already noticed on the larger denominations of gold coins (**Pl. XXVI, 39**).

The second quarter with the arms of Scotland shows no departure from the design of the larger gold coins. The Group A issues have the lion in a double frame, garnished with fleurs de lis at the corners on the outside. There are usually six and sometimes seven minute fleurs-de-lis placed against the inner frame. No change was introduced when the Group B design came into use, except that the lion punch is somewhat smaller until privy mark Anchor supersedes the Castle. From then onwards until the end of Group B, a larger thinner lion punch occurs and this was used concurrently with the earlier model.

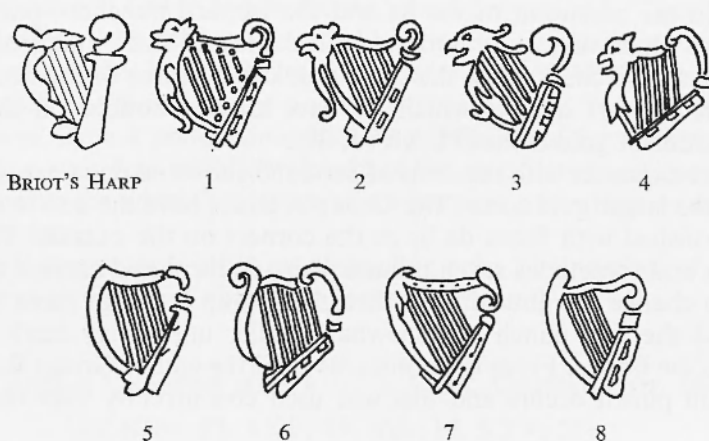
With the introduction of the oval shield on the Group C reverse we find the Scottish lion in a double frame which has the shape of an early Gothic arch, and eight fleurs-de-lis are placed round it. There is no other garnishing, as a rule, but some dies show traces of fleurs de lis against the inner frame as well.

A double frame shaped to suit the contours of the second quarter of the shield appears for the Scottish arms on the Group D coins. There are seven fleurs-de-lis on the outside of the frame and on the inside the small lis punches are absent. The shape of the frame becomes almost triangular with a very small lion inside when privy mark Bell came into force. In the gold crown series the break is much clearer than is the case for the larger Tower gold coins: the triangular frame superseded the earlier, loftier design completely and remained in use until the end of the coinage in Charles I's name.

The third quarter with the arms of Ireland is a law unto itself so far as the harp models are concerned. The first two harp designs which we find on the gold crowns of Group A and those of Group B down to the Anchor mark vaguely resemble Harp A of the unites and Harp a of the double crowns. But the other harp designs are totally different and I have therefore numbered the harps of the gold crowns since they cannot be linked up with the letter references of the unite and double crown harp models. Considering the

minute size of the punches, the engravers were probably facing insuperable difficulties to reproduce the sometimes quite elaborate harp designs of the unites and the double crowns in so small a size, so that other harp models had to be used. It will be found that the identification of harp varieties is frequently difficult: weak striking or slight double striking makes harps No. 5, 7, and 8 of the gold crowns look uncommonly alike.

If we ignore the usual small differences which are unavoidable when punches of the same design in so very small a size are made, there seem to be only 8 harp models for the gold crowns. This is not surprising, although the issue of gold crowns was large before the outbreak of the Civil War—at least as large as that of the double crowns. But experience has shown that small punches, and for that matter small dies, have a considerably longer life than large ones.



In conclusion it would perhaps be useful to indicate how a reference for Tower gold coins of Charles I can be obtained without consulting the text of my paper. For after the publication of Part I, I found that it was not generally realized that cross references are given in the List of Illustrations which make it easy to classify the coins rapidly.

Let us assume that a collector who has no knowledge of this series whatsoever wants to obtain a reference for a gold crown of Charles I bearing privy mark Cross Calvary. He should first turn to the chart on which the 'Principal Combinations of Bust and Shield Varieties' are recorded. Here he would find three crosses against the Cross Calvary mark and he would see that his coin may belong to Group A or to Group B and that it may also be a Group A/Group B mule. The chart indicates further that it belongs to Group A if it has Bust 1, and to Group B if it has Bust 2. On the reverse, it must have Shield 1*a* if it belongs to Group A. If it has Shield 2, it is either a Group A/Group B mule or it belongs to Group B. We must therefore check:

1. Bust 1 or Bust 2?
2. Shield 1*a* or Shield 2?

We now turn to the List of Illustrations and find that 'obverse of Group A

with Bust 1' is illustrated on **Pl. XXV, 1** and 'obverse of Group B with Bust 2' is illustrated on **Pl. XXV, 3**. We check the portrait of the coin against the illustrations and find that it tallies with, say, **Pl. XXV, 1**. And we record: 'Occurs: Class I and Class Ia' of Group A.

Subsequently we find in the List of Illustrations that we must check **Pl. XXV, 14** and **15** if we want to know whether the reverse has Shield 1a or Shield 2. Let us assume that our coin has Shield 1a of **Pl. XXV, 14**. Thus we record: 'Occurs Class Ia' of Group A. We have now:

Obverse occurs with Class I and Class Ia

Reverse occurs with Class Ia.

The common element being Class Ia of Group A, the coin must belong there, and we turn to the 'General List', Group A, Class Ia, privy mark Cross Calvary. The coin reads, say, **MAG BR FR ET HII**, and we find that this legend variety is recorded as (1). The full reference for the coin is therefore: Group A, Class Ia, Cross Calvary, 1.

I have purposely selected a coin with a privy mark where we have to choose between three existing varieties. As a rule the identification is much simpler and there are no alternatives, so that we can turn to the General List straight away.

Anyone with a normal working knowledge of these coins would hardly take the trouble to look up the privy mark on the chart nor would it be necessary for him to find out from the List of Illustrations which obverse and which reverse he would have to check. He would take the obvious short-cuts.

If called upon to find a reference for the unite of Charles I with privy mark Lis which is illustrated in Part IV (English Part II) of the Lockett sale catalogue on plate xliii, lot 2176, he would go about it as follows:

He would know that all the unites with the Lis mark belong to Group A and that he would only have to check whether the portrait has the broad, single-arched king's crown or the higher, smaller and double-arched variety. He would also know that there are only two reverse varieties: one with a fully garnished shield and the other with plainer shield garnishing.

He would straight away turn to my illustrations in *B.N.J.* xxviii, 1957, and check the obverse of Mr. Lockett's coin against my pl. xvi, 1 and 2. It tallies clearly with illustration No. 1. He would now turn to my pl. xvii for the reverse and find that it is as No. 26 and not as No. 25. He would then look up No. 1 and No. 26 in the List of Illustrations and see that No. 1 occurs with Class I and Class II of Group A whereas No. 26 occurs on Class II and Class III coins. The common element being Class II, he would now look up Mr. Lockett's unite under the heading of Group A, Class II, Privy Mark Lis. The coin reads **MAG BR FR ET HII** and that legend variety is recorded under (8). The reference is therefore: Group A, Class II, privy mark Lis, 8. To this one could of course add the position of the privy mark on the reverse, the type of punctuation and of inner circle, the Irish harp model and other features, if desired.

The initials and abbreviations used in the General List were given in *B.N.J.* xxviii, 1957, but are repeated here, as far as is necessary, for the sake of convenience.

AHB	A. H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd.	HSF	The author's collection.
Ash.	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.	LR	(Lockett record) Recorded from notes made by the late Mr. R. C. Lockett.
BM	British Museum.	Mont.	Montagu sale, 1896/7.
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.	PC-B	The late Major P. W. Carlyon-Britton's collection.
BRB	Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.	Ray.	Raynes sale, 1950.
ECC	The late Dr. Ernest C. Carter's collection.	RCL	The late Mr. R. C. Lockett's collection.
Fitz.	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.	Sp.	Spink & Son Ltd.
FW	Frederick Willis, Esq.	VJER	Ryan sale, 1950.
HLF	The late Miss Helen L. Farquhar's collection.		

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS ON PLATES XXV AND XXVI

(ENLARGEMENTS)

- (BM) Obverse of Group A with Bust 1 and King's Crown 1. Privy mark Lis. Occurs: Class I and Class Ia. Occurs also on mule of Group A/Group B.
- (RCL) Obverse of a specimen belonging to Group A, Class I, and having an apparently unorthodox variety of the Bust 1 design, perhaps due to distortion caused by double striking. Privy mark Lis.
- (ECC) Obverse of Group B with Bust 2 and King's Crown 2. Privy mark Blackamoor's Head. Occurs: Class I.
- (Sp.) Obverse of Group B with Bust 3 and King's Crown 3. Privy mark Feathers. Occurs: Class II. Occurs also on mules of Group B/Group C.
- (VJER) Obverse of Group C with Bust 4 and King's Crown 4. Privy mark Feathers. Occurs: Group C.
- (Sp.) Obverse of Group D with Bust 5 and King's Crown 5. Privy mark Crown. Gap in bust truncation below. Occurs with such gap: Class I, privy marks Harp to Tun.
- (BM) Obverse of Group D with Bust 5 and King's Crown 5. Privy mark Tun. Gap in bust truncation filled in. Occurs without gap: Class I, privy marks Tun to Sun. Also on mules of Class I/Class II.
- (HLF) Obverse of Group D with Bust 6 and King's Crown 6. Privy mark Sun. Occurs: Class II and on mules of Class II/Class I.
- (BM) Obverse of Group D with Bust 6 and King's Crown 6. Privy mark Sceptre. Portrait (from recut punch) within thicker inner circle of smaller diameter. Occurs: Class II with privy marks Sun and Sceptre.
- (ECC) Obverse of Group D with Bust 7 and King's Crown 7. Privy mark Anchor. Occurs: Class Ia.
- (RCL) Obverse of Group E with Bust 8 and King's Crown 8. Privy mark Anchor.
- (French private collection) Obverse of Group F with Bust 9 and King's Crown 9. Design of Briot's own hammered coinage of 1638/9.
- (ECC) Reverse of Group A with Reverse Shield 1, Reverse Crown 1 and Harp 1. Privy mark Lis. Occurs: Class I.
- (BM) Reverse of Group A with Reverse Shield Ia, Reverse Crown 2 and Harp 1. Privy mark Lis. Occurs: Class Ia.
- (RCL) Reverse of Group B with Reverse Shield 2, Reverse Crown 2 and Harp 3. Privy mark Anchor. Occurs: Class I and Class II. Occurs also on mule of Group A/Group B.
- (ECC) Reverse of Group B/Group C mules and of Group C with Reverse Shield 3, Reverse Crown 4 and Harp 4. Privy mark Feathers. No pellets at sides of shield in garnishing.
- (AHB) Reverse of Group D with Reverse Shield 4, Reverse Crown 4 and Harp 7. Privy mark Tun. Occurs: Class I, Class Ia and Mules of Class II/Class I. Occurs also with Group E and Group F.
- (VJER) Reverse of Group D with Reverse Shield 4a, Reverse Crown 2 and Harp 8. Privy mark Sceptre. Occurs: Class II and mules of Class I/Class II.
- (BM) Obverse of Briot's mill gold crown of 1631/2. Probably a pattern.
- (BM) Reverse of No. 19.

ILLUSTRATIONS IN ACTUAL SIZE

- (HSF) Obverse of Group A, Class Ia, privy mark Cross Calvary 1.
- (Sp.) Obverse of Group B, Class I, privy mark Cross Calvary, 4.
- (Sp.) Obverse of Group B, Class I, privy mark Castle, 5.
- (RCL) Obverse of Group B, Class II, privy mark T. 4.

25. (BM) Obverse of Group B, Class II, privy mark \rightarrow **below bust.**
26. (RCL) Obverse of Group B, Class II, privy mark **Heart, 2.**
27. (ECC) Obverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark **Portcullis.**
28. (FW) Obverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark $\zeta+$, **5.**
29. (Sp.) Obverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark **Star, 5.**
30. (AHB) Obverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark \textcircled{A} , **1.**
31. (BM) Obverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark **(P), 1.**
32. (BM) Obverse of Group D, Class II, privy mark **Eye.**
33. (RCL) Obverse of Group D, Class II, privy mark **Sun.**
34. (Sp.) Reverse of Group B, Class I, privy mark **Cross Calvary, 4. Reverse Crown 1 and Harp 2.**
35. (ECC) Reverse of Group B, Class II, privy mark **Feathers, 2. Reverse Crown 3 and Harp 4.**
36. (RCL) Reverse of Group C, privy mark **Feathers. Reverse Crown 4 and Harp 4. Pellets at both sides of shield forming part of shield garnishing.**
37. (HLF) Reverse of Group B/Group C mule with **reverse of Group C, privy mark Rose, 1. Reverse Crown 5 and Harp 2. No pellets in garnishing at sides of shield.**
38. (ECC) Reverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark **Harp, 1. Reverse Crown 5a and Harp 2.**
39. (ECC) Reverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark **Portcullis. Reverse Crown 2 and Harp 5.**
40. (Ash.) Reverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark **Bell, 2. Reverse Crown 2 and Harp 7.**
41. (RCL) Reverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark **Tun. Reverse Crown 2 and Harp 7.**
42. (Sp.) Reverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark **Triangle. Reverse Crown 2 and Harp 8.**
43. (Sp.) Reverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark **(R), 1. Reverse Crown 6 and Harp 8.**
44. (Sp.) Reverse of Group D, Class II, privy mark **Sun. Reverse Crown 2 and Harp 8. Garnishing at bottom of Shield 4a missing or obliterated.**

GOLD CROWNS OF CHARLES I

Principal Combinations of Bust and Shield Varieties within the Groups

	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.
	1 1	1 1a	1 2	2 2	3 2	3 3	4 3	5 4	5 4a	6 4	6 4a	7 4	8 4	9 4		
Lis	×	×		×	×											
Cross Calvary	×	×	×	×	×											
Blackamoor's Head	×	×	×	×	×											
Castle	×	×	×	×	×											
Anchor	×	×	×	×	×											
Heart	×	×	×	×	×											
Feathers	×	×	×	×	×											
Rose	×	×	×	×	×											
Harp	×	×	×	×	×											
Portcullis	×	×	×	×	×											
Bell	×	×	×	×	×											
Crown	×	×	×	×	×											
Tun	×	×	×	×	×											
Anchor	×	×	×	×	×											
Triangle	×	×	×	×	×											
Star	×	×	×	×	×											
⊕	×	×	×	×	×											
(P)	×	×	×	×	×											
(R)	×	×	×	×	×											
Eye	×	×	×	×	×											
Sun	×	×	×	×	×											
Sceptre	×	×	×	×	×											

O. = Bust varieties.

R. = Shield varieties.

THE TOWER GOLD CROWNS

GROUP A






	Bust	King's crown	Beaded inner circle	Beaded and wire-lined inner circle		Shield	Reverse crown	Privy mark beginning of legend	Privy mark end of legend	Beaded inner circle	Beaded and wire-lined inner circle	Wire-lined inner circle	Irish harp	
Lis	1	1	..	×	<p><i>Class I</i> (Obv. Pl. XXV, 1. Rev. Pl. XXV, 13)</p> <p>1. MAG BRIT FRA ET HIB 2. BRI FR HI 3. BR (Ash.) 4. MA BRI FRA (VJER) 5. FR 6. BR</p> <p><i>Class Ia</i> (Obv. Pl. XXV, 1. Rev. Pl. XXV, 14)</p> <p>1. MAG BRI FR ET HI (J.S.) 2. BR 1. MAG BR FR ET HI (Fitz.) 2. MA BRI (Mont.)</p>	1	1, 2	×	×	..	×	..	1, 2	Small technical varieties in execution of Harp and Reverse Crown punches. Ryan sale, English Gold, 1951, lot 493.
Lis	1	1	..	×		1a	1, 2	×	Sp.	..	×	..	1, 2	J. Schulman sale, Jan. 1954, lot 872.
Cross Calvary . . .	1 (Fitz.)	1 (Fitz.)	Fitz.	RCL		1a (Fitz.)	2 (Fitz.)	Fitz.	AHB	Fitz.	..	AHB	1 (Fitz.) 2 (Mont.)	Montagu sale, Third portion 1896, lot 249.

MULE

GROUP A/GROUP B

Cross Calvary . . .	1 (RCL)	1 (RCL)	..	RCL	(Obv. Pl. XXV, 1. Rev. Pl. XXVI, 34) MAG BR FR ET HI (RCL)	2 (RCL)	2 (RCL)	..	RCL	RCL	2	Lockett IV 1956, lot 2229.
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GROUP B

	Bust	King's crown	Bust dividing legend	Legend undivided	Beaded inner circle	Wire-lined inner circle	Beaded and wire-lined inner circle	No inner circle		Shield	Reverse crown	Privy mark beginning of legend	Privy mark end of legend	No privy mark	Beaded inner circle	Wire-lined inner circle	Beaded and wire-lined inner circle	No inner circle	Irish harp	
									<p><i>Class I</i> (Obv. Pl. XXV, 3. Rev. Pl. XXV, 15)</p> <p>1. MAG BRI FRA ET HI Rev. PROTEGIT 2. Rev. PROTEG 3. FR (FW) 4. BR Rev. PROTEGIT 5. Rev. PROTEG (Sp.) 6. MA Rev. PROTEGIT (AHB) 7. Rev. PROTEG (FW)</p>											
Cross Calvary	2	2	..	x	x	x	..	LR	<p>1. MAG BR FR ET HI Rev. PROTEGIT 2. Rev. PROTEG (FW) 3. MA / Rev. PROTEGIT</p>	2	1, 2 Fitz.	Fitz.	x	..	x	x	2	A pattern (?) (BM) has King's Crown 2 with inner arches.
Blackamoor's Head	2	2	x	x	x	RCL	..	Sp.	<p>1. MAG BR FR ET HI Rev. PROTEGIT 2. Rev. PROTEG (FW) 3. MA / Rev. PROTEGIT</p>	2	1, 2	..	x	..	x	..	..	LR	2
Castle	2	2	..	x	..	x	..	x	<p>1. MAG BR FR ET HI Rev. PROTEG (Sir J. Evans) 2. MA Rev. PROTE (Fitz.) 3. Rev. PROTEG 4. Rev. PROTEGI (PC-B) 5. Rev. PROTEGIT (Sp.)</p>	2	1	x	x	x	..	x	1 (RCL) 2	Reverse Crown 1 occurs from a smaller punch.
									<p><i>Class II</i> (Obv. Pl. XXV, 4. Rev. Pl. XXV, 15)</p> <p>MAG  BR FR ET H</p>											
 Below Bust	3	3	x	..	..	x	..	..	<p>1. MAG BR FR ET HI (AHB) 2. MA (Sp.) 3. H 4. F H (RCL) 5. B/ FR (VIER) 6. M/ BR F H (VIER)</p>	2	1 (AHB) 2	..	x	..	..	x	..	..	2, 3 (AHB)
 	3(AHB)	3(AHB)	..	AHB	..	..	..	AHB	<p>1. MAG BR FR ET HI (AHB) 2. MA (Sp.) 3. H 4. F H (RCL) 5. B/ FR (VIER) 6. M/ BR F H (VIER)</p>	2(AHB)	1(AHB)	..	AHB	..	..	..	..	AHB	2 2, 3
	3	3	x	x	x	..	x	..	<p>1. MAG BR FR ET HI (Sp.) 2. MA (AHB) 3. / 4. / H (FW)</p>	2	1	..	x	..	x	x	..	..	2, 3
Heart	3	3	x	LR	Ash.	..	x	Ray.	<p>1. MA BR FR ET HI (Sp.) 2. / (AHB) 3. / 4. H (FW)</p>	2	1, 3	..	x	FW	x	..	PC-B	Ash.	2 3 (RCL)	Occurs with privy mark struck over  on obv. (PC-B) or on rev. (Ash). Known also with triple inner circle (PC-B).
Feathers	3	3	x	FW	x	..	PC-B	..	<p>1. MA BR FR ET HI 2. /</p>	2	3	..	x	CUN	x	LR	..	x	2, 4	Occurs with privy mark struck over Heart on either side or both sides. Size of privy mark Feather varies.

MULES

GROUP B, CLASS II/GROUP C

Feathers	3	3	x	..	x	..	x	..	(Obv. Pl. XXV, 4. Rev. Pl. XXV, 16) MA BR/FR ET HI	3	4	..	x	LR	..	x	FW	..	4	A specimen (FW) reads CAROUS but letter L perhaps obliterated by double striking.
Rose	3	3	x	x	HLF	..	x	..	1. MA BR FR ET HI 2. /	3	4 5 (HLF)	..	x	..	x	..	..	..	2, 4	Privy mark occurs struck over Feathers.

GROUP C

[illegible]

GROUP D

This is on pp. 402 and 403.

GROUP E

	<i>Bust</i>	<i>King's crown</i>	<i>Beaded inner circle</i>		<i>Shield</i>	<i>Reverse crown</i>	<i>Beaded inner circle</i>	<i>Irish harp</i>	<i>Legend always undivided. Privy mark always at end of reverse legend.</i>
↔	8	8	×	(Obv. Pl. XXV, 11. Rev. Pl. XXV, 17) MA BR FR ET HI (RCL) ↔	4	2	×	8 7 (RCL)	Arms of Scotland as for all other gold crowns with privy mark Anchor.

GROUP F

↔	9	9	×	(Obv. Pl. XXV, 12. Rev. Pl. XXV, 17) MAG BRIT FR ET HIB ↔	4	2	×	8	Arms of Scotland as for all other gold crowns with privy mark Anchor. From Briot's own obverse die with Briot bust and a standard Tower reverse die. A Briot/Tower mule. (In a private collection in France.)
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GROUP D

	Bust	King's crown	Beaded inner circle	Wire-lined inner circle	No inner circle		Shield	Reverse crown	Beaded inner circle	Wire-lined inner circle	No inner circle	Irish harp	Obverse legend always undivided. Privy mark always at end of reverse legend
						Class I (Obv. Pl. XXV, 6, 7. Rev. Pl. XXV, 17)							
Harp	5	5	×	×	×	1. MAG BR FR ET HI 2. MA BR FR ET HI (Mont.)	4	5a	AHB	×	VJER	2	Known with a group of three pellets in lieu of a privy mark on obverse (RCL).
Portcullis	5	5	×	Sp.	..	MA BR FR ET HI	4	2, 4	×	×	LR	2 (HLF) 5, 7	Occurs with privy mark struck over Harp on obverse. Known with a reverse bearing privy mark Bell (BM).
Bell	5	5	×	×	VJER	1. MAG BR FR ET HI (AHB) 2. MA	4	2	AHB	×	VJER	2, 7	Size and shape of privy mark Bell varies. Known with privy mark struck over Portcullis on either side or both sides. Occurs with privy mark struck over Harp on both sides or on rev. only.
Crown	5	5	×	×	..	1. MAG BR FR ET HI 2. MA	4	2	×	×	RCL	4 (AHB) 5, 6, 7	
Tun	5	5	×	×	BRB	MA BR FR ET HI	4	2, 4	×	×	..	7	Size and shape of privy mark varies.
⚓	5	5	×	..	..	1. MA BR FR ET HI (Fitz.) 2. MA BR FR ET HI (Mont.)	4	2	×	..	..	7	
⚓						3. BR (Ash.)							
⚓						4. (FW)							
⚓													
						Class Ia (Obv. Pl. XXV, 10. Rev. Pl. XXV, 17)							
⚓	7 (ECC)	7 (ECC)	ECC	..	..	MA BR FR ET HI (ECC)	4 (ECC)	2 (ECC)	ECC	..	..	7	Same portrait as double crowns of Group D, Class IIa.
						Class I (continued) (Obv. Pl. XXV, 7. Rev. Pl. XXV, 17)							
Triangle	5	5	×	..	..	1. MAG BRI FRA ET HIB 2. FR HI	4	2	×	..	..	8	

Star	5	5	×	..	..	1. MAG BRI FRA ET HIB 2. FR HI 3. BR HIB 4. HI 5. MA	(RCL) (AHB) Δ (BNP)
⊕	5	5	×	..	..	1. MAG BRI FRA ET HI 2. BR FR HIB 3. HI	
(P)	5	5	×	..	..	1. MAG BRI FRA ET HI 2. MA BR FR	
(R)	5	5	×	..	..	1. MAG BRI FRA ET HI 2. HIB	(Reynolds)
Eye	5 (PC-B)	5 (PC-B)	PC-B	..	..	MAG BRI FRA ET HIB	(PC-B)
Sun	5 (RCL)	5 (RCL)	RCL	..	..	MAG BRI FRA ET HIB	(RCL)
<i>Mules Class I/Class II</i>							
Sun	5	5	×	..	..	(Obv. Pl. XXV, 7. Rev. Pl. XXV, 18) MAG BRI FRA ET HIB	
<i>Mules Class II/Class I</i>							
Eye	6	5a	×	..	..	(Obv. Pl. XXV, 8. Rev. Pl. XXV, 17) MAG BRI FRA ET HIB	
<i>Class II</i>							
Eye	6 (RCL)	5a (RCL)	RCL	..	..	(Obv. Pl. XXV, 8, 9. Rev. Pl. XXV, 18) MAG BRI FRA ET HIB	(RCL)
Sun	6	5a	×	..	..	MAG BRI FRA ET HIB	
Sceptre	6	5a	×	..	..	MAG BRI FRA ET HIB	

4	2	×	..	..	8	Privy mark occurs struck over Triangle on either side or both sides. Legend variety (2) has privy mark Triangle on reverse (AHB).
4	2	×	..	..	8	Occurs with very small privy mark punch on reverse. Also with ☉ on obverse or reverse. Known with privy mark struck over Star on either side or both sides.
4	2	×	..	..	8 5 (RCL)	Known without privy mark on obverse (Ray.) or on reverse (PC-B). Occurs with privy mark struck over ☉ on obverse (Sp.) or reverse (AHB).
4	6	×	..	..	8	Known with privy mark struck over (P) and perhaps also over ☉ on obverse (Reynolds).
4 (PC-B)	2 (PC-B)	PC-B	..	..	8 (PC-B)	Obverse privy mark struck over (R). Reverse privy mark probably struck over (R) and also over (P).
4 (RCL)	2 (RCL)	RCL	..	..	8 (RCL)	Large privy mark Sun on obverse, probably struck over Eye and over (R). Reverse privy mark also struck over earlier marks. (Probably similar coin in BM but double striking makes identification of portrait impossible.)
4a	2	×	..	..	8	Obverse privy mark over Eye and probably also over (R).
4	2	×	..	..	8	Privy mark struck over (R) on reverse.
4a (RCL)	2 (RCL)	RCL	..	..	8 (?) (RCL)	
4a	2	×	..	..	8	Size and shape of privy mark varies considerably. Slight variety of face punch, presumably due to recutting. On one reverse die the shield garnishing below shield is absent (perhaps obliterated in process of die sinking).
4a	2	×	8	Same slight variety of portrait as for privy mark Sun.



CHARLES I GOLD CROWNS (ENLARGED 1 : 2½)



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TWO COIN HOARDS OF THE REBELLION PERIOD (1641-9) FROM ULSTER

By W. A. SEABY

DRUMENAGH TOWNLAND, Co. Derry, March 1955

IN February 1955 Mr. Frederick Watterson, a farmer at Drumenagh near the north-western corner of Lough Neagh, Co. Londonderry, was reploughing a field on his farm, known as the Bog, which had first been cultivated in 1953 (Irish Grid Ref. H937.874; O.S. 6 in. Londonderry sheet 47). On 5 March he dug a shallow drain across the field and saw a silver coin on top of the ground. He dug at the spot and came across more coins buried in four separate piles, the top of each being only some five inches from the ploughed surface.

On the evening of 4 May Dr. William Cousley, coroner for south Derry, conducted an inquest in Magherafelt Court House and returned a verdict of treasure trove, all 132 coins being retained by the Northern Ireland Ministry of Finance on behalf of the Crown.

Later an examination was made at the British Museum by Dr. J. P. C. Kent who noted the discoloration of some of the pieces and advised that they should be checked for gilding since Stuart silver coins were often gilded in an attempt to pass them as gold. However, subsequent examination by Mr. Martyn Jope, Queen's University, showed that the discoloration was due to compacted iron-staining which was easily removable.

It was decided that the hoard should be retained intact by the Ministry of Finance and placed on temporary exhibition in the Belfast Museum, pending the setting up of a State Museum in Northern Ireland. The finder, Mr. Watterson, was rewarded with £30, representing the full market value of the coins.

The coins which compose this hoard are of good quality silver. They cover a period of approximately eighty-eight years from the reign of Mary to 1642. With the exception of two, one from Spanish America and a Scottish thirty-shilling piece, they consist entirely of English half-crowns, shillings, and six-pences all struck at the Tower Mint, London. Together they make up a face value total of £6. 4s. 6d.

During the period covered by the hoard coins of debased silver were minted for Ireland, but in 1637 Charles I abolished the name and title of the Irish money or 'harps' and proclaimed that all payments should be made in English money.¹ This was done largely to counter the practice of hoarding gold and silver or, worse still, of melting it down to make table plate, while allowing coins of baser metals to circulate freely for purposes of normal trade. It will be seen that no Irish types appear in the list, although occasionally they have appeared in other hoards.

¹ *Council Order Book* A 42, No. 34; Simon, *Essay on Irish Coins* (1749, reprinted 1810), App. No. xlv, 113.

The hoard can be classed as a typical assemblage of regal money brought together about the time of the Civil War in Britain. Such finds are common in England and many of the same period have come to light in Ireland, both from the north and south of the country. They may be said to be directly associated with the economic and political stress which resulted from the Catholic uprising during the years 1641-3.

In order to put down the Irish rebellion the English House of Commons during November 1641 resolved to borrow £50,000 from the City of London, for which full security was to be given;¹ orders were passed that a sum of £20,000 be sent over to Ireland without delay, that ships be sent to guard the coast, and a force of 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse be raised and dispatched to Dublin. It was further resolved that negotiations should be opened with the Scots for a force of 2,000 foot and 500 horse to be landed in Ulster.² Within a short space of time, however, owing to the success of the rebels in the North, the English Commons complied with the wishes of the Irish Government in June 1642 by increasing the sum for the prosecution of the war to £100,000.³

To raise further funds in Ireland the lord justices in Dublin issued a proclamation (14 January 1642) to encourage loyal subjects to bring in their gold and silver plate for service of the Government.⁴ This was coined into provisional pieces bearing stamps of different weight-values and known today as Inchiquin money, after Murrough, Viscount Inchiquin.⁵ In the following year a further supply of money was struck in Dublin, each piece bearing on one side a crowned C.R. and on the reverse the respective value (Vs, IIs Vid, XIId, VIId, &c.). This coinage is usually referred to as Ormonde money after the Marquis, later Duke, of Ormonde.⁶ Such 'money of necessity' is of good weight and fineness, but it is noteworthy that none occurs in the Drumenagh find.

As there are twenty-four coins (more than one-sixth of the whole and amounting to a little over one-quarter of the total value) issued in London after 1640, it may be assumed that part of the hoard, and probably all of it, is made up from the moneys sent to Ireland by the English Parliament. It follows, therefore, that the coins may represent either a direct payment to someone in authority for support of the Crown forces, or may possibly have formed part of an English army pay bag.⁷ Their general state, very worn in the earlier

¹ Ramsay Colles, *History of Ulster* iii (1919), 27; *Calendar State Papers domestic 1641-3*, 154, 158, 159 (2, 4, and 5 Nov.), *Commons J.* ii. 300 (1 Nov.), 303-4 (3 Nov.), 308 (9 Nov.).

² *C. S. P. dom. 1641-3*, 162, 164 (11 Nov.).

³ *C. S. P. dom. 1641-3*, 345 (22 June 1642). For general accounts of the financing of British troops in Ireland during the Rebellion, and the methods used in raising loans through the City of London, and from the Irish Adventurers, see Hugh Hazlett, *Irish Historical Studies* i (1938-9), 21-41, J. R. MacCormack, *ibid.* x (1956-7), 21-39 with Appendix, 39-58. It would appear that whereas the House of Commons, under Pym, was raising large sums and forces for the suppression of the Irish rising in the North, in point of fact much of the money and many of the troops were diverted and used by the Parliamentarians in their struggle against the king when the English Civil War broke out during the summer of 1642.

⁴ *Council Order Book A* 42, No. 71; Simon, *Essay on Irish Coins* (1749, reprinted 1810), App. No. xlvii, 116.

⁵ Aquilla Smith, *J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland* vi (1860-1), 11-20.

⁶ Aquilla Smith, *ibid.* iii (1854-5), 16-24.

⁷ Three paymaster's bags of leather, in the collection of the Museum and Art Gallery, Belfast (Acc. Nos. 945 to 947-1897), were rescued in 1897 from the warehouse of a London slipper manufacturer who had purchased them, with some hundreds of others, to cut up as linings. Each bears

pieces but improving steadily to almost mint condition in the latest, appears consistent with a rapid assembly from coinage in circulation.

Like most of the other hoards found in the country, this one appears to have been deliberately hidden, with the intention of later recovery by the owner, for the coins were neatly arranged and were at a comparatively shallow depth in the ground. It would seem that each pile had been rolled in paper or placed in some similar covering, such as cloth, which had long since perished.¹ The deposition probably took place towards the end of 1641 or early in 1642; the hoard is unlikely to have been placed there after 1643 by reason of the fact that the initial-marks on the coins of Charles I stop at 'triangle in circle' (1641-3).²

The Scottish thirty-shilling piece of Charles I, struck by Falconer, is in very fine condition and dates from 1638 to 1641; such coins were nominally only current in England and Ireland for half-a-crown.³ It may have arrived with the Scottish troops who landed at Carrickfergus during April 1642 and who brought with them money, arms, and other supplies;⁴ there is no reason, however, why this coin should not have come into the country either direct from Scotland or through England at a somewhat earlier date. Its condition is such that it can only have passed through comparatively few hands before deposition.

The Spanish-American piece of eight reals, bearing the arms of the Royal House of Spain, is, by contrast with the Scottish coin, a travesty of design and execution, being so mis-struck and clipped that it is impossible to see whose inscription it bears.⁵ These 'pieces-of-eight' must have circulated quite extensively in Ireland where they were valued at between 4s. 6d. and 4s. 9d., a higher figure than that at which they passed in England.⁶

Below is set out a detailed list of the coins found at Drumenagh, while Appendix I summarizes some twenty-seven hoards of the Civil War period found in Ireland; it does not claim to be exhaustive. Of these, twelve or more have been reported in sufficient detail to show their composition, and an analysis of eleven with percentages is given in Appendix II. The English Elizabethan coins, largely sixpences, take the lead with over 56 per cent.; Stuart coinage, including the comparatively few Irish and Scottish pieces, accounts for more than a further 35 per cent.; the remainder is made up of

an inscription and is dated to the year of the king, being respectively 21 Edward III (1347), 17 Richard II (1393), and 21 James I (1623). The ink on the last has almost faded away but sufficient remains to testify that the names inscribed are those of Sir Marmaduke Darrell and Sir John Suckling (Secretary of State, 1622). Money bags such as this one would have been in use during the campaigning in Ireland at the time of the Rebellion.

¹ Just as copper money today is made up in piles and placed in bags or 'rolls' to specified values by the banks.

² H. A. Seaby, *Notes on English Silver Coins, 1066-1648*, B. A. Seaby Ltd., London (1948), 69. G. C. Brooke, *English Coins* (1932), 211.

³ H. A. Grueber, *Handbook of Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the B.M.* (1899), 201-2; E. Burns, *Coinage of Scotland* ii (1887), 469, No. 38; I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage* (1955), 156, No. 222a.

⁴ Ramsay Colles, *History of Ulster* iii (1919), 41; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxxviii, 188; *Register Privy Council, Scotland, 1638-43*, vii (1906), 235.

⁵ Probably Philip III (1598-1621), or Philip IV (1621-65).

⁶ M. S. D. Westropp, *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* xxxiii, Section C, no. 3 (1916), 46-47; Appendix II shows that Spanish coins account for well over 5 per cent. of the total coins in the eleven hoards analysed for this period.

Spanish and other foreign coins about 6·5 per cent., and the Edward VI and Mary issues nearly 2 per cent.

Sizes and composition of hoards vary considerably. As many as 700 coins were found at Paddinstown, Co. Westmeath, and as few as five at Templetuohy. Some hoards, those of Portarlinton (1947) and Belfast (1840-50) included gold pistoles struck by Lord Inchiquin, while that at Newry (1849) appears to have contained only English gold. Most of the silver hoards contained a few Spanish pieces, while one deposit at Fountainstown (1835) consisted entirely of brass siege pieces struck at Cork and Youghal. Coins struck by the Confederate Catholics occur but rarely in hoards of official English and Irish issues.

A number of hoards, owing to the clipped and worn condition of the coins (e.g. nos. 8, 11, 14, 15, 17), may be more truly related to the issues of English milled silver by Charles II in 1662. Much hammered silver was deposited in hoards at the time when it was being called in by the authorities. The Portarlinton hoards are likely to be associated with the fighting during the Commonwealth.

DETAILED LIST OF DRUMENAGH HOARD

		No. of Speci- mens
<i>ENGLISH</i>		
<i>Philip and Mary (1553-58)</i>		
1	Shilling, undated type, c. 1554	1
2	Shilling, dated, 1555	1
<i>Elizabeth I (1558-1603)</i>		
3-20	Shillings, i.m. lis, 1558-61 (1); cross-crosslet, 1558-61 (4); martlet, 1560-1 (4); bell, 1582-4 (2); hand, 1590-2 (1); tun, 1592-5 (3); woolpack, 1594-6 (1); key, 1595-8 (1); 1, 1601 (1)	18
21-67	Sixpences, i.m. pheon, 1561 (2); 1562 over 1 (1); 1564 (2); portcullis, 1566 (3); coronet, 1567 (1); 1569 (6); castle, 1570 (1); ermine, 1572 (4, one split in two pieces); 1573 (1); acorn, 1573 (1); eglantine, 1574 (2); 1575 (1); 1576 (1); Greek cross over eglantine, 1578 over 7 (1); Greek cross, 1578 (2); 1579 (1); Latin cross, 1580 (2); 1581 (1); sword, 1582 (1); bell, 1582 (1); 1583 (1); A, 1584 (2); escallop, 1586 (1); crescent, 1587 (1); hand, 1590 (1); tun, 1592 (2); 1593 (1); woolpack, 1594 (1); key, 1596 (1); 2, 1602 (1)	47
<i>James I (1603-25)</i>		
68-82	Shillings, 1st coinage, 2nd bust, i.m. thistle, 1603-4 (5); lis, 1604 (1); 2nd coinage, 3rd bust, lis, 1604-5 (1); 4th bust, rose, 1605-6 (1); escallop, 1606-7 (3); grapes, 1607 (1); 5th bust, coronet, 1608-9 (1); 3rd coinage, 6th bust, trefoil over lis and trefoil, 1624 (1); trefoil, 1624 (1)	15
83-5	Sixpences, 2nd coinage, 3rd bust, i.m. lis, 1604 (1); 4th bust, grapes, 1607 (1); bell, 1610 (1)	3
<i>Charles I (1625-49), coins all of Tower Mint</i>		
86-97	Half-crowns, i.m. crown, 1635-6, type 3a ¹ (2); tun, 1636-8, type 3a ¹ (2); star, 1640-1, type 4 (2); triangle in circle, 1641-3, type 4 (6)	12
98-123	Shillings, oval shield, i.m. bell, 1634-5, type 3a ¹ (2); crown, 1635-6, type 3a (1); tun, 1636-8, type 3a (2); small XII, square shield, type 4 ² (1); large XII, square shield, type 4 ³ (1); anchor to r, 1638-9, type 4 ³ (2); anchor to l, type 4 ³ (1); triangle, 1639-40, type 4 ⁴ (4); triangle in circle, 1641-3, type 4 ⁴ (12)	26

	<i>No. of Speci- mens</i>
124-30 Sixpences, oval shield, i.m. tun, 1636-8, type 3a (1); square shield, triangle, 1639-40, type 4 ^a (1); type 4 ^b (1); triangle in circle, 1641-3, type 4 ^b , mis-struck obv. (1); type 4 ^b (1); type 4 ^b , obv. i.m. from faulty die (2)	7

*SCOTTISH**Charles I*

131	Thirty-shilling piece by Falconer. Second issue with F below horse. I.m. thistle (1638-41). Burns No. 38	1
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*SPANISH AMERICAN**Period of Philip III (1598-1621) (?)*

132	Eight reals or dollar. Mint uncertain, probably Potosi. Badly struck and with very little of inscription surviving. <i>Obv.</i> square shield of royal arms with Leon and Castile in first quarter. <i>Rev.</i> alternating lion and castle in ornamental cartouche	1
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Total 132

GORTALOWRY TOWNLAND, Cookstown, Co. Tyrone, 1959

Since the above account was written for publication a second apparently much smaller hoard of the same period has turned up some twelve miles distant from the first on the outskirts of Cookstown (Irish Grid Ref. H814. 772; O.S. 6 in. Tyrone sheet 38). The coins were in the soil at the base of a small outcrop of limestone rock, in a little spinney of thorns, a hiding place easy to identify but relatively well concealed from inquisitive eyes.

It was the farmer's son, James Wylie, who found the pieces and through a friend informed the Belfast Museum, his principal discovery having taken place on 27 March 1959. Mr. F. J. Falkiner, Assistant Secretary to the Ministry of Finance, in company with the writer, visited the site and learned from Mr. Wylie that two coins, probably shillings, had been found on a previous occasion but these could not now be traced. Those produced consisted of 2 Elizabeth I shillings, 1 James I shilling, 1 Charles I shilling, and an Elizabethan sixpence dated 1565. The Coroner of the district was informed but did not consider an inquest necessary. As treasure trove the coins were handed over to the Ministry of Finance, and the find was reported to the Ancient Monuments Council on 15 April 1959.

On 30 April, while digging in the ground close to the position of the original find, Mr. Wylie turned up six further coins. They consisted of an Elizabeth I shilling and a Charles I shilling, an Elizabeth I sixpence, two Charles I sixpences, and an Irish shilling of James I. These were also duly reported to the Coroner who pronounced them part of the original concealment and the Ministry took possession of them. A reward, amounting to £4, was duly paid to the finder for the eleven pieces.

The coins may be part of a larger hoard, like that from Drumenagh, or merely a purseful. In any case they have been much disturbed and it is not unlikely that originally they were concealed in a crevice of the rock face. However that may be, they appear to be a typical deposit of the early period

of the Rebellion since the wear on the earlier silver contrasts markedly with the freshness of the Caroline pieces, the latest initial-mark on a shilling and sixpence of which is 'triangle' (1639-40).¹ The two coins, found in the same spot some three or four years earlier and now mislaid, have not been identified with any certainty but from remarks made by Mr. Wylie they may have been worn shillings of Elizabeth I.

DETAILED LIST OF GORTALOWRY HOARD

ENGLISH

Elizabeth I (1558-1603)

1-3	Shillings, i.m. cross-crosslet, 1558-61 (1); martlet, 1560-1 (1); key, 1595-8 (1)	3
4, 5	Sixpences, i.m. rose, 1565 (1); key, 1598 (1)	2

James I (1603-25)

6	Shilling, 2nd coinage, 3rd bust, i.m. rose, 1605	1
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Charles I (1625-49), coins all of Tower Mint

7, 8	Shillings, oval shield, CR either side, i.m. portcullis, 1633-4, type 3 ¹ (1); square shield, i.m. triangle, 1639-40, type 4 ⁴ (1)	2
9, 10	Sixpences, square shield, i.m. tun, 1636-8, type 4 ¹ (1); i.m. triangle, 1639-40, type 4 ³ (1)	2

IRISH

James I

11	Shilling, 2nd coinage, as 4th bust of English coinage, i.m. rose, 1605	1
		<hr/>
		Total 11
		<hr/>

APPENDIX I

SOME PUBLISHED HOARDS OF THE PERIOD 1640-62
FOUND IN IRELAND*Abbreviations*

B.N.J. = *British Numismatic Journal*

N.C. = *Numismatic Chronicle*

J.R.S.A.I. = *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (formerly the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*)

U.J.A. = *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*

C.I. = *A View of the Coinage of Ireland* (Cork, 1839)

1. 1825. At Fethard, Co. Tipperary, a leaden box containing a number of gold coins and some silver of Charles I, also a crucifix (*J.R.S.A.I.* iv (1856-7), 49).
- 2.² 1837. In neighbourhood of Fethard, Co. Tipperary, several hundred silver and a few gold coins, the silver almost all of the reign of Charles I, principally half-crowns with a few of James I, the gold mostly Spanish; most of the coins composing the hoard were 'extremely common and uninteresting' (Lindsay, *C.I.* (1839), 135).

¹ H. A. Seaby, *Notes, &c.*, 69; G. C. Brooke, *English Coins* (1932), 211.

² It is possible that hoards 1 and 2 are the same and that there is confusion in the date of discovery.

3. 1835. Fountainstown, near Cork, a parcel of brass siege coins were found. They are of square form and appear to have been struck at Cork and Youghal about the year 1646; they all fell into the hands of the late Mr. Leyburn (Lindsay, *C.I.* (1839), 134).
4. 1840. Near Belfast, a gold coin (pistole) marked on both sides, 4 dwt. 7 gr., supposed to have been struck by Lord Inchiquin. In the collection of James Carruthers (*U.J.A.* i (1853), 164).
5. 1850. Near Belfast. About this time 5 similar coins (gold pistoles) discovered. Two were in the cabinet of Sir Montague Chapman, Bart., and another in the possession of Dr. Aquilla Smith of Dublin (*U.J.A.* i (1853), 164).
6. 1846. Near Ballymena, Co. Antrim, 50 coins. Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I, all of which were in poor condition (? clipped) (*U.J.A.* i (1853), 166).
7. 1846. Near Belfast, early in May of this year were found a few ounces of silver coins of Charles I and one Scottish shilling of James I (*U.J.A.* i (1853), 166).
8. 1850. Near Belfast, 120 oz. of coins of Charles I, all in poor condition (*J.R.S.A.I.* iv (1856-7), 50).
9. 1855. Lady Dover's Cottages, Castle Ellis Road, near Gowran, Kilkenny. Mr. B. Taylor reports that Patrick Hanlon while digging potatoes struck a rotten box which broke to pieces revealing 500 silver coins. Taylor saw only 50: 12 Elizabeth I 1s., no dates; 14 Elizabeth I 6d., 1561, 3, 5, 9, 71, 5, 81, 7, 92, 1602; 9 James I 1s., undated; 4 James I 6d., 1603, 4, 5, 11; 9 Charles I 1s., four varieties undated; 2 Spanish dollars (*J.R.S.A.I.* iii (1854-5), 374).
10. 1904. Galway Courthouse. A total of 8 coins as follows: 2 Edward VI 1s.; 1 James I 6d.; 1 Charles I 2s. 6d.; 1 Charles I 1s. Irish: 2 Henry VIII 4d.; 1 Spanish dollar (clipped), period Philip II-IV. All in Nat. Mus., Dublin (*B.N.J.* xxvii (1955), 215).
11. Undated
(c. 1911) Paddinstown, 7 miles from Mullingar, Co. Westmeath, 700 coins mostly shillings and sixpences of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I; 320 were acquired by James Tuite, Mullingar, the rest by a man living near Rathconrath. Most in good condition, the remainder considerably rubbed and very much clipped. Found closely packed about 2 feet from surface and had been wrapped in cloth (*J.R.S.A.I.* xli (1912), 67).
12. 1911. Near Crumlin, Co. Antrim, early in March, 95 English coins in rabbit burrow, all silver, 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. of Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I. Beyond this it has been impossible to obtain any information (*B.N.J.* viii (1912), 363-4).
13. pre-1911. Co. Armagh. A somewhat similar discovery made a few years before, the coins inspected being of the same reigns and denominations as no. 12. The condition indicated they had been in circulation (*B.N.J.* viii (1912), 361-4).
14. 1912. Abbeylands, near Castledermot, Co. Kildare; found 26 March in stone-ware jar about 2 feet down in moory soil 226 coins from Edward VI to Charles I, including 1 Scottish and 55 Spanish, French, and other foreign coins. For details see Appendix II (*J.R.S.A.I.* xlii (1913), 70 and *B.N.J.* ix (1913), 415-16).
15. 1913. Camolin, Co. Wexford, found during ploughing in the springtime in a solid mass of clay (very discoloured). Total 77 coins with face value of 80s. from Edward VI-Charles I (R) = 1644. See Appendix II (*B.N.J.* x (1914), 315-18).
16. 1921. Abbeylands, Navan, Co. Meath, found on 17 June during the cleaning out of a ditch in a black-glazed crock 29 coins of Edward VI to Charles I, and a further find of 446 additional coins belonging to the same hoard, Edward VI to Charles I, 3 Scottish and 12 Spanish. Deposit after 1645. See Appendix II (*J.R.S.A.I.* li (1921), 78-79 and 179-80, also lii, 88).
17. 1928. Templemichael, on road from Longford to Granard about half-mile from

former, found on 28 May by workmen removing bank on road, 218 coins in group and probably originally in bag about 18 inches down and a few feet out into a field. Elizabeth I to Charles I with Scottish merk, 3 of Spain and Netherlands and 9 cob dollars. Mostly clipped and even the most recent ones worn so perhaps deposited later than the introduction of milled currency. See Appendix II (*J.R.S.A.I.* lix (1929), 183).

18. 1931. Ballyconagan, Rathlin, Co. Antrim, 101 coins found in June, near mouth of rabbit hole. No coroner's inquest, but purchased by the Ministry of Finance where they are now held. Identified at the BM, Mary to Charles I and 2 Irish shillings. Latest initial-mark: star (1640-1). See Appendix II (*U.J.A.* v (1942), 66) Inf. Anc. Mon. Council, Ministry of Finance, N.I.
19. 1942. Ballinasloe, Co. Galway. Total 321. Edward VI to Charles I with 1 Irish sixpence and 13 fragments of Spanish dollars. See Appendix II. National Museum, Dublin (*B.N.J.* xxvii (1955), 214).
20. 1944. Templetuohy, Co. Tipperary. Total 5. Elizabeth I 1s. (1), Charles I 2s. 6d. (3) and Blacksmith's 2s. 6d. Nat. Mus. Dublin (*B.N.J.* xxvii (1955), 215).
21. 1945. Gortnahilta, Co. Mayo. Total 6. Elizabeth I 6d. (1); James I 1s. (1); Charles I 1s. (2) and clipped Spanish dollars (2). National Museum, Dublin (*B.N.J.* xxvii (1955), 215).
22. 1947/8. Near Portarlinton, Co. Leix, over 100 gold coins, 6 being Irish pistoles not dated but c. 1646. The rest of the deposits was composed of English, Scottish, French, Spanish, and Italian coins, 99 being gold and 5 silver, mostly hammered. They were discovered by several local men and boys in a bracken-covered sandhill at three or more dates. It has been suggested that the coins were hidden during the Cromwellian period, the latest pieces being Commonwealth unites (2) and double crown dated 1651. National Museum, Dublin. (Information from Dr. William O'Sullivan.)
23. Undated. Rannyhual, Co. Donegal. Total 34 coins. Philip and Mary to Charles I. See Appendix II. National Museum, Dublin (*B.N.J.* xxvii (1955), 214).
24. Undated. Deramfield, Co. Cavan. Total 14 coins from Philip and Mary to Charles I and including 4 cob dollars. See Appendix II. National Museum, Dublin (*B.N.J.* xxvii (1955), 214).
25. 1955. Carrigtwohill, Co. Cork. Total 58 coins, from Elizabeth I to Charles I, found on a farm at Barryscourt, between Cork and Middleton, while rabbiting in a bank. There was no container. See Appendix II. National Museum, Dublin (*N.C.* xv (1955), 247-9).
26. 1955. Drumenagh, near Magherafelt, Co. Derry. Found in field during trenching 132 coins from Philip and Mary to Charles I including Scottish 30s. piece and Spanish-American dollar. See Appendix II and this report. A.M.C., Min. of Finance, N.I. (*Belfast News-Letter*, 5 May 1955.)
27. 1959. Gortalowry, Cookstown, Co. Tyrone. Total (to date) of 11 coins from Elizabeth I to Charles I. See Appendix II and this report. A.M.C., Ministry of Finance, N.I.

APPENDIX II: ANALYSIS OF

<i>Countries and Rulers</i>	<i>Denominations or Values</i>	<i>Abbeylands, Co. Kildare (1912)</i>	<i>Camolin, Co. Wexford (1913)</i>	<i>Navan, Co. Meath (1921)</i>	<i>Templemichael, Co. Longford (1928)</i>	<i>Ballyconagan, Rathlin Island (1931)</i>
IRISH:						
Elizabeth I	1s.	..	..	..	..	..
James I	1s.	..	..	4	..	2
„	6d.	7	..	..	1	..
Charles I:						
Inchiquin	2s. 6d.	..	..	3	1	..
Ormonde	5s.	..	..	..	2	..
„	2s. 6d.	..	..	2	..	..
„	6d.	1	..	3	..	..
(Confed. Cath.) Blacksmith's	2s. 6d.	1	..	..	..	..
SCOTTISH:						
James VI: Merk 13s. 4d.	1s.	..	..	3	1||	..
„ ¼ Merk 3s. 4d.	3d.	1	..	..	..	..
Charles I: 30s. . . .	2s. 6d.	..	..	1	..	..
ENGLISH:						
Edward VI	1s.	2	2	2	..	..
„	6d.	..	..	2	..	..
Mary alone	4d.	..	..	..	..	3
Philip and Mary . . .	1s.	..	..	2	..	..
„	6d.	..	..	2	..	..
Elizabeth I	1s.	31	44	52	30†	33
„	6d.	85*	..	193	103§	28
„	4d.	..	..	..	..	1
„	3d.	..	..	..	..	1
James I	2s. 6d.	3†	..	..	..	1
„	1s.	9	18	44	14	16
„	6d.	10	..	23	9	4
Charles I	2s. 6d.	6†	2	29D	10†	1
„	1s.	9†	11(R)	79(R)	31	11s
„	6d.	6†	..	18T/C	4	..
SPANISH, ETC.:						
Dollar (8 reals) . . .	4s. 6d.	45	..	8	9	..
½ Dollar (4 „) . . .	2s. 3d.		..	4		..
¼ „ (2 „)	1s. 1½d.		..	..		..
FOREIGN:						
Miscellaneous . . . .	..	10**	..	..	3	..
Totals . . . .	..	226	77	474	218	101

* One milled, four very worn. † Much clipped. § Seventeen of these clipped and worn, not identified with certainty. || Recorded as shilling of James V (Scotland). ** Possibly two English coins of Philip and Mary included in these.

ELEVEN IRISH HOARDS (c. 1640-62)

<i>Ballinasloe, Co. Galway (1942)</i>	<i>Carrigtwohill, Co. Cork (1955)</i>	<i>Drummenagh, Co. Derry (1955)</i>	<i>Gortallowry, Co. Tyrone (1959)</i>	<i>Rannhyhual, Co. Donegal (undated)</i>	<i>Deramfield, Co. Cavan (undated)</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
..	1	..	..	..	..	1	0.06
..	1	..	1	..	..	8	0.48
2	1	..	..	..	..	11	0.66
..	..	..	..	..	..	4	0.24
..	..	..	..	..	..	2	0.12
..	..	..	..	..	..	2	0.12
..	..	..	..	..	..	4	0.24
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0.06
..	..	..	..	..	..	4	0.24
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0.06
..	..	1	..	..	..	2	0.12
1	..	..	..	..	..	7	0.42
1	..	..	..	..	..	3	0.18
..	..	..	..	..	..	3	0.18
3	..	2	..	3	1	11	0.66
..	..	..	..	1	..	3	0.18
57	10	18	3	8	2	288	17.28
161	24	47	2	5	1	649	38.94
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0.06
..	2	..	..	..	..	3	0.18
..	..	..	..	..	..	4	0.24
39	3	15	1	6	1	166	9.96
13	1	3	..	4	1	68	4.08
3	1	12T/c	..	3	1	68	4.08
22	3	26T/c	2T	3	3	200	12.00
6	1	7T/c	2T	1	..	45	2.70
13	4	1	..	..	4	92	5.52
..	3	..	..	..	..
..	1	..	..	..	..
..	2	..	..	..	..	15	0.90
321	58	132	11 (+2)	34	14	1,666	99.96

T = to i.m. triangle 1639-40. S = to i.m. star 1640-41. T/c = to i.m. triangle in circle 1641-3. (R) = to i.m. (R) 1644-5. D = includes one Declaration piece 1645.

OTHER TOTALS AND PERCENTAGES OF THE ELEVEN
HOARDS ANALYSED ABOVE

Countries of origin (to nearest 0·5 per cent.)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
England	1,519	91·0
Ireland	33	2·0
Scotland	7	0·5
Foreign (mostly Spain)	107	6·5
	<hr/> 1,666	<hr/> 100 0

Coin Values

Crown	2	0·12
Half-crown (including Scottish 30s.)	81	4·86
Shilling (including Scottish 13s. 4d.)	685	41·10
Sixpence	783	46·98
Fourpence	4	0·24
Threepence (including Scottish 3s. 4d.)	4	0·24
Foreign denominations (not assessed)	107	6·42
	<hr/> 1,666	<hr/> 99·96

Reigns

Edward VI (6 years approx.)	10	0·60
Mary, including Philip (5 years approx.)	17	1·02
Elizabeth I (45 years approx.)	942	56·52
James I (22 years approx.)	262	15·72
Charles I, including Confed. Catholic (24 years approx.)	328	19·68
Foreign, not assessed (50 years at least)	107	6·42
	<hr/> 1,666	<hr/> 99·96

MISCELLANEA

THE COINS OF THE SUSSEX MINTS: ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Location</i>
CHICHESTER		
195a. STEPHEN, type <i>B.M.C.</i> i [+ST]IEFN RE: [+G]ODPIN:ON:CI[CE]	Godwine	H. H. K.
HASTINGS		
30. Cnut, type <i>B.M.C.</i> viii: Hild. E Add to <i>Location</i> East Berlin		
33. This is of Winchester, not Hastings, reading P[••]CST		
34a. +CNVT REX ANGLORVMM +EL•/ZIII/HEZ/TIN	Elst	East Berlin
110a. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, type <i>B.M.C.</i> vii, Brooke 6 As no. 103 but different die from it and 110. Same die as no. 108 but no pellet	Dunninc	H. H. K./Fitz. 878
166. WILLIAM II, type <i>B.M.C.</i> ii For PILLEM REX read PILLELMREX For HIES read HI•EST		
190a. STEPHEN, type <i>B.M.C.</i> i [+STIEF]NE R: +S[APINE:ON:h]AST:	Sawine	H. H. K.
192a. +S --- FNE +SAPINE:ON:HASTI• Obverse defaced with large M	Sawine	In a private collection (ex Nottingham hoard, 1880)
LEWES		
139a. Cnut, type <i>B.M.C.</i> viii: Hild. E +CNVT REX ANGLORVI +LEOFNOD M L[•]P	Leofnoth	Hild. 1364 under 'Leicester' (Chester)
149b. +CNVT REX ANGLOR• +PVLFHEH MM LEE	Wulfheh	Stockholm
150a. Cnut, type <i>B.M.C.</i> x: Hild. E i +CNVT REX ANGLO +GODPI ON LEE	Godwine? Godwig?	Hild. 1339 under 'Leicester' (Chester)
150b. +CNVT REX ANCLOVI +LEOFNOD:L EP	Leofnoth	East Berlin
203. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, type <i>B.M.C.</i> iii, Brooke 1 On reverse, for L•EÆPE read L•EÆPE:•; under <i>Location</i> for 'F. Elmore Jones' read 'H.H.K. (ex F. E. J. coll.), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris'.		

My attention has been called to the East Berlin coins by Miss van der Meer, to the Stockholm coins by Mr. C. S. S. Lyon.

HORACE H. KING

A DIE-LINK BETWEEN THE MINTS OF DOVER AND LONDON AT THE END OF THE REIGN OF ÆTHELRÆD II

RECENTLY a small parcel of Viking Age coins was submitted for examination and report to the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet at Stockholm. Fifteen of the coins proved to be English, and one of them may be described as follows:

ÆTHELRÆD II

Issue of c. 1003-9

(Helmet type = Hild. E = Brooke 4 = *B.M.C.* viii = Hawkins 203)

Obv. +ÆDEL R/EDR•E+ANGL•
Die-axis 90°

Rev. +BYO | ΓΛ: | ΩOLV | NDEN•
Wt. 19.3 grains (1.25 g.)

The mint is clearly London, and the curious spelling of the moneyer's name must surely be for Bo(i)ga who is known for the mint and type from Hild. 2232. There is, however, no die-link. This particular personal name is not of frequent occurrence in the last years of Æthelræd II, and it was impossible to overlook the coincidence that there is recorded in Hildebrand a coin of the same Helmet type and with the same remarkable spelling BYOGA but of the Dover mint (Hild. 387). Both coins are here illustrated by enlarged direct photographs which have been supplied by the authorities of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet:



It will be noticed that both coins are from the same obverse die, and there can be little doubt but that B(y)oga was a moneyer both of Dover and of London in the same type.

Obverse die-links between late Saxon mints, a phenomenon not recorded even seven years ago, are now almost a commonplace, but we would draw attention to the fact that this is the first time that Dover has been die-linked with another mint, and only the second time that a die-link has been published from the Helmet issue

of Æthelræd II.¹ London and Dover are some seventy-five miles apart, but the style of both coins is such that we are confident that they are from official dies and that the die-link in this case is not indicative of imitation at some Scandinavian centre.²

In the same parcel of coins were three other Helmet coins of Æthelræd II which may be considered new in that the moneyers are not recorded for the type in Hildebrand. They may be listed as follows:

CANTERBURY

Obv. +ÆDEL R/EDREXANGL Ǿ

Die-axis 270°

(Moneyer Ælfryd: cf. Hild. 123–7, &c.)

Rev. †/EL | FRYD | MΩ | C/ENT

Wt. 23.2 grains (1.50 g.)

IPSWICH

Obv. +ÆDEL R/EDREXANGL:

Die-axis 0°

(Moneyer Leofwine: not previously recorded for the mint.)

Rev. +LEO | //N: | EMΩ | GIPES

Wt. 16.5 grains (1.07 g.)

STAFFORD

Obv. +ÆDEL R/EDREXANGLΩ

Die-axis 180°

(Moneyer Alfwold: cf. Hild. 3420–3, &c.)

Rev. †ALF | POLD | M.ΩΣ | T/ƆF

Wt. 22.5 grains (1.46 g.)

The same parcel, too, is the source of the new *Transitional Crux* obverse discussed elsewhere in these pages.³

R. H. M. DOLLEY

G. VAN DER MEER

TWO UNPUBLISHED BARNSTAPLE/EXETER DIE-LINKS

LOT 142 in the Sale Catalogue (Glendining 19/7/1954) of the late Mr. W. J. Lawson's fine collection of coins of the reign of William I comprised two Paxe type (*B.M.C.* type 8) pennies of the very rare Barnstaple mint. Both were correctly catalogued—the first coin as *B.M.C.* 498 and the second as 'Another same moneyer but different dies—*obv.* reads +PILLELMREX annulet on left shoulder'.

The former, a die duplicate of *B.M.C.* 498, is therefore an obverse die duplicate of *B.M.C.* 499 of Barnstaple and also of *B.M.C.* 668 of the Exeter moneyer, Saemar.

This Barnstaple/Exeter die-link is but one of several obverse die-links between neighbouring mints which are recorded in *B.M.C. (Norman Kings)* and which were first published and analysed by Brooke in *Num. Chron.* 1911, pp. 1–23 and pl. xiv–xvii ('Notes on the reign of William I').⁴

¹ For the Hertford-London die-link in this type cf. *B.N.J.* xxxix, 1 (1958), pp. 54–58.

² For this problem cf. the forthcoming paper by Mr. C. S. S. Lyon entitled 'The Æthelræd Types of Cnut'.

³ *Supra*, pp. 258–64.

⁴ The scope of the contents of this short paper is hardly apparent from its title comprising, as it does, the results of the research work on the reign undertaken by the author in preparation for the compiling of *Norman Kings*.

When it is remembered that Brooke was dealing with no less than 660 of these Paxe type pennies with very few die duplicates and all, within certain limitations, of extraordinarily uniform style and that he was, as it were, starting from scratch, his achievement in the discovery of no less than ten die-links between different pairs of mints can only be regarded as a miracle of concentration and skill. And the results of his analysis of these die-links is only part of his 1911 paper.



UNPUBLISHED EXETER/BARNSTAPLE DIE-LINKS



MISCELLANEOUS PLATE

Having been put on the scent by Brooke we should therefore always be on the look-out for further die-links between the various pairs of mints which are listed in *B.M.C.*, and the second Lawson coin, now in Mr. P. Brettell's collection and which was exhibited to the Society on 26 May 1959, proves to be a second example of a Barnstaple/Exeter die link.

It is an obverse die duplicate of *B.M.C.* 670 of the same Exeter moneyer, Saemar.

It is, however, from a different reverse die to either of the two Barnstaple coins *B.M.C.* 498 and 499 which, though obverse die duplicates (the same die also of *B.M.C.* 668 of Exeter), are from reverse dies which are different to each other.

The reverse die of the Lawson coin (**Pl. XXVIII, 5**) is the same as that of the coin which is no. 3 on plate ix of *B.N.J.* v (Carlyon-Britton's Numismatic History of the reign—'The Barnstaple Mint') and this fact has led on to the discovery of yet a third obverse die-link with Exeter.

That coin, no. 3 of Carlyon-Britton's plate (and **Pl. XXVIII, 6**), is, I now find, from the same die as *B.M.C.* 656 of the Exeter moneyer Lifwine; it is quite a distinctive obverse and I was able to find the die-link without having to look any further than the first three coins in the Exeter tray at the Museum.

Unfortunately, the present whereabouts of the Barnstaple coin of the *B.N.J.* plate is not known; at that time (1908) it was in Carlyon-Britton's own collection but it is not to be found in any of his sale catalogues.

However, the coin must exist and that being so it is now possible to record the details of the three die-links with Exeter as set out below in a list of all the known Barnstaple coins of the type which are from different die combinations to each other and to illustrate those two which are unpublished, **Pl. XXVIII, Nos. 4-7** (Exeter Nos. 4 and 7—Barnstaple Nos. 5 and 6):

	Obverse	<i>B.M.C. no.</i> of Exeter die-link	Reverse	<i>B.M.C. no.</i> of Barnstaple coin	
1.	{ +PILLELM REX Same die	{ 668	{ +SEPORD ON BIIRD +SEPORD ON BIIRDI	{ 498 499	{ $\frac{P|\overline{\Lambda}}{S|\overline{X}}$ $\frac{\overline{\Lambda}|\overline{X}}{P|\overline{S}}$
2.	+PILLELMREX (Same form of crown as no. 1)	670 (Pl. fig. 4)	+SEPORD ON BIIRD	(Pl. fig. 5)	{ $\frac{\overline{\Lambda}|\overline{X}}{P|\overline{S}}$
3.	+PILLELMREX (Different form of crown to nos. 1 and 2)	656 (Pl. fig. 7)	Same die	(Pl. fig. 6)	

It is interesting to note that in the case of obverse die no. 1 Brooke showed conclusively that the die must have travelled from Barnstaple to Exeter and not, as might be expected, vice versa but this is not the only instance he gives of a die movement from the smaller mint to a larger one.

In the case of die no. 2 the evidence of the coins seems to point fairly definitely to the Exeter striking being the earlier and therefore to the die having travelled the opposite way to no. 1.

As regards no. 3 it is not possible to express any opinion without seeing the Barnstaple coin and I should like to feel that this note will result in its present ownership coming to light.

F. ELMORE JONES

THREE APPARENTLY UNPUBLISHED NORMAN PENNIES OF LINCOLN

ON different occasions during the last year I have been fortunate to acquire the following Norman coins of the Lincoln mint which would appear to be quite unpublished.

1. WILLIAM I, Brooke Type 1.

Obv. +FILLEMV S REX I

Rev. +OSBERAN ON LINC

Wt. 20.5 grains

(Pl. XXVIII, 1)

The moneyer is presumably Osbern, and this coin would appear to be the first struck by a moneyer of this name at Lincoln.

2. WILLIAM II, Brooke Type 2.

Obv. +FILLELMRI

Rev. . . C I R M A N O N L I N C L

Wt. 20.5 grains

(Pl. XXVIII, 2)

The first letter or letters of the moneyer's name cannot be read, but from the remainder it is clear that the moneyer is one hitherto unrecorded for the Lincoln mint. It is probable, too, that the name is one which does not occur elsewhere on Norman coins. Mr. R. H. M. Dolley suggests that the legend is to be restored [+S]CIRMAN to give SCIRMAN (= OE. *Scearmann), a name that would be by no means improbable in a Lincoln context and which survives, of course, as the modern surnames Sherman and Sharman.

3. HENRY I, Brooke Type 15.

Obv. + . . NR

Rev. : O N : N I C . . E :

Wt. 20.0 grains

(Pl. XXVIII, 3)

The coin is largely illegible, but is included here because neither of the dies is represented in the National Collection nor in Sir Francis Hill's cabinet. Presumably the moneyer—with a short name and unquestionably of Lincoln—will one day be identified on the basis of a die-link, and hence the desirability of illustration.

H. R. MOSSOP

NEW LIGHT ON THE 1864 HOARD FROM KINGHORN

BY the personal kindness of Mr. G. V. Doubleday I am allowed to print the following transcript of an autograph letter in his possession:

[1]

Townsend¹

Kirkcaldy 6th Jany 1868

John Lindsay Esqu
Cork

Dear Sir

I have heard that you intend to | publish another supplement, which I suppose | will be entirely on Scotch Coins. However, I | enclose rubbings of two curious Edwards I have, | and if they are not useful to you now, | they may be after, they were both found | near this among other Edwards. No 1 is | similar to 'Hawkins' 313 as regards Bishop | Kellaw's M.M., but otherwise it is entirely | different, reading on obv EDWARDVS REX | AIR and on rev CIVITAS DVNELME, it | weighs 19 grains. No 2 is the same as a | common Edward I on obv, but on rev it reads | CIVI SIN. CES. TIN without the least appearance | of having been intended for anything else, | it only weighs 14 grains.

¹ Endorsement in Lindsay's hand.

[2]

There were a good many David II of Scotland | pennies found along with these Edwards, | but I don't see anything particular | about them, except different heads, sceptres | and with & without pellets between legends, | all read REX SCOTTORVM, if you would | like to see one of each variety, I will | be glad to send them.

In case you may not be aware, I may | also say that a horde [*sic*] of Scotch Coins | (consisting of placks of Jas II III IV & V | & Mary, also a few Testoons & 'Iam non sunts' | of Francis & Mary, and a portrait Testoon of | Mary,) was found below the floor of | an old house at Abernethy Perthshire | in Decr 1866. I got a lot of them | but they are all common, the rarest | being 2 Stirling placks of Mary.

The horde [*sic*] of Edwards & Davids (also a

[3]

few of John Baliol, Robert Bruce, and | a good few of¹ Alexander III) was found at Abden | 2 miles from this on the 26th Jany | 1864.

In my Collection I have nothing | particular in Scotch, but some are very | rare, such as Mary portrait Testoon, | similar to yours, lot 711, this is not | the one that was found at Abernethy, | I don't know where it was found. |

Hoping to hear from you at your convenience

I am,
Yours very respectfully
J M Lornie

Address

John Lornie
Townsend
Kirkcaldy
N B

With the letter are rubbings made by two different methods (? with the two ends of a pencil) of the two coins mentioned in the first paragraph. They can be identified with confidence as one of the so-called REX AIN pennies of Durham, almost certainly the identical specimen now in the cabinet of Mr. C. E. Blunt,² and one of the contemporary or near-contemporary imitations of a Fox Class III penny of Edward I of the Chester mint (cf. a coin in the British Museum *ex* L. A. Lawrence with registration number 1950, 10-1-76, and weight 13.8 grains, apparently the coin in question).

The sixteenth-century hoard from Abernethy³ lies outside the scope of this note, but the references to the fourteenth-century hoard found at Abden in 1864 alone warrant the publication of the letter in these pages. There can be no doubt that the find is to be equated with one described in the recent *Inventory* in the following terms:

217. KINGHORN, Fifeshire, Jan. 1864

Over 1,000 R English, Irish, Scottish, and Foreign (about 100 examined). Deposit: 1340-50.

ENGLAND (a very large number). Pennies of Edward I-II (and III?).

IRELAND (a few?). Edward I. Pennies of Dublin and Waterford.

SCOTLAND (a fair number?): Sterlings of Alexander II, III, John Baliol, Robert Bruce, and David II (= majority). No details of individual coins.

William Douglas in *N.C. N.s.*, iv (1864), pp. 155-6, and in *P.S.A.S.* v (1863-4), pp. 237 ff.

Disposition: The bulk of this hoard was dispersed without being examined; the coins mentioned above—or some of them—were presented to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland at Edinburgh.

¹ These four words are interpolated at the end of, and beneath, the first line and seem to represent an addition when Lornie was reading through the letter before sealing.

² *Supra*, p. 329.

³ Cf. J. Lindsay, *Second Supplement to the Coinage of Scotland*, Cork, 1868, p. 40; *P.S.A.S.* vii (1866-68), p. 195.

Not only are Kirkcaldy and Kinghorn no more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles apart, but Abden lies between them, and the coincidence of date must mean that Lornie and Douglas were describing the same hoard. Douglas, it is true, twice illustrates the pot in which the coins were found—an unfortunate omission from the main body of the *Inventory*—but Lornie's silence is of no consequence, and all that should be inferred is that Lornie obtained a parcel from, and not the whole of, the hoard.

For the numismatist the new description of the Abden ('Kinghorn') find is of importance because it allows us to date the hoard with considerably more precision than has been possible hitherto. Thompson's dating '1340-50' was in any case too early—the presence of coins of David II pointing to a date after c. 1350 (cf. B. H. I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, p. 25). We are now told, however, that all the David II pence have the REX SCOTTORVM reverse, and so there is now a *terminus ante quem* provided by the 1357 coinage. All in all, a date of deposit c. 1355±2 may seem very reasonable, and especially since the David II pence obtained by Lornie do not appear to have included any of the earlier SCOTORVM coins put in issue not much before 1351. Incidentally, the new dating gains in significance when we correct, as we must, the *Inventory* dating for the great Montrave hoard which cannot be as early as 'c. 1356' if only because of presence of the Scots groats first ordered in 1357. The statement in the Introduction (p. xlv) that such groats were absent not only conflicts with the listing on p. 105, but also with the contemporary account of the discovery contributed by no less an authority than George Sim. Hoards deposited during the decade c. 1350-c. 1360 are in reality quite rare, and we are probably justified in excluding not only Montrave but those from Beaumont, Closeburn (*pace* Thompson there is no groat of David I) and Knocknasna, all of which contain coins which cannot have been struck before 1357 at the earliest. This leaves only the 1868 hoard from Oxford as in anyway comparable in date with the Kinghorn hoard, though one might perhaps wish to add the little hoard from Dailly in Ayrshire which Thompson seems to date too early ('After 1320') if in fact it contained a coin of David II (1329-71, no coins before c. 1350?).

It will probably be wondered why reference has not been made to the coins in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland at Edinburgh, now the National Museum of Antiquities. The reason is that, *pace* Thompson, no coins from the Abden ('Kinghorn') hoard in fact were acquired, although the normal construction of Douglas's comment seems certainly to imply the contrary.¹ Accordingly, the Lornie letter is still more enhanced in importance, a reminder of the urgent need to preserve all old manuscript material relating to coins. Just how important the letter is can be gauged from the circumstance that it provides the only recorded hoard-provenance for a coin of the little REX AIN grouping which Mr. Elmore Jones has discussed with such admirable clarity elsewhere in these pages,² and it is a source of gratification for the present writer that the Abden provenance should be completely consistent with the conclusions arrived at in that paper.

R. H. M. DOLLEY

¹ Information contained in a letter from Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson to the present writer.

² *Supra*, pp. 326-33.

REVIEWS

British Commonwealth Coinage. By HOWARD W. A. LINECAR. London, 1959. Ernest Benn Limited (Practical Handbooks for Collectors Series).

Colonial and Commonwealth Coins. By L. V. W. WRIGHT. London, 1959. George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd.

AFTER a lapse of over half a century it is refreshing to note a revival of interest in the coinages issued for the possessions of the British Commonwealth.

In the larger units of the Commonwealth, e.g. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa, the numismatists of those countries have dealt or are dealing with their own series, but the result of their studies and researches are mostly to be found in local publications not easily accessible to the average collector.

Compact and up-to-date handbooks which review the entire field on the principle first laid down by James Atkins, *Coins of the Possessions and Colonies* in 1889, and followed in a more limited manner by D. F. Howorth in 1890, are long over-due.

Two new handbooks fill a definite need, not only for the numismatist but for the layman.

British Commonwealth Coinage. By HOWARD W. A. LINECAR.

MR. LINECAR covers the very wide field in the form of a world tour. Each country is dealt with separately. An excellent historical review is followed by a detailed description of the denominations issued. Extremely useful lists of the dates of issue of the several denominations are included. Twenty-six plates illustrating 227 main coin types present a clear pictorial view of the several issues by the responsible authorities, and six line maps provide the essential geographical identification.

The book is more than an introduction to British Commonwealth numismatics. It is a compact and very detailed review of a fascinating subject, with the contents based upon current standard knowledge. It places in the hands of the numismatist and layman alike a comprehensive yet easily read handbook of the very wide and varied field of Commonwealth numismatics, and is calculated to excite the interest of the reader.

Colonial and Commonwealth Coins. By L. V. W. WRIGHT.

THE plan followed by Mr. Wright is designed as an introductory handbook to the long series of silver and minor coinages issued throughout the countries of the Colonies and Commonwealth. The gold coins are excluded. The object has been to illustrate each type of coin issued and to indicate the period during which such coins were struck. By this means it is easy to identify and classify the coins impressed with native inscriptions and to determine their denominations.

All the major types are illustrated in the text, although in some cases the quality of the illustrations is not too good.

The presentation is easy and simple to follow, and the book is basically a guide book. Historical information and descriptive detail are restricted to the very minimum, and the coins are left to speak for themselves.

Classification and attribution of the several coins is based upon present knowledge, but in the more obscure series some re-attribution and adjustments will follow. Fertile and very much neglected fields like the East India Company's Presidency series, the British West Indies and some of the other smaller units of the Commonwealth have never been adequately studied. This handbook reveals the deficiency of present knowledge in several series.

This is not the place to point out omissions or question attributions in either work, but it is to be hoped that, with the information now made easily accessible, a livelier interest will be taken in a hitherto very sadly neglected field.

Unintentionally, but fortunately for the collector and numismatist, the two authors complement each other and do not clash in their treatment or presentation. Both books can be considered essential handbooks for all persons claiming an interest in the numismatics of the Greater Britain beyond the seas.

F. PRIDMORE

Das Münzwesen im niederlothringischen und friesischen Raum vom 10. bis zum beginnenden 12. Jahrhundert. By G. ALBRECHT. (Numismatic Studies, no. 6), Hamburg, 1959. 2 vols. xv+213; 29 maps, 2 diagrams and 21 tables of illustrations.

THE large number of mints and the breakdown of royal control over their work in Saxon and Franconian times makes the study of the German coinages of the tenth and eleventh centuries a daunting task, in which a substantial advance over what was achieved by Dannenberg can be expected only from years of laborious and exacting work. The sheer volume of material makes the problems of the corresponding period in English numismatics look small. Under the general direction of Professor Havernick, the ground is being cleared by an extremely thorough and systematic re-presentation of the numismatic history of the early German kingdom, region by region. The monograph under review, which follows the lines of an earlier study of the Saxon coinage by Dr. Vera Jammer, deals with that of Lower Lorraine and Frisia. A large part of the first volume consists of a commentary, place by place, on the issues of some seventy mints. It is followed by a catalogue of 600 finds. In the same way as so many Anglo-Saxon coins come from Scandinavian finds, the bulk of them are from eastern and north-eastern Europe: for every find deposited within the region of issue, there are nearly twenty from beyond its boundaries. The problems of the Baltic trade and the 'outflow' of silver from the Rhinelands are briefly discussed, and an interesting attempt is made to assess the relative output, over a corresponding period, of the more active mints. Cologne was more than twice as important as any other mint; the runners-up—Tiel (cf. the modern position of Rotterdam), Deventer, Groningen, Dokkum, Leeuwarden, Utrecht, Staveren, Duisburg—are all places of the Frisian coasts or the lower Rhine, while the mints of what is today Belgium and north-eastern France were relatively unimportant.

The British numismatist will find matter for reflection in the techniques which have been adopted in this monograph, and in the larger plan to which it belongs. Probably he will begin by viewing with scant favour the use of line-drawings and not photographs. A good line-drawing, however, is usually the clearest form of illustration of an eleventh-century German type, and it is worth remembering that the purpose of collotype plates is to make possible the identification of particular dies and the study of their similarities, linkage and sequence, and that although work of this kind must be in the forefront in the study of a coinage over which there was close central control and where the mints were permanently in operation, it is not necessarily so with the issues of the smaller mints of the 'regional *Pfennig*'. Secondly, he will note that, for a period of two centuries, and for the coinage of one region only within the German kingdom, no fewer than 600 finds can be listed. This list is, in principle, a quite different kind of inventory from one which seeks to gather together all the finds from a specified region, and the best name for it in English is a check-list; a check-list may be thought of as part of the spade-work for a numismatic history, whereas a regional find-register is part of the spade-work for a

monetary history—not that either can be written in isolation, of course. The difficulties of interpreting the hoards are very much increased when their contents are not so much currency as bullion and when they cannot be directly related to the use of coinage in the area of its official circulation; the independent and really close dating of each coin, without which its historical interpretation must remain speculative, but in light of which unexpected aspects of monetary affairs are so often to be discovered, presents an Herculean labour. This monograph will, it may be hoped, provide a starting-point and a stimulus to further work, not least to a very detailed re-examination of the small number of local hoards.

D. M. METCALF

English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins in the British Museum 1558–1958. By C. WILSON PECK. Published by The Trustees of the British Museum, London 1960.

It has been the privilege of few to review a British Museum Catalogue and fewer still have been fortunate enough to consider a volume, such as this, from the pen of a distinguished numismatist who is not a member of the staff of the Coin Room. After working for five years the author was invited to adapt his work so that it could be published as one of the series of British Museum Catalogues describing the English coins in the National Collection, an inspired and happy arrangement which reflects much credit on the author, on the Keeper of Coins and Medals, Dr. J. Walker, and his Assistant on the Medieval side, Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, who had the vision to suggest this excellent though unusual course.

The catalogue which is now in our hands is an outstanding contribution to our numismatic literature. The title is a little misleading, unnecessarily so, for of the coins listed and given a *B.M.C.* number only 69 per cent. are in the British Museum cabinets, but the additional material adds great strength, the desirability of which must be obvious to all. The minor issues under consideration, in general terms the series of English Coppers, have hitherto been neglected, for various reasons, by students and collectors with a few notable exceptions, but this catalogue will not only restore the balance but will be a revelation to all who study it.

Working from a model manuscript the Oxford University Press has produced a splendid volume. The type is clear and the arrangement could scarcely be improved upon. One notable feature is that special stops and symbols on the coins have been produced exactly from specially prepared type. The large pages have good margins and the book opens out flat, making it pleasant and convenient to use. It will be hoped that, departing as it does from earlier volumes, the format will be standard for other British Museum Catalogues of the late English series.

The 666 quarto pages (compare this with the 173 octavo pages of the previous standard work by H. Montagu published in 1893) are divided thus:

General Introduction	20 pages	(i–xx)
Historical Introduction	8 „	(1–8)
Catalogue of Coins	519 „	(9–527)
Appendixes	94 „	(528–621)
Indexes	25 „	(622–46)

To which are added 50 collotype plates of an excellence seldom seen.

The General Introduction is a clear statement of method and acknowledgement which, while explaining the technique employed, at the same time acknowledges the great help and co-operation afforded not only by the British Museum personnel but also by other keepers of museum collections and private collectors both here and overseas. The whereabouts of all coins in the catalogue are clearly identified by

a code conveniently tabulated, an essential feature of a corpus of this kind incorporating as it does all the specimens lacking in the National Collection.

It is important to the understanding of English Coppers to trace the early history of small change, and in his *Historical Introduction* the author has drawn information from all sources known to him and interpreted them in a way that brings many new ideas to the reader. The story is of endless pleas and petitions to the Crown and Government without any real attempt being made to alleviate hardship. This then bridges the long period before the first small change, other than silver, was made available to traders and their buying public. A succinct summary of this historical evidence is given on p. 7.

The catalogue itself is a masterpiece of precise tabulating, the sheer logic of which will only be really appreciated with time. It reflects eleven years of specialized concentration which few will grasp at the first reading. Each reign has its own historical background followed by a chronological list of the known coins. Each trial, pattern, restrike, and current coin is numbered in sequence throughout the work. It is, however, important to note that minor die varieties are grouped under the same number, though even then the author has recorded the number of such differing dies that he has observed.

There is a complete reappraisal of the copper farthing tokens of James I and Charles I. The previous publications by Ruding, Vaux, Weightman, Rogers, and others have been collated with discrimination. Addition to our knowledge is made difficult by the absence of new documentary evidence. The author has been able to clear up two outstanding problems satisfactorily. The small-size Harington tokens are shown to be farthings, not half-farthings, and the CARA group are shown to be forgeries, though the door is left open for further study. Forgeries generally, which are all too prevalent, have been expertly sifted from the genuine pieces, many for the first time.

The controversial reign of Queen Anne, with its puzzling trial pieces and patterns, is treated in great detail. Due regard is taken of all published information, but the arrangement is mainly the result of the author's fundamental work in which the coins themselves have been made to tell their own story. The complex problem of the pieces struck from rusty dies and restruck specimens is answered and dies are identified and listed in a most convincing way. Patterns of spots on coins from the pittings in dies from which rust has been cleaned are used here, as in the reign of George III, for precise identifications and as an aid to chronology.

Perhaps the most important part of the book is the long section on the reign of George III. Like the issues of Anne, the coppers of this reign have never before been properly understood and no truer statement has been made than the author's contention that even the most knowledgeable collectors and dealers have in the past often been able to hazard no more than a guess as to the true origin of many of the patterns, restrikes, and concoctions. It will no longer be necessary to speculate as precise identification is now possible. More than a hundred years have passed since many of these pieces were struck and it was only great patience and tenacity that produced the coherent and logical results that the author has achieved. Once again the coins themselves have been made to reveal their secrets and no specimen has been neglected in the search for the truth. The history of the Soho mint under Matthew Boulton makes fascinating reading, and mysteries of the subsequent use of dies are ably explained and clarified.

At this period and elsewhere the author has realized that there will be difficulty in interpreting some of his ideas and so where necessary he gives an Identification Key which used properly by the reader will prove invaluable and save much searching and disappointment. Following the line of action indicated by these keys we are

helped in our understanding of the author's interpretation of many features which have not before been used in identifying dies.

The Appendixes supply much additional historical information and other details. The provenance and pedigree of most of the specimens listed is given which will please the research student. Weights, official and actual, are tabulated for every issue with a column of weight ranges giving the results of weighing patiently many thousands of pieces.

The collotype plates are of a high standard and incorporate many novel features. The casts used for the illustrated coins were prepared to exacting specifications and enlarged portions of coins were reproduced from direct photographs taken with great skill by the author. The standard the author set himself for these plates was that they should measure up to plates produced at the turn of the century by an autotype process, and it will be seen how closely this has been achieved. The lines connecting associated dies, confusing at first glance, will prove invaluable in use.

It will be clear by now that to your reviewer this book is of considerable merit. It is the result of a policy of perfection, written by a man whose whole training demanded perfection at every stage. It is a challenge to all numismatists. A challenge because considerable effort will have to be made by anyone wishing to use it properly. It will deter many who are not prepared to make this effort.

It is not just a book for students of English coins. All who are interested in numismatics, whatever the series or period, will gain much by reading and using it intelligently. Moreover, it will help all those concerned with examining coins and presenting the evidence gained from detailed research so that it may be useful as a permanent record.

ALBERT BALDWIN

OBITUARY

RAYMOND C. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.

RAYMOND CARLYON CARLYON-BRITTON was widely known as a collector and student of British coins: his death in April 1960 has deprived the Society of one of its most distinguished members and of the last link with the original generation of numismatists to whom the Society owes its existence. He was the son of Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, who, feeling that British numismatics were inadequately catered for by the Royal Numismatic Society with its classical and continental bias, formed a splinter group of those of his day most interested in British coins, who in 1903 founded the British Numismatic Society. One of the delights of visiting R. C. B. in his later years was to listen to his amusing and sometimes mischievous anecdotes of his father's contemporaries. Since the war he suffered from poor health and never came to meetings in London; but his enthusiasm for coins remained the strongest interest of his life, and those who had the pleasure of his friendly hospitality in Chichester, had also the privilege of seeing one of the richest collections of British hammered silver coins ever systematically put together. His first collection was sold at auction in 1921; his second was dispersed in 1947 because of crippling ill-health; but he recovered in his last years all, and more, of his earlier collections, leaving at his death the finest collection of Irish coins ever formed, and a remarkable series of English medieval, Scots, and Anglo-Gallic coins. For the student, it is unfortunate that no sale catalogue or photographs will record the scope and details of his last collection, which has been disposed of by private arrangement. His Irish coins, however, may be preserved intact: they include his father's Hiberno-Danish, with many additions, and an unparalleled series of Anglo-Irish, which, alone, he never sold when the rest of his earlier collections were dispersed.

We may hope for a Sylloge of his Irish coins as a basis for the future study of that neglected subject. R. C. B. himself was one of the few serious students of them, and an important paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle* on the harp groats of Henry VIII was his last published work. His provocative attributions to Edward V and Lambert Simnel deserve attention, and have never been answered; and his work on Edward IV, unfinished at his death, will prove of value.

Though the work of some others of his generation has been somewhat discredited by recent research, R. C. B.'s numismatics were more scientific and objective; he was awarded the Sanford Saltus gold medal in 1935, largely for a magnificent paper on the last coinage of Henry VII, which set new standards and made sense of a problem which had defeated Lawrence and Brooke. After the war his interest was principally focused on the coinage of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Elizabeth, and Charles I; unfortunately he published little of his important findings in this field, though his classification of base coinages of Henry VIII and Edward VI, serialized in the *Numismatic Circular* in 1949-50, is fundamental.

His collection of these series was as complete as it could be made. He had a rare combination of the enthusiasms of the student and of the collector, diligent in gathering complete runs of coins for study, yet cherishing fine coins for their own sake and gloating with almost miserly satisfaction over the rarities in his trays. This pride of possession, inherited from his father and his circle, did not distort the perspective of his scholarly work in the same way as it did theirs. He was not personally well known to many recent members of the Society, but will be remembered not only for his kindness and generosity by those who knew him, but by all who collect and study British coins for the wonderful collection of them which he amassed, and for the notable contributions which he made to numismatic knowledge.

B. H. I. H. S.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1959

(For list of past Presidents and Medallists see page 197; for Officers and Council for 1959 see page 199)

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 27 January 1959, Mr. D. F. Allen, President, in the chair, the following were elected to Membership of the Society: Miss Rosemary J. Cramp, Miss Joan Ingold, and Mr. H. R. Mossop. The death was announced of Mr. B. Max Mehl, of Fort Worth, Texas, who had been a Member for more than 50 years. The President read a paper entitled 'A Re-assessment of the Uninscribed Gold Coinage of Britain'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 24 February, Mr. D. F. Allen, President, in the chair, the following were elected to Membership of the Society: Sir Frank Merry Stenton (Honorary), Mr. H. C. Curwen, Charlton S. Gedge (Junior), and John Morcom (Junior). Mr. H. S. A. Copinger of the British Museum read a paper on Communion Tokens in the Scottish Churches. Then Mr. R. N. P. Hawkins read a paper on 'Some Minor Products of Nineteenth-Century Die-sinkers'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 24 March, Mr. D. F. Allen, President, in the chair, there were no elections. Mr. D. M. Metcalf read a paper on behalf of Mr. R. H. M. Dolley and himself entitled 'The Mysterious Affair at Kingsholm' in which he gave reasons for associating the known preponderance of West Country mints among the coins of the Quatrefoil type of Cnut in the British Museum at the end of the eighteenth century with a contemporary reference to a hoard of unspecified Saxon pennies unearthed at Kingsholm, Gloucestershire.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 28 April, Mr. D. F. Allen, President, in the chair, the following were elected to Membership of the Society: Messrs. C. A. Chilvers, F. R. Cooper, and S. G. Rowe, and as a Junior Member R. A. Reeves. Two papers on pennies of the Edward I period were read. Mr. G. L. V. Tatler submitted on behalf of Mr. P. Woodhead a paper, 'Notes on Edward I pence struck between 1291 and 1300'. Mr. R. H. M. Dolley read, on behalf of Mr. Tatler and himself, a paper entitled 'The Whittenstall Treasure Trove'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 26 May, Mr. D. F. Allen, President, in the chair, the following were elected to Junior Membership: Thomas William Mahony Jaine and John Martin Webbon. Mr. C. S. S. Lyon read a paper entitled 'The Æthelræd types of Cnut recorded in Hildebrand'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 23 June, Mr. D. F. Allen, President, in the chair, Mr. R. R. Rekofski was elected to

Membership. In accordance with Chapter XX of the then rules the President gave notice that revised rules had been drawn up by Council and would be voted on at the Anniversary Meeting. These revised rules included an increase in the annual subscription rates for both Ordinary and Junior Members. Mr. R. H. M. Dolley read a paper entitled 'The Agnus Dei type of Æthelræd II', in which he described and illustrated all the known specimens of this type.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 22 September, Mr. D. F. Allen, President, in the chair, there were elected to Membership of the Society Mr. J. H. Mulholland and to Junior Membership P. H. Robinson. The main business of the evening was devoted to a symposium on continental coins found in England.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 27 October, Mr. D. F. Allen, President, in the chair, the following were elected to Membership of the Society: to Ordinary Membership, Miss V. J. Butler; to Junior Membership, A. Akers-Douglas, M. B. Sharp, and J. D. Wheeler. Dr. J. P. C. Kent read a paper entitled 'From Roman Britain to Saxon England', in the course of which he reviewed the coinages of barbarous radiates and minims and demonstrated that these issues were contemporary with their prototypes and could not be assigned to the Dark Ages.

At the Anniversary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Monday, 30 November, Mr. D. F. Allen, President, in the chair, the following were elected to Membership of the Society: Mr. Henry B. Pedersen, Flt.-Lt. J. S. R. Salmond, Mr. R. Taylor, and The Curator, Grosvenor Museum, Chester; to Junior Membership, M. E. Driver and D. Jones. The following Officers were elected for 1960:

President: D. F. Allen, B.A., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. Bagnall; C. E. Blunt, O.B.E., F.S.A.; G. V. Doubleday; H. H. King, M.A.; E. J. Winstanley, L.D.S.

Director: R. H. M. Dolley, B.A., F.S.A.

Secretary: C. S. S. Lyon, B.A., F.I.A.

Treasurer: P. H. Vernon, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

Librarian: J. P. C. Kent, B.A., Ph.D.

Council: J. M. Ashby, M.A.; E. Burstal, M.A., M.D.; P. Grierson, M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A.; Sir Francis Hill, C.B.E., M.A., Litt. D., Ll.M., F.S.A.; Major C. W. Lister, R.A.; C. W. Peck, F.P.S.; J. C. Pollard, M.A.; J. Porteous, B.A.; H. Schneider; B. H. I. H. Stewart, B.A., F.S.A. (Scot.); G. L. V. Tatler.

The President, Mr. D. F. Allen, then delivered the Presidential Address.

EXHIBITIONS

Session 1959

February

By Mr. Owen Parsons on behalf of the Gloucester City Museum:

1. Original steel die for the reverse of a Gloucester City farthing token

2. Gloucester City farthing token 1667, the reverse struck from the above die. BW 80.
3. Old sealing-wax impression of reverse die, No. 1 above.
4. Old sealing-wax impression of obverse die for No. 2, the pair to No. 1. (This die is not now known.)
5. Gloucester City farthing token 1669. BW 81.
6. Old sealing-wax impression of the obverse die for the above. (This die is not now known.)
7. Farthing token AT • THE • NEGS • HEAD (A horse's head) IN •
• C •
GLOUCESTER • 1654. I • A BW 83.
8. Old sealing-wax impression of the obverse die for the above. (This die is not now known.)
9. Old sealing-wax impression of the reverse die for the above. (This die is not now known.)

Eight half-crowns from the Laughton, Sussex, Treasure Trove, recently unearthed and containing 505 coins, mostly half-crowns, of the period from Philip and Mary to the Commonwealth.

A Henry IV heavy noble, weight $117\frac{1}{2}$ grains, from the recent 'Friends of Winchester Cathedral' sale, and a light noble for comparison. It is an unrecorded specimen, being the nineteenth example of the heavy-coinage nobles. The obverse has the normal crescent on the rudder and is Type 1*a*, similar to no. 4 in Mr. Blunt's list in his article on these coins in *B.N.J.* xxiv. The reverse reads MEDIVM ILLORVM and has a fleur-de-lis over the head of the lion in the second quarter, although this is weakly struck. This characteristic is found only on Type 2, so the coin is a mule of Types 1*a*/2. The only other specimen of this mule recorded is the one in the Ashmolean Museum. It is hoped to illustrate this coin in the next number of the *Journal*.

Robert III Edinburgh half-groat of the 2nd issue. Query X stops on obverse (unrecorded for half-groat, but this coin has epigraphic and ornamental affinities with the X-stop groats). +ROBERTVS X (?) DEI . . . (Pl. XXVIII, 12).

ADDRESS BY DEREK F. ALLEN
PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC
SOCIETY

Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 30 November 1959

THE British Numismatic Society has concluded another successful session. Our membership of 341 members has risen by 11; the number of junior members has gone up from 14 to 19, which is particularly encouraging. The new members whom we have welcomed to our ranks number 21, of whom 11 are ordinary and 9 junior members.

We are particularly glad to welcome as our third Honorary Member Sir Frank Stenton, Emeritus Professor of Modern History in Reading University.

At the same time we have had losses. We have learned with regret of the death of Mr. G. R. Blake and Mr. B. Max Mehl. We have had 7 resignations during the year. So far as numbers are concerned the Society is in as flourishing a state as it has been for many years past.

We have had 8 Ordinary meetings. The papers which have been presented at these meetings have ranged over the whole field of British numismatics, from Ancient British coins to nineteenth-century die-sinkers. As has been usual in recent years, the Anglo-Saxon period has attracted most attention and three whole evenings and parts of two others have been devoted to it. It has seemed to me that the level of discussion has been high, although I would like to have seen a larger number of newcomers take part. The Society owes a debt to Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, our Director, for the organization of the meetings and for the admirable lead he has given in the discussions, especially on Anglo-Saxon subjects.

I have myself been somewhat disappointed that the practice of exhibiting new and interesting coins at the meetings of the Society has declined. We have seen a few notable pieces, such as the London Heavy Noble of Henry IV, but in the days when I first belonged to the Society our evenings were enlivened by what were often well-informed and lively spontaneous debates on the exhibitions. It is for members to decide whether or not to restore the practice, but for myself I would welcome it.

I cannot, as I should wish, refer to the production of another volume of the *British Numismatic Journal*. Like many other bodies, we are victims of the dispute in the Printing Industry. A volume, which the Society can be sure will not fall below the standard of recent years is in the Press, but cannot be expected to issue before the end of the year. We are indebted to the labours of Mr. C. E. Blunt, and Mr. H. H. King, both past Presidents of this Society, and to Mr. Dolley for the efforts which they have put into the preparation of this volume.

In print and format it will, when it appears, be seen to incorporate economies in type and production. I am sure this is worth while. It is intended that in future two annual numbers should form a volume instead of three. The Council consider that this should produce a more serviceable and easier book

to handle when the numbers are bound up. The Council are considering whether, on the conclusion of Volume XXX, the practice of issuing bound volumes should be restored.

Mention of the *Journal* brings me to what is undoubtedly the least satisfactory of the aspects of the Society at the present time. In the year 1958/9 the Society has incurred a net financial loss of nearly £200. This loss has occurred despite the generous and greatly appreciated contribution of £150 from the British Academy to the cost of printing the *Journal*. This loss is directly due to the alarming and disproportionate rise in printing costs, which affects all such societies as ours. Despite every effort to achieve economy in printing, it is clearly impossible to continue on this basis. I do not think the Society should contemplate any drastic modification in the size or quality of the *Journal*, though some clipping of wings may become essential. What is necessary is to increase revenue to match expenses. We are this evening inviting the members to endorse the Council's recommendation that the annual subscription should be raised to 3 guineas a year, or 1 guinea for junior members. It is always a matter of opinion, in advance, where the law of diminishing returns is likely to operate. The Council believe that, unwelcome though this step is, members will consider that they receive value for money and will be willing to pay the higher figure.

The increased revenue which the Society expects will be barely enough to cover the costs of the *Journal* and it is necessary for every effort to be made to recruit new members. It is unlikely that there are many numismatists in the country today who are not aware of the Society's activities; there are all too many who are not yet members. I sincerely hope that all our members, but especially those with the necessary professional contacts, will urge all numismatists who are not members to join the Society and play their part in forwarding its activities. I think we have something to offer them all. Undoubtedly the whole subject of British Numismatics has benefited from the Society's work.

It has occurred to me that there may well be a larger potential membership outside London. A national Society such as ours must have its headquarters in London; in fact, we are, I think, particularly fortunate in our present home in the Warburg Institute and we could not wish for a better lecture room. Nevertheless I have wondered whether the Society might not care occasionally to meet outside London at some point where contact with members who live in the provinces would be easier. We do not want to usurp the field of the British Association of Numismatic Societies; it may be that one numismatic expedition from London a year is sufficient, but I think members might wish to consider whether we should hold, say, our June meeting every other year in some centre other than London, in the hope that we should meet our fellow members from that area. And I hope we shall have more of them.

It seems to me that one subsidiary but important part of our activities could be to promote social contact between those who have the interests of numismatics at heart. At one time there was an annual Council dinner, but even that has lapsed. A more practical course, I believe, would be to hold an annual sherry or cocktail party; there is a precedent in the party held when the Society first moved to its present premises. It is proposed to hold such a party

next April or May, and I hope that it will receive the cordial support of members and their families.

By such means I hope we can help to attract new members to our number, since without them I must warn the Society that the financial outlook for the next few years is chilly and that the reserves are insubstantial. This is no criticism of our Treasurer in recent years, Mr. J. M. Ashby, whose efforts on our behalf have been sincere and effective. He has, for instance, played his part in the successful battle with the Treasury, led by the Society of Antiquaries of London, to retain the rebate on income tax formerly allowed in respect of members who covenant to pay their subscriptions. It is with regret and a sense of gratitude that we lose him as Treasurer. You will, I have no doubt, welcome Dr. P. H. Vernon in his place.

The year has been a busy one for the Council, and one of the main results is before you tonight for your approval. We have, with able assistance of a sub-committee, composed of Mr. Blunt, Mr. King, Mr. Dolley, Mr. Palmer and your Secretary, Mr. C. S. S. Lyon, almost entirely recast the Rules of the Society, on the one hand to bring them into line with the current practice of the Society and on the other to permit a more expeditious conduct of affairs. I do not wish to go in detail into the changes which are numerous, but it has been customary since the war years for the *Journal* to be edited in a manner not specifically provided for in the Rules. I am sure the Society will agree that the introduction of an Editorial Committee is a most desirable reform. The preparation of the Rules, which in this Society have always entered into detail, has involved an exceptional burden on your Secretary and I think members should be aware of the debt they owe to him. We are fortunate in having so active and efficient an officer.

The Society's Library is not greatly patronized. The fact that it is situated in the same room as that of the Royal Numismatic Society, with which it is complementary, provides an exceptionally happy facility for numismatic browsing. Moreover for students with other facets to their interests, there is access within a stone's throw not only to the British Museum, but also to the resources of the Warburg Institute, the Institute of Archaeology of London University and the Roman and Hellenic Societies. Dr. J. P. C. Kent will be taking over the Librarianship from Mr. Porteous, to whom we are grateful for what he has done in the last year. We are also grateful to Dr. A. Barb of the Warburg Institute, himself a writer on numismatics, for the help he so willingly gives to all visitors to the Library.

It is a common practice for the President of a Society such as this to analyse in his annual address the state of the studies with which it is concerned. I will not attempt to do this, partly because I am not really competent to do so, but primarily because Mr. Blunt, in his capacity as President of the Royal Numismatic Society has in his last two annual addresses to that Society provided just such an analysis. The work of our two Societies interlocks today without rivalries or competition. We are glad that the Royal Numismatic Society should pay attention to British Numismatics in the course of its wider studies. We are particularly proud that it should have as its President a former President of ours.

I shall, however, refer to two aspects of current activities which seem to

me particularly relevant to this Society. In the first place I should like to record the successful launching by the British Academy of the first volume of the *Sylloge of British Coins*, to which my predecessor referred last year. I hope that this series and format, so happily begun by Mr. Grierson's volume of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, will receive the whole-hearted support of all British numismatists and, dare I say, British historians. Other volumes are projected. The volume of Anglo-Saxon coins in the Hunterian Museum is well under way; work on the similar volume of coins in the Ashmolean Museum has begun; there are also plans to publish some groups of coins in the British Museum. I think we can look forward to this series as, by present-day standards, the ideal method of publishing our publicly and privately owned collections. But like all such schemes, the ideal can only be attained if the interested public is prepared to support it.

Secondly, under Mr. Dolley's active leadership enormous strides are being made in our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon coins. His own researches in the great Scandinavian collections continue. I have wondered whether we are not approaching the time when some general survey of the state of Anglo-Saxon numismatics has become necessary. It seems to me that British numismatics, so strong in individual studies, is on the whole weak in general surveys. I have the impression that the contribution which coinage can make to history would be better understood and more frequently relied on if historians were in a position to read the story as a whole. In all such matters timing is important. A premature survey can go wrong at far too many points; if left too long, the details can overlay the general purpose. I think the present is likely to be as good a moment as any for the kind of study I have in mind. I hope that some of the eminent Anglo-Saxon students amongst us will find time for something which could, I believe, be a remarkable stimulus to a wider interest in our work.

My most active period in numismatics was before the war when the main interest of students was directed to the Plantagenets, the Tudors, and the Stuarts. I do not believe that amongst collectors, from whom the bulk of our membership comes, these periods are of any less interest than they were; it seems to me, however, that as a Society we might perhaps be accused of neglecting these phases. No doubt much has been written on them, but I believe there is still scope for seeing our coinage, as in fact it has always been, not an isolated, insular phenomenon, but as a living part of the European heritage. I hope that we shall in the next few years hear more of these periods from our members, and that they will not confine themselves purely within our British shores.

I come now to more recent times. Once again the Government is considering the question of decimal coinage. The Deputy Master of the Mint, in his Annual Report, has made radical and intriguing suggestions as to how a decimal coinage could be introduced. Various bodies officially and unofficially are examining the arguments for decimal coinage from their particular angles and will submit their views to the Government. In my opinion this is a subject on which our Society, with its particular experience, should have a contribution to make. In our programme for 1960, it is proposed to devote an evening to the subject of decimal coinage. I hope that members will take the

trouble to think the matter out carefully and to express considered opinions which will help the Council to formulate a positive view for submission to the Government. Our angle is only one of many, but it is not necessarily a negligible one.

I have already, perhaps, said too much and I will now give others a chance to speak. I will leave with you, if I may, one final thought. After a life of more than 50 years, with not more than normal ups and downs, we in this Society have acquired a tradition of worthwhile scholarship. I do not think there is any doubt that in the coming years we shall live up to that tradition, but equally I do not think we should be frightened, if it looks like promoting our main purposes, of breaking into new fields. I would welcome the suggestions of members as to how we can, as a Society, better serve their needs.

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1958

INCOME

<p>1957 £</p> <p>8 Printing and Stationery</p> <p>42 Expenses of Meetings, Rent, and Library Facilities</p> <p>55 Sundry Expenses</p> <p>Additional cost for <i>Journal</i> under-provided 1957</p> <p><i>Less</i> Grant from British Academy</p> <hr/> <p>238 177 5 6</p> <p>750 Provision for 1958 <i>Journal</i></p> <hr/> <p>£1,093</p>	<p>£ s. d.</p> <p>14 5 8</p> <p>29 8 0</p> <p>52 17 3</p> <p>327 5 6</p> <p>150 0 0</p> <hr/> <p>177 5 6</p> <p>800 0 0</p> <hr/> <p>977 5 6</p> <hr/> <p>£1,073 16 5</p>	<p>1957 £</p> <p>470 Subscriptions received for 1958</p> <p>89 Subscriptions in arrears received during year</p> <hr/> <p>27 Entrance Fees <i>Donation</i></p> <p>2 L. C. Briggs A. E. Bagnall</p> <hr/> <p>63 Interest Received</p> <p>51 Sale of Back Volumes and Duplicates</p> <p>— Sale of Bookcases</p> <p>— Income Tax Recoverable 1955–56</p> <p>391 Excess of Expenditure over Income carried to General Purposes Fund</p> <hr/> <p>£1,093</p>	<p>£ s. d.</p> <p>491 18 11</p> <p>99 2 5</p> <hr/> <p>2 2 0</p> <p>3 3 0</p> <hr/> <p>66 13 6</p> <p>2 0 0</p> <p>15 0 0</p> <p>96 2 0</p> <p>279 17 7</p> <hr/> <p>£1,073 16 5</p>	<p>£ s. d.</p> <p>591 1 4</p> <p>17 17 0</p> <p>5 5 0</p> <p>66 13 6</p> <p>2 0 0</p> <p>15 0 0</p> <p>96 2 0</p> <p>279 17 7</p> <hr/> <p>£1,073 16 5</p>
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BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1958

1957			1957		
£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
10 Subscriptions received in advance . . .		15 12 9	Investments, at cost		
34 Subscriptions compounded . . .		28 1 0	£833. 5s. 1d. 3½% Defence Bonds . . .	833 5 1	
1,005 Sundry Creditors and Outstanding Charges		1,025 15 0	1,260 £500. 2½% Savings Bonds . . .	426 13 3	
J. Salford Saltus Medal Fund					1,259 18 4
Capital Account	166 14 11		— Sundry Debtor—Income Tax Refund for		
148 Less Debit Balance on Income Account	13 9 0		1955-6		96 2 0
		153 5 11	J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund		
Publications and Research Fund			167 £166. 14s. 11d. Defence Bonds . . .		166 14 11
Balance as at 31 October 1957 . . .	112 7 9		152 Library, at cost		151 12 5
Add Sale of Lockett Plates, &c. . .	14 8 6		10 Furniture, at cost		10 7 6
112 Anonymous Donation	25 0 0		Cash at Bankers and in Hand		
Do.	5 0 0		234 Bank Current Account	56 5 1	
		156 16 3	309 Bank Deposit Account	221 9 8	
750 Provision for estimated cost of <i>Journal</i>			515 Post Office Savings Bank	528 5 3	
1958		800 0 0	3 Petty Cash	2 9	
General Purposes Fund					806 2 9
Balance as at 31 October 1957 . . .	591 4 7				
591 Less Excess of Expenditure over Income					
for the year	279 17 7				
		311 7 0			
<u>£2,650</u>		<u>£2,490 17 11</u>	<u>£2,650</u>		<u>£2,490 17 11</u>

WE have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purposes of our audit. In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Society so far as appears from our examination of those books. We have examined the above Balance Sheet and annexed Expenditure and Income Account which are in agreement with the books of account and no credit has been taken for subscriptions in arrear. In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to us, the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view of the state of the Society's affairs as at 31st October, 1958 and the Expenditure and Income Account gives a true and fair view of the excess of expenditure for the year ended on that date.

51 Coleman Street,
London, E.C.2
22 June 1958

GILBERTS, HALLETT, & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

1 OCTOBER 1960

ROYAL MEMBERS

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF WINDSOR
HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELENA OF ITALY
HIS MAJESTY KING GUSTAV IV OF SWEDEN
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF SWEDEN

MEMBERS

* Honorary Members

- 1947 ALLCARD, LT.-COL. H., 29 Windsor Road, Selsey, Sussex.
1957 ALLEN, C. H., ESQ., 53 Sandy Lane, Cheam, Surrey.
1935 ALLEN, D. F., ESQ., B.A., F.S.A., Strand End, Grove Park Road, Chiswick, London, W. 4.
1956 ANDERSON, M. J., ESQ., 51 Patching Hall Lane, Chelmsford, Essex.
1953 ASHBY, J. M., ESQ., M.A., Queensmead, West Temple Sheen, London, S.W. 14.
1957 ASHERSON, MISS E., 21 Harley Street, London, W. 1.
1936 ASSHETON, J. R., ESQ., 42 Jubilee Place, London, S.W. 3.
1956 AUSTEN, R. L., ESQ., Westergate House, Fontwell, Arundel, Sussex.
1922 BAGNALL, A. E., ESQ., 1 Castle Road, Shipley, Yorks.
1938 BALDWIN, A. H., ESQ., 221 Crofton Lane, Orpington, Kent.
1923 BALDWIN, A. H. F., ESQ., 3 Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.
1941 BALDWIN, W. V. R., ESQ., 30 Lansdowne Road, West Worthing, Sussex.
1955 BALLINGAL, N. C., ESQ., c/o MacLaine & Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 2292, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia.
1956 BAREFORD, MR. H. S., 666 Fifth Avenue, New York 19, N.Y., U.S.A.
1946 BARNES, A. E., ESQ., 33 Stratton Road, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
1947 BASMADJIEFF, M. LUBAN, Postfach Fraumunster 1071, Zurich, Switzerland.
1953 BELL, C. J., ESQ., 249 Pershore Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham 5.
1953 BERESFORD-JONES, R. D., ESQ., M.A., Wolfden, Swan Street, Sible Hedingham, Essex.
1953 BERGHAUS, DR. P., Landesmuseum, Domplatz 10, Münster/Westf., Western Germany.
1957 BIGLEY, DR. D., 15 Hampton Lane, Solihull, Warwicks.
1933 BLUNT, C. E., ESQ., O.B.E., F.S.A., Ramsbury Hill, Ramsbury, nr. Marlborough, Wilts.
1950 BOURGEY, M. E., 7 rue Drouot, Paris IX^e, France.
1960 BRAND, J. D., ESQ., 5 Ridley Road, Rochester, Kent.
1948 BRAZENOR, H. C. F., ESQ., Art Gallery and Museum, Church Street, Brighton, Sussex.
1942 BRETTELL, R. P. V., ESQ., Grenedene, Whitchurch Road, Tavistock, Devon.
1933 BRIGGS, MR. L. C., Hancock, New Hampshire, U.S.A.
1955 BROOKS, F., ESQ., MUS. BAC., 27 Playfields Drive, Parkstone, Dorset.
1954 BROWN, I. D., ESQ., B.SC., 17 Green Lane, Oxhey, Herts.
1946 BROWN, L. A., ESQ., 18 Victoria Avenue, Surbiton, Surrey.
1957 BRUMBY, S., ESQ., 27 Portland Terrace, Gainsborough, Lincs.
1942 BURSTAL, E., ESQ., M.A., M.D., 46 Lansdowne Road, Bournemouth, Hants.
1956 BUSSELL, MRS. M., 242 Westbourne Park Road, London, W. 11.
1959 BUTLER, MISS V. J., 184 Oakwood Hill, Loughton, Essex.
1955 BUXTON, MR. E. V., c/o Messrs. Benedict & Benedict, 99 John Street, New York City 38, N.Y., U.S.A.
1955 CALDERWOOD, DR. R., O.B.E., M.D., Liverpool Regional Hospital Board, Pearl Assurance House, 55 Castle Street, Liverpool 2.

- 1957 CARTER, B. L., ESQ., 9 Hornsey Lane Gardens, London, N. 6.
 1955 CARTER, G. E. L., ESQ., M.A., Pine Hollow, Budleigh Salterton, Devon.
 1947 CAWTHORNE, T., ESQ., F.R.C.S., 149 Harley Street, London, W. 1.
 1929 CHECKLEY, J. F. H., ESQ., F.S.A., 26 Maple Avenue, Maidstone, Kent.
 1959 CHILVERS, C. A., ESQ., Market Place, Snettisham, Norfolk.
 1914 CHRISTOPHER, R. T., ESQ., West View, Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts.
 1959 COOPER, F. R., ESQ., Weir Cottage, Mill Lane, Marlow, Bucks.
 1955 CORBITT, J. H., ESQ., 5 Crowley Avenue, Whickham, Co. Durham.
 1959 CRAMP, MISS R. J., M.A., St. Mary's College, University of Durham, Durham.
 1957 DANSON, E. W., ESQ., 51 Ferrers Way, Darley Abbey, Derby.
 1937 DAVIDSON, J., ESQ., M.B., CH.B., F.R.C.P. (ED.), F.S.A. (SCOT.), Linton Muir, West Linton, Peeblesshire.
 1957 DAWSON, J. O., ESQ., 49 Lidgett Park Road, Roundhay, Leeds 8.
 1951 DOLLEY, R. H. M., ESQ., B.A., F.S.A., Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
 1946 DOUBLEDAY, G. V., ESQ., Shrub Hill Farm, Tiptree, Essex.
 1948 DRESSER, MR. J. L., 167 East 90th Street, New York City 28, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1954 DYKES, D. W., ESQ., B.A., Thurlston, Rodway Hill Road, Mangotsfield, nr. Bristol, Glos.
 1955 EGAN, H., ESQ., PH.D., 49 Medway Gardens, Wembley, Middx.
 1954 ELLISON, THE VEN. C. O., 1 Westwood Avenue, Leeds 16, Yorks.
 1949 ELST, M. C. VAN DER, Longue Rue de l'Hôpital 32, Antwerp, Belgium.
 1946 ERSKINE, THE HON. R. W. H., M.A., 2 Cambridge Place, London, W. 8.
 1958 FAULKNER, R. G., ESQ., c/o Glendining & Co. Ltd., 7 Blenheim Street, London, W. 1.
 1955 FERGUSON, J. D., ESQ., Rock Island, Quebec, Canada.
 1946 FORRER, L. S., ESQ., Keizersgracht 448, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
 1950 FORSTER, W., ESQ., 83a Stamford Hill, London, N. 16.
 1957 FREEMAN, J. C., ESQ., B.A., LL.B., Bank of New South Wales, 47 Berkeley Square, London, W. 1.
 1950 FRENCH, W. C., ESQ., 7 Blenheim Street, London, W. 1.
 1957 GARDNER, A. C., ESQ., 13 Astrop Gardens, King's Sutton, Banbury, Oxon.
 1954 GARDNER, T. H., ESQ., May House, Flitwick Road, Ampthill, Beds.
 1955 GARTNER, J., ESQ., 15 Guildford Lane, Melbourne, C. 1, Australia.
 1960 GERHARDT, CDR. R. J., S.C., U.S.N., 4214 Oakridge Lane, Chevy Chase, Md., U.S.A.
 1954 GIBBS, P. H., ESQ., Aycote House, Rendcombe, Cirencester, Glos.
 1954 GOMM, J. D., ESQ., 16 Madeley Road, London, W. 5.
 1958 GRAHAM, K. V., ESQ., 2 Highfield Close, Bocking, Braintree, Essex.
 1955 GRANT, PROFESSOR MICHAEL, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A. (SCOT.), 9 Merchiston Avenue, Edinburgh.
 1958 GREENAWAY, SIR DEREK, Dunmore, Four Elms, Edenbridge, Kent.
 1947 GRIERSON, P., ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
 1943 GRIFFITHS, N., ESQ., Trinity Chambers, 67 High Street, Tunstall, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffs.
 1954 GROVER, B. H., ESQ., 23 Beauchamp Road, East Molesey, Surrey.
 1955 HAINES, G. C., ESQ., F.S.A., 31 Larpent Avenue, London, S.W. 15.
 1949 HARKNESS, D., ESQ., B.SC., 41 Pereira Road, Harborne, Birmingham 17.
 1954 HARRIS, M. J., ESQ., Blagdon Hill, Taunton, Somerset.
 1955 HEWITT, K. V., ESQ., 44 Feenan Highway, Tilbury, Essex.
 1952 HICKS, MR. W., c/o Money Mart, 101 West 43rd Street, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1949 HILL, SIR FRANCIS, C.B.E., M.A., LITT.D., LL.M., F.S.A., 2 Lindum Terrace, Lincoln.
 1958 HILLYER, E. G., ESQ., Elmlea, 68 Barton Road, Barton Seagrave, Kettering, Northants.
 1944 HIRD, ALDERMAN H., M.A., F.S.A., 5 North Park Road, Bradford, Yorks.
 1957 HODGKINSON, P. A., ESQ., Danetree, Terminus Road, Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex.
 1946 HOPKINS, G. S., ESQ., 11 Chapman's Close, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.
 1948 HOVENANIAN, MR. G. S., 97 Jackson Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
 1954 HOWELL, G. F., ESQ., The Royal Mint, Tower Hill, London, E.C. 3.

- 1958 INGHAM, J. H., ESQ., Echo, Bluebell Hill, Maidstone Road, Rochester, Kent.
 1959 INGOLD, MISS J., B.A., The Record Office, Northampton.
 1946 JACOB, K. A., ESQ., 32 Gilbert Road, Cambridge.
 1960 JAY, A. L. N., ESQ., 12 Vernon Court, Hendon Way, London, N.W. 2.
 1944 JOHNSTONE, DR. E. A., 121 North Road, Clayton, Manchester, Lancs.
 1938 JONES, F. ELMORE, ESQ., 133 Moorgate, London, E.C. 2.
 1957 KEMPSHALL, T. E., ESQ., 36 Glendower Avenue, Coventry, Warwicks.
 1954 KENT, J. P. C., ESQ., B.A., PH.D., Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
 1909 KING, H. H., ESQ., M.A., Undershaw Hotel, Hindhead, Surrey.
 1938 KING, P. I., ESQ., 55 York Road, Northampton.
 1955 KROLIK, P. D., ESQ., The Lansdowne Club, Berkeley Square, London, W. 1.
 1949 LAINCHBURY, A. W., ESQ., Trigmore, Kingham, Oxon.
 1956 LAING, W., ESQ., 41 Lytton Avenue, Letchworth, Herts.
 1949 LARSEN, MR. L. V., 1136 Kenilworth Avenue, Coshocton, Ohio, U.S.A.
 1956 LATTIMORE, C. R., ESQ., 320 Stag Lane, London, N.W. 9.
 1947 LAWRENCE, G. W., ESQ., 111 Upton Road, Bexley Heath, Kent.
 1948 LEE, CAPT. R., Woodgate House, Uttoxeter, Staffs.
 1947 LIDDELL, D. G., ESQ., c/o Spink & Son Ltd., 5-7 King Street, London, S.W. 1.
 1946 LINECAR, H. W. A., ESQ., c/o Spink & Son Ltd., 5-7 King Street, London, S.W. 1.
 1950 LINTON, COL. E. C., R.A.M.C. (RET.), 506 Kensington Close, Wright's Lane, London, W. 8.
 1956 LISMORE, T., ESQ., Calle 23, No. 413, Vedado, Habana, Cuba.
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